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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

1918

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AMERICAN CITIES DURING WAR TIMES

BY CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

Philadelphia

OUR American cities have stood steadfast during these most critical times; they have functioned normally; they have co-operated vigorously and intelligently; they have helped generally.

So far as the record goes to date there has been no serious let-up in the prosecution of the normal municipal activities; although there has been a justifiable diminution of new undertakings because of the scarcity and diversion of labor, and the high price of materials. There has been a general recognition that it is not wise economy to postpone work that is necessary "to keep a pavement in good condition, to invite disease by failing to provide the necessary sewers and water supply to new sections of the city, to leave the city at the mercy of fire by neglecting to keep the pumping equipment in perfect repair and adequate in capacity, or to provide sufficient reliable hose, or to endanger health by failure to provide for sanitary disposal of refuse." If these things are needed they should be done, without, however, omitting any economies possible in planning and construction.

INTEREST IN CITY PLANNING

As a natural corollary there has been an unprecedented interest in city planning and housing. The annual conferences of the two organizations devoted to these subjects, the one at Kansas City, the other at Chicago, were among the largest in their respective histories and the discussions showed how deep and how widespread was the interest, and the same observation may be made of our sister Canadian organizations and cities. The resolution adopted at the Winnipeg meeting of the Civic Improvement League of Canada embodied the thought that the provincial

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[1] Annual address of the secretary, National Municipal League, Detroit, Mich., November 21, 1917.

governments be urged "to pass planning and development acts in all the provinces so as to secure that land will be laid out for purposes of economic use, health, convenience and amenity."[2]

At the National City Planning Conference in Kansas City it was repeatedly stated that, although the country must necessarily expend a large part of its energy at this time in war preparation, it is, nevertheless, highly important that city planning and replanning activities should not be put aside. Indeed, the importance of thorough town-planning is actually emphasized by present conditions. This fact is recognized in Europe to such a degree that plans have already been prepared for rebuilding the destroyed towns of France along lines determined by modern requirements.

The nations of Europe are placing themselves on a basis of efficiency which will continue after the war, and, if this country is to keep pace, from now on it must accept the facts and prepare to meet them. It is in the cities that commerce and industry are centralized and the results of organization—or the lack of it are most apparent there. No city can perform its function efficiently as a unit of any nation-wide organization unless wisely and carefully planned to meet its own special conditions, and our American cities are beginning to realize their duties and obligations along these lines.

France, who has set before the world during this war, so many and so varied examples of courage, patriotism and foresight, has set still another in the new *Loi Cornudet* which provides that every municipality shall organize a planning commission, which will decide on its future growth. Every improvement will have to conform to the city plan, whether it is made in newly-developed territory, or replaces a construction of long standing and the whole development will be controlled by a central department of the national government in Paris. Paris itself, having outgrown the Haussmann plans, has organized a bureau which will care not only for the city, but for the whole metropolitan area.

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[2] The policy of the federal government is set forth in the following letter:

MR. WILL H. HAYS, *Chairman*,
Indiana State Council of Defense,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

The Council of National Defense has considered the question you raise in your recent letter as to the attitude which should be taken relative to improvements, public and otherwise, which involve large construction work, and recommends as follows:

Every effort that this country is capable of making should be applied to bringing the war to a speedy and successful conclusion. The resources of the country in a general way may be said to consist of men, money and material, and during the period of the war any new enterprise or undertaking should be tried and justified by the test: Will the men, money and material so applied best contribute in this way to the winning of the war?

New enterprises which are not fundamental to the efficient operation of the country's necessary activities should not be undertaken. This will not result adversely upon business or conditions of employment because every man and every resource will be needed during the war. All efforts should be centered to help with the war.

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War and Chairman
Council of National Defense.

October 1, 1917.

If battle-torn and scarred France can take thought of the morrow, what of America which has yet to feel the pinch in any really serious degree?

HOUSING AS A WAR MEASURE

"As a war measure in itself, we must look to the housing of our workmen, which is just as important as the adequate and efficient housing of the troops. Both classes are on the firing line—the one on the battlefield and the other in industry—and both are indispensable to the cause." This is the deliberately expressed opinion of the secretary of the National Housing Association, who does not hesitate to declare further that victory for America may depend upon the solution of the housing problem in America. "It is up to us who know the situation," he has said, "to help the government solve it. The war has made acute a situation that has long been serious in our industrial centers, and the social dangers, which we would not recognize before, are more manifest than ever. Now with great manufacturing plants running at double capacity and men crowding into industrial centers to man them, we find that no adequate provision is made for their housing. In many places they sleep men in three shifts, using each bed twenty-four hours in the day, occupied by three different men, each having the bed for eight hours."

COMMUNITY HEALTH

The war program of the American Public Health Association brought vividly to the front not only the special problems of the army and the navy, but the special community problems which must be faced and solved if we are to have an effective army, an early peace and a wholesome aftermath. "The war may, and if we can make it, it should, stimulate the world to a realization of the existing possibilities in life and health conservation," declared Prof. Irving Fisher at the National Conference of Social Work at Pittsburgh.

To this phase of the problem our cities are likewise addressing themselves with devotion and intelligence, notwithstanding the depletion of the ranks of medical and health officers by the demands of the army and navy.

CO-OPERATION WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

In the field of co-operation the cities have performed wonders. They have helped in the execution of the selective draft law; in the food conservation campaign; in the Red Cross work; in the various other campaigns made necessary by the war not omitting the flotation of the two liberty loans. In addition to all of this, the cities on the seaboards, and especially those on the Atlantic Coast, have prepared themselves, to a remarkable degree, for such emergencies as are likely to arise in the event of a prolongation of the contest or of a foreign invasion.

THE MORAL HEALTH OF THE COMMUNITY

Would that as much could be said about activities designed to protect the morals of the communities and their war-added populations! While cities are planning wisely for the future; while they are discussing the housing and health problems of the present and the future; while they are co-operating to advance the several causes essential to the preservation and maintenance of our government, they must not forget the need for moral protection as well. The old idea that morality is only a personal affair dies hard. It is, to be sure, a personal affair, just as physical health and well-being are, but there is a community responsibility as well that cannot with safety be evaded or shirked. Its inherent difficulties afford no excuse for not facing it fairly and squarely.[3]

One of the great lessons we must take from this war is that war preparedness, like charity, as Caroline Bartlett Crane points out, begins at home, and whenever we strengthen the defenses of sobriety, chastity, personal honor and human decency in our home towns, we are powerfully strengthening our national defense against a foreign foe.

There is an encouraging side to the situation, however. At its meeting in May the Playground and Recreation Association of America declared for cities made ready to do their bit for the soldiers; communities prepared to offer our men in khaki recreational and social opportunities from which their desire to serve their country has suddenly cut them off; open houses and hospitality instead of a welcome only from open saloons and houses of ill repute; the mobilization of the social and recreational facilities of the communities near training camps for the soldier in his free time. The citizens of most of our communities, and quite frequently the cities themselves, are co-operating to give men living under abnormal conditions a substitute for home influence and "for the social, recreational and cultural features of normal life; of co-ordinating existing adjacent groups of people eager to be of service to city governments; of organizing all available forces; of utilizing all the communities' resources and calling into being new forces to meet new needs and new problems." The soldier of to-day is the citizen of to-morrow, and we want to preserve as much as possible of his strength, honor and decency.

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[3] "*The attitude of the community has got to be continuous and growing in its hospitality and in its conscientious recognition of the right way of solving the problem of the soldier. These boys are going to France; they are going to face conditions that we do not like to talk about, that we do not like to think about. They are going into a heroic enterprise, and heroic enterprises involve sacrifices. I want them armed; I want them adequately armed and clothed by their government; but I want them to have invisible armor to take with them. I want them to have an armor made up of a set of social habits replacing those of their homes and communities, a set of social habits and a state of social mind born in the training camps, a new soldier state of mind, so that when they get overseas and are removed from the reach of our comforting and restraining and helpful hand, they will have gotten such a state of habits as will constitute a moral and intellectual armor for their protection overseas. You are the makers of that armor.*"—THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

THE CANTONMENTS: MODEL CITIES?

The cantonments afford a wonderful opportunity to teach a wholesome lesson in community living so far as such living can be accomplished without the spiritual co-operation and influence of women. They are each, to all practical intents and purposes, cities of 40,000 souls. They represent problems of housing, sanitation, feeding, discipline, amusement, morality, religion. Upon their successful management depends alike the safety and efficiency of our army and of our various communities.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES AND PHASES

In the field of social work we find a more cheerful note in that the anticipated let-up of social activities, governmental and organization, has not manifested itself. Taking a leaf out of England's experience very few states and cities have abandoned or modified the rules and regulations designed for the protection of workers and citizens generally, built up through long years of arduous effort and struggle. The National Conference on Child Labor closed its sessions at Baltimore with the conviction firmly established that whatever war measures this country is obliged to adopt there should be no let down in the standards for child protection. Time and again this note was struck as the vital necessity of continuing all efforts to further our American democratic ideals was pointed out. The lowering of standards abroad was used as an illustration of the fact that the excitement of war is fatal to the training and development of the younger generation and that social advance is retarded when childhood is impoverished.

A similar report may be made concerning other lines of social work: housing of labor, workmen's compensation, and conditions of labor generally. In point of fact there is a growing feeling that we are looking forward to a great socialized future and any backward step will militate against its harmonious and wholesome development. There is also a growing tendency to regard questions that have heretofore been solely regarded as political as having social import and significance. In the words of the social service commission of the (Episcopal) diocese of Pennsylvania in reference to the police scandals in the city of Philadelphia:

> The fifth ward shame and tragedy has a far-reaching social significance which must not be overlooked. The use of the police powers of the

government for political ends is anti-social in the highest degree. Any policy which involves the use of the police and other officials of the government for any other than a public or community end results not only in a perversion of the power of government, but in the creation of a sentiment on the part of the poor and the ignorant that government exists not for the good of the community, but for the ends and purposes of a chosen few. Apart from the loss of life through the failure of the police to preserve the peace, not to speak of their direct connivance in the events leading up to the sad tragedy, which is a matter that is to be determined in a court of justice, the most distressing and humiliating features brought out at the hearings were those which revealed that the police were using their great powers to drive the poor and ignorant into the support of men contrary to their personal convictions and loyalties. When we consider the character of the population of the fifth ward made up of men, women and children who have sought these shores as a protection against governmental oppression and inequalities; when we consider that the federal, state and municipal governments are spending untold sums of money for the general improvement of their condition, and at the present time are engaged in a struggle, the basic principle of which is the establishment of democracy throughout the world; when we consider that the honor of this country is pledged to the maintenance of the higher political and social ideals the world over—we stand aghast at a political situation which tolerates for one moment a situation such as has been disclosed to exist in the fifth ward, and which in embryo at least exists wherever political organizations of the same stripe are permitted to exist. The perversion of the powers of government to any other end than that of the good of the community is a policy fraught with the utmost of danger to the continuance of free institutions and to the development of a sound social sentiment in the community.

THE CITY-MANAGER PLAN: A WAR MEASURE

"The city-manager plan is a war measure in all that the term implies. The sheer necessity of finding some way out of the present mess will compel the people to take action" is the way a New England editor described the movement for establishing improved governmental machinery in our cities. The facts fully justify the description. Never in the history of the National Municipal League has there been a more insistent demand for assistance in charter revision and never has there been more interest manifested in its Model City Charter. Until this year the discussion of the principles involved in this plan of government had been confined to the middle-sized and smaller cities, but now it is being seriously considered in the largest cities of the country: New York and Chicago.

At the beginning of his administration Mayor Mitchel and the board of estimate and apportionment appointed a charter committee, instructed to recommend changes in the organization. Various reasons contributed to the practical dissolution of the committee, but a member of the committee, Henry Bruère, submitted a "Plan of Organization for New York City," so that the mayor might "call the recommendations it contains to the attention of any subsequent charter committee." His proposed reorganization was primarily directed toward "definitizing responsibility and providing more effective administrative machinery."

The outstanding features of his alternative plans were:

1. Further development of the mayor's office into one of policy guiding, general supervision and control, analogous to that of the president of a large corporation.
2. Development of the board of estimate as a board of direction in law as well as in fact, and the imposition on that board of a responsibility that it now regulates, but does not bear.
3. Development of a complete department of finance, centring full control over revenues, funds and disbursements, now to a large degree scattered.
4. Provision of centralized, responsible executive and administrative direction in the office of a city manager, subject to the control of the board of estimate and the supervision of the mayor.

The details of the appointment and consequent responsibility of the city manager, whether to the board or the mayor, is left for future consideration. The manager will have no responsibility for policies except as a requested adviser of the board. He will have nothing to do with the police department or with the civil service or law departments. The most radical change suggested involves the assumption by the board of estimate and apportionment of more complete responsibility for the effective management of the city.

In Chicago the proposition has been put forward by the Chicago bureau of public efficiency in the form of a bill for the reorganization of the municipal government, "the main purpose of which is to apply to Chicago a modified form of the city-manager plan of government, with non-partisan methods of electing aldermen." The bill also reduces the number of aldermen from 70 to 35, one alderman from each ward, and extends the term of aldermen to four years, subject to popular recall. Other features of the bill are incidental to these objects. Thus while "the nation is engaged in the great task of helping to make the world safe for democracy, we are reminded by the Chicago bureau of efficiency," says the Chicago *Post*, "that we have not yet made democracy safe for the city."

In these cities where the plan has been tried there has been a steady improvement in all administrative branches and a general feeling of satisfaction with the results. Certainly there has been no serious effort to undo what has been accomplished.

The town of Goldsboro, North Carolina, with a population of 11,000, widely advertised for a city manager, an experiment which has been fully reported in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.[4] "Twenty years ago, such an advertisement would have been considered a hoax," as the

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[4] See vol. vi, p. 605.

Toledo *Blade* has editorially pointed out. "In those days, the management of a city was still a mere matter of getting the votes. Anyone was qualified who was a naturalized citizen. People were born to governing a community just as they were born to breathe God's air. The one was no harder than the other. No better sign of progress could be furnished than that citizens of a city, having each the right to serve as manager, should humbly confess their want of knowledge by advertising abroad for a qualified employe. Democracy does not demand that every man shall be recognized as divinely given to conduct office. It does demand that in government there shall be a broad application of common sense. And putting men in charge of cities who know their business, who have good judgment and broad vision, is common sense of the highest grade."

THE NEED FOR COMPETENT OFFICIALS

If we are to have carefully planned and adequately protected and developed cities, then we must have competent officials to administer them and herein is the strength of the city-manager movement for in it is involved the idea of executive efficiency and concentration of administrative responsibility along with representative legislative body charged with policy-determining responsibility.

A component part of any such plan must be a comprehensive merit system to secure the selection of competent officials to serve with the city manager. Some idea of the growth of this branch of the movement is to be found in the annual assembly of civil service commissioners, devoted to a consideration of the ways and means whereby such officials can be the most surely selected. It is not a propagandist body, but a technical one and each year registers an increased number of delegates present and a keener discussion of the details of selection. Hand in hand with this growth we must note the establishment, as in the Western Reserve University (Cleveland), of schools for training for municipal administration and public service, and official recognition of the need of such training in the passage by the Wisconsin legislature of a bill to establish a course in public training at the state university.

The most essential factors in fair and effective application of the merit principle in civil service continue to be the following: The examination and certification of eligibles, the system of promotion, the provision for removal, the constitution of the commission. As compared with the work of dividing and administering adequate and appropriate tests for attracting and selecting the best equipped persons for administrative offices, and giving them assurance of permanency of tenure and advancement according to proved fitness, all other phases of the work of civil service commissions are of supplementary and secondary significance.[5]

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[5] For an extended review of the development along these lines see F. W. Coker's survey of municipal civil service reports in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 692.

In a circular letter sent out last spring to its members, the National Municipal League asked these questions:

WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN AFTER THE WAR?

"Did you ever stop to think what is going to happen after the war? Do you realize what the appropriation of billions of dollars by federal, state, county and city governments will mean to this country? Many think that because our economic condition is so good now that everything will be taken care of nicely later. In the history of the entire world a period of prosperous years has always been followed by lean ones. Does not exceptional spending by governments, exceptional prices for commodities, exceptional industrial conditions now, mean exceptional taxation and other exceptional problems later? Where will the burdens fall? Are we ready for them? Are we getting ready?"

"You will hear the cry of efficiency and economy in government louder than ever, especially when cities begin to broaden their functions and exercise new ones in coping with new problems, when seen. But they should be foreseen. Someone has to point them out and lead the way, and it is up to us to apply ourselves to this task."

This the League has been doing and as a consequence its services have never been in more demand. This has been largely due to the fact that the rapidly increasing burdens of federal and state taxation have made economy and efficiency of the greater importance. This has by no means been reflected in the election results in the larger cities, but it is bound to be reflected in more careful attention to tax rates and expenditures. Another factor has been pointed out by the investment bankers association: Citizens in many parts of the country are beginning to realize the wrong which has been imposed on this generation by corrupt and careless municipal financing in the past, and have decided not to place a similar load upon the shoulders of their children. Moreover, they see that methods of the past, if continued, would soon make it impossible for their cities to borrow money at all on moderate terms.

Another significant indication of the trend is the fact that in 1916 cities throughout the country borrowed $502,800,000 in long term loans as compared to $492,500,000 in 1915. This shows an increase of only $10,000,000 in the total amount of loans over the preceding year as compared to an average increase of $50,000,000 for the three years.

The truth is even more favorable than the figures indicate. According to a prominent New York investment broker, who is in close touch with municipal conditions in all parts of the country, a great many cities have been more than usually hesitant in the last two years about incurring new expenses, so that the total amounts of bond issues for these years represent a greater proportion than usual of loans refunding old issues.

The citizen demand for better municipal administration, in the judgment of this association of investment bankers, is growing in almost all parts of the country, while the powerful interest of the financial backers of cities is with the citizens in the fight. The signs of the times spell progress.

WASTE AND EXTRAVAGANCE

In his speech on the federal deficiency bill, Senator Martin, of Virginia, in no uncertain tones declared that

> We must call a halt in extravagance. We must keep within due bounds, and we must not appropriate money that is not essential. We have had quite a number of deficiency bills during this session of Congress. I hope to God this is the last. If we keep on, we had better turn the whole resources of the country without anything more than three lines over to the administrative departments of the government and let them take what they need and spend what they choose. It has come to be a perilous situation. Over $20,000,000,000 in five months! At the pace we are going, if the war lasts another year, $50,000,000,000 will be required. And where is it to come from? Is our country to be impoverished for generations? Yes, if it is necessary to prosecute the war. But, in God's name, do not let us do it unless it is absolutely necessary.

These words may with equal force and effect be applied to our city financing and during the next five years will be. For the federal and state burdens will go on increasing even should the war be happily ended before that time.

Indeed similar words found utterance in some of the state legislatures during their recent sessions. In supporting his budget bill in the New York assembly, Senator Wagner said:

> Every city council, every state legislature and congress itself might do well to consider the new plan of budget making which I have proposed for the state of New York . . . an adaptation of the system employed by the British parliament suggested by President Lowell of Harvard University.
>
> The governor of New York has adopted an admirable program of publicity to justify spending the money of the state, but publicity alone does not solve the problem of public waste. When the governor presents a budget calling for the expenditure of $68,000,000, how many citizens, to say nothing of the legislators themselves, have either the expert knowledge or the time to analyze the figures and determine whether or not the proposed expenditures would be justified? Publicity for extravagance which is not detected is a convenient method of passing on to the public the responsibility for the waste. . . .
>
> City councils and boards of aldermen present similar conditions to those found in state legislative bodies. Members of the faction in power are loath to curtail the expenditures of their own department heads. Minority finance committees should be appointed by the heads of city governing bodies as a check upon the expenditures proposed by the majorities and empowered to employ experts to investigate proposed appropriations. The principle involved is one capable of broad application.

Such opposition committees would depend not only upon their own investigations for exposing waste, but would afford those citizens who desire economy an opportunity for telling what they know. Chambers of commerce and independent business men, too often fearing to incur the disfavor of the politicians in power, are silent, whereas they would gladly lodge their complaints with a minority committee which would be eager to take them up.

I am sure that this would greatly encourage the application of business principles to spending the public's money. The question is—do the public want economy sufficiently to demand it vigorously enough to get it?

These are the words, not of a representative of a bureau of research or a reform body, but of the leader of the Democrats in the New York senate, elected on a Tammany ticket!

STATE AND COUNTY AFFAIRS

This speech of Senator Wagner brings to mind the work which has been inaugurated to reorganize state and county affairs, as well as those of the cities. The latter are no longer neglected—although still requiring the closest of attention and almost infinite patience. The past year has seen forward steps in state reorganization in Illinois and Kansas, with important developments in several others. Likewise the county, so long "the dark continent of politics," is beginning to claim a share of attention. The determination of the National Municipal League to give consideration to these two phases of governmental activity has been received with approval. References to these to the uninitiated may seem out of place in a review of American cities during war times, but to those who know by experience how closely interlaced the state, county and city, their appropriateness is at once obvious. City government cannot be segregated from state and county government and any attempt to do so will add to the difficulties of an already serious situation.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Politically speaking, the events of the year have been far from encouraging. They illustrate if that were necessary that the "war has not disposed of the city bosses as yet." The defeat of Mayor Mitchel was no doubt the result of the inevitable reaction which follows exceptionally useful and progressive administrations. At the same time it is discouraging; one is almost tempted to say disheartening. It brings to mind these words of M. Marmontel in "Belisaire" (published in 1796): "Whoever devotes himself to the service of his country, should suppose her insolvent; for what he hazards for her is inestimable. But he must at the same time expect to find her ungrateful: for whoever looks for a reward for a free and generous sacrifice of himself, is foolishly inconsistent. . . . The allurements of ambition: honors, titles, rank, . . . what are they but wages? He who desires them has his hire.

We must either give or sell ourselves, there is no other alternative. The former is the act of freedom, the latter of slavery: you, gentlemen, will incline to that which agrees best with the propensities of your hearts."

Experience leads one to believe that much of the good which has been accomplished during the past eight years covering the administrations of Gaynor and Mitchel will continue and that then there will come another great surge forward and still further advances gained and held.

At the same time how must our gallant youth that have gone to the front feel, when the greatest city of the land deliberately hands her whole government over to men who have shown time and again that they think first of their organization and secondly and often remotely of their community.

Here is how a Philadelphia boy thought about the situation in that city:

> George wanted to know what could be done to help out "over here." I will write and tell of anything I see; but one thing is sure—that there is no fun in fighting to save democracy for a lot of grafting politicians, and nothing would put more "pep" into me than to know that the people at home were awake to their civic responsibilities. While I believe that eventually we will win out, we have a hard job on our hands and graft is as much of a foe as autocracy.

ABANDONMENT OF PARTY LINES

Philadelphia's reply is no more encouraging than New York's—but the situation is not uniformly bad throughout the country. In the vast majority of the commission- and city-manager cities party lines have disappeared and there are now over five hundred such communities. In California party lines have practically disappeared in city campaigns. Even in New York and Philadelphia, leading politicians identified with their respective parties have abandoned these parties in local contests. Elihu Root, Theodore Roosevelt, Charles E. Hughes, and William H. Taft openly supported the re-election of Mayor Mitchel and in Philadelphia no less a person than the Republican national committeeman, Senator Penrose, openly repudiated the Republican tickets and supported the Town Meeting ticket.

Dayton, Ohio, affords a very striking contrast to the metropolitan cities of the Atlantic coast. She has, by a substantial majority, endorsed her city manager charter and the admirable execution of it. At the primaries the Socialists on a light vote polled the largest vote, the opposition being divided. At the general election on November 6, however, the opposition was united and the vote in favor of the sitting members of the commission was substantial. The lowest man on the Citizens' ticket received 2,841 more votes than the highest man on the Socialist ticket.

Springfield, Ohio, is another city which by an equally substantial majority endorsed the city manager idea and its very excellent local embodiment. Progress in the smaller cities, especially those of the central and far west is much more rapid and substantial than in the larger cities of the east. In fact, political progress in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Chicago is only intermittently encouraging, whereas in most of the smaller communities of the country, and especially in the section mentioned, a larger measure of persistence is shown.

In writing to a city clerk the assistant secretary of the Union of Canadian Municipalities said:

> Sometimes, when I sit back in my chair, I think over the different temperaments of our municipal men between the Atlantic and Pacific; of their ideals, their aspirations, and their ways of striving to attain their ends.
>
> The westerner hustles and pushes, and thinks the east is mighty slow. The easterner goes slow (apparently) and quietly smiles at the western hustle and wear of energy.
>
> It is all very interesting to one in close touch with municipal men in the east, middle, and west, of our wonderful country. As I have said before I say with greater emphasis again—municipal men, our Canadian municipal men are the virile, active men of Canada, the men with ideals, public spirited, and the real backbone of our political institutions.
>
> They get many kicks and cuffs, and heaps of slander from the incompetent, the indifferent, and the incapable; and from a host of community parasites.
>
> However, general public opinion has advanced wonderfully of late, and we all are just beginning to find out that whole-hearted interest in municipal affairs is the foundation stone of all good government.

THE NEED OF A CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM

Something more than reform by protest or town meetings is necessary. There must be a constructive program persistently followed up. The political organizations set an example which reformers should follow. In many places they have, and in those places the results abundantly justify the effort. The politicians are always "on the job," the day after quite as much as the day before. Their machine is always in order. They know what they want and they go after it—usually until they get it. They vote rainy days as well as bright ones. They vote their full strength at unimportant as well as important elections—but what of the Independents and reformers? In Philadelphia there were 50,000 men who were qualified, who failed to register and 50,000 who qualified who failed to vote. Half of either group would have repudiated the brutal practices of the dominant faction and both together would have administered a rebuke from which there would have been no recovery. There is just one phrase for those 100,000—civic slackers!

There are certain municipal conditions which militate against efficiency in time of peace as well as in war. Indifference to duty is one of them. Another is the failure to recognize duties as well as rights.

STEADFASTNESS OF CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

There is a silver lining, however, to these clouds. It consists of the steadfastness with which the volunteer civic organizations are holding their grounds. They represent the regular army of civic advance. In the face of war they have shown no slightest intention to yield an inch of ground or to retire from their positions. They have added war-time duties to their regular ones. Their officers are serving the government in various capacities, but they have not given up their civic duties. They have added to the sum total of public patriotic duty. They have not substituted one form of it for another. "True municipal reform is based on actual knowledge," to use the words of the Detroit civic league, "of actual conditions. The plan is to secure better conditions by a progress which shall be permanent, not temporary. The municipal revival has given way to the personal work of the man who makes a science of the task of government, who is not afraid to co-operate with officeholders who are honest and who are doing the best they can with the antiquated machinery with which they have to work." The league might have added that they add to a stern sense of public duty an enlightened comprehension of method and a persistency of endeavor that will in the long run win the battle for civic decency and efficiency, to all of which is being added a sense of community dependency and co-operation which is making solidly and definitely for real democracy.

MUNICIPAL PENSIONS[1]

BY LAWSON PURDY

New York

IN MAKING an address as president of the League I did not a year ago and I shall not to-day attempt to review what has been done by the cities of the country during the past year because for many years the secretary of the League has so well performed that function.

A year ago I selected two subjects which seemed to me of importance and present interest. This year I propose to develop somewhat a subject concerning which I have a few words to say and that is municipal pensions—pensions of all kinds. I speak of that to-day because more and more that subject is pressing upon the people of the cities of the United States and because, on account of the war, it is being pressed upon the government of the United States.

The action of congress furnishes a text for an address on pensions because congress has adopted an entirely new course. All of you know that after the Civil War the United States started a system of pensioning disabled soldiers and dependent relatives of soldiers who had been killed. We know that in the years since the Civil War we have spent annually a greater and greater sum until very recently, and that in the aggregate the amount expended for pensions by the United States on account of the Civil War has reached enormous figures.

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[1] Presidential address at the twenty-third annual meeting of the National Municipal League, Detroit, Mich., November 21, 1917.

A NEW PRECEDENT

Congress, having that history in mind, apparently has decided that the provision for those who are maimed in battle and for the dependents of those who may be killed, shall be made once for all by means of insurance. It seems that congress does not propose to settle upon later generations a large part of the expense of this war in the manner in which it was imposed after the Civil War. Probably very few people in the United States realize the expense that lies ahead of them if the plans are carried out for pensioning civil servants that will be proposed in the course of the next few years.

For a good many years some cities of the country, not few in number, have been making some provision for aged and infirm firemen, policemen and school-teachers. Soon all cities will be doing that and many cities will be doing more. In the city of New York we have started to make provision for widows having small children to bring up. Recently seven states have appointed commissions to consider the whole subject of the care of aged and dependent persons. In doing so they are only following the example of some European countries that have already inaugurated such a policy.

NEW YORK'S COMMISSION

Recently a commission in the city of New York made an exhaustive report on the pension systems then in force in the city of New York and within the year a commission of the state of Illinois has reported upon the pension systems of Illinois. Both of these reports, the report in the city of New York and the report for the state of Illinois, show that in not one single city of the United States that has established provision for aged and infirm policemen, firemen, school-teachers or others was the system based on sound actuarial principles.

The city of New York, for a long time, made a provision of 2 per cent of the pay-roll to be set aside for firemen and I think for policemen and then certain increments to the fund were provided from certain sources of revenue,—a very careless, utterly inaccurate method of making provision.

At the time these reports were made these pension funds were either absolutely insolvent or on the verge of insolvency. The reports set forth the experience of foreign governments and foreign cities and the best actuarial computations in this country which show substantially the same thing, namely, that the cost of such pensions for the aged and infirm civil servants themselves and such provision as has been made for their dependents adds about 30 to 35 per cent to the pay-roll.

There is no city in the country that would contemplate at once establishing a system that would call for an addition to the expense of city government of 30 per cent of the pay-roll, but that is what they are facing if they establish the pension systems that to a considerable extent are now in force and that are proposed.

Usually they only propose a retiring allowance of 50 per cent of pay received in active service, or less than 50 per cent. It would be quite worthless for me to stand here and tell you these things if I had nothing to propose that would help to solve the problem that must be met, for these pension plans will be established and in my own judgment they ought to be established.

It might be worth while to say just a few words about why they ought to be established. It is practically the universal testimony of those familiar with the personnel of city departments and national and state departments as well, that because administrators have hearts they keep in the service old men and perhaps to some degree old women, too, if we have women in the civil service. Formerly we had not many; we will have many as time goes on. They keep these old men in the service long after they are able to earn in proportion to their pay.

In my own department in the city of New York we have had old men whose places were, after their death, filled for one-third the annual salary by men who did twice the work. Now just see how much cheaper it would be if those figures are 50 per cent true to retire the old man on half pay and hire a man for less than half of his former pay to do the work better and do more work than he did in his declining years!

PENSIONS A MATTER OF EFFICIENCY

From the point of view of mere efficiency in government and economy in government, it is better to pension the person who is really superannuated or infirm and hire a substitute for him than it is to keep him on at the old rate of pay. Beyond that, however, we all know that persons in receipt of small incomes (and 95 per cent of city employes are in receipt of small incomes) are unable or at least unwilling systematically to lay aside a sufficient sum to care for themselves in their old age. We are confronted with that absolute condition and I think beyond any question of doubt, the cities of the United States in time, and no very long time, will make provision for pensioning their old, worn-out employes.

It is the experience in all countries, so these reports tell us, that employes who are hired with the expectation that they will be cared for in old age regard that old age care as part of their pay and really it is part of their pay. There has been a good deal of discussion as to whether the person hired should be paid a fixed sum and his employer, the city, should contribute all of the amount in addition that is necessary to provide him with a pension or whether the employe should receive a larger sum and be compelled himself to contribute or whether that amount should be divided.

In my opinion that question is entirely immaterial as to new hirings and new contracts. It is material as to the old ones because we have here clerks hired at a hundred dollars a month or seventy-five dollars a month or a hundred and fifty dollars a month or more and if part of the pay they are now receiving is taken from them for their future pension, it is material to the city and material to the employe; but in future contracts, so long as the pay is no more than adequate for the service and in addition to the pay that is received now, there is deferred payment in the form of pension for the future, whether you call it contribution of the employe or contribution of the city is entirely immaterial.

All the employes have come to feel (where these systems have been enforced) that what they were receiving was deferred payment. It is very material, however, how much this is going to cost the cities of the country and whether the burden will be a continuing burden and so hamper all the cities of the country in their effort to do other things than care for their own employes.

ACCRUED LIABILITIES AND NEW CONTRACTS

Last year I made a proposal which has never been tried out by any public body so far as I am aware, that when we establish a pension system we should distinguish between new employes and old, between what the insurance people call accrued liabilities and new contracts, and should make such provision for the new employes that the expense after a few years would be a decreasing expense instead of an increasing one.

It can be demonstrated that for the same sum that must be appropriated to provide pensions under the present plan the same pensions can be paid by preserving intact as principal, every dollar that is paid in, and using exclusively the income of that capital fund.

There is one objection that is made to this plan, that employes who remain in the city service too short a time to receive a pension feel that they should receive back upon retirement all or part of the sum that has been paid into the pension fund for their account. That objection can be met under the plan that I propose, the retirement from the service of any employe need not deprive him of any benefit that he has expected to receive by continuing in the service until his retiring age. What should be done, I think, is this:

For every employe there should be paid into the pension fund a sum adequate to produce the result which would be no more than the sum necessary on any plan that has heretofore been proposed. It appears that it will take about 15 per cent of the pay-roll to care for the employes themselves. The other 15 per cent is required to take care of their dependents. If there is set aside 15 per cent of the pay-roll for every employe and that sum is put at interest, invested in the bonds of the city, let us say, or in such other safe security as will adequately protect the fund, and the bonds pay 4 per cent, in about thirty-five years there will be a fund sufficient to pay more than half salaries to all the survivors.

This plan does not contemplate caring for the dependents of these employes. That is another proposition which can be cared for in the same manner but I am talking now solely of the cost of caring for the employes of the city themselves after they have reached the retiring age.

A year ago I had been able to obtain the assistance of the actuary of one of the large insurance companies who made certain computations for me. I hope some time to carry those computations out so as to have a variety of illustrations. Those figures showed that if men entered the service at the average age of twenty-five years and served for forty-five years, 10 per cent of the pay-roll would give every man who retired 95 per cent of the salary that he had been receiving, substantially his whole salary.

If, instead of setting aside 10 per cent, 15 per cent were set aside, it is obvious that that point would be reached at a somewhat earlier age and if only half pay were given it would be reached at a much earlier age.

This computation shows further that after such a system had been in force in any city for a period of from fifty to seventy-five years, no further contributions on the part of the city would be necessary; the fund itself would provide an annual income adequate to pay all pensions and further adequate to pay the increment that would be necessary to care for the enlargement of the force provided the city did not grow with too great rapidity. In that event, it would only be a matter of a few more years before the increment would care for all the dependents.

RETIREMENTS AND WITHDRAWALS

If a man retires from the city service to take other employment he should be allowed to continue paying into the pension fund so that he should receive the same benefits as any other employe of the city. If he didn't choose to pay in further into the pension fund, he should be allowed to draw in proportion, at the time he had reached retiring age, to the amount that he had paid into the pension fund or that had been paid in for him. If he had served the city for ten years and 15 per cent of his pay had been turned into the pension fund, when he reached retiring age he could have the earnings of that fund; he never would lose anything by having had some sum paid into the pension fund for his benefit.

Once having established such a system for city employes, there would be no objection and there would be very great advantage in allowing every citizen that saw fit to do so to become a participant in that pension fund by paying into it such sums as might be found administratively convenient and practical. Then it would be within the power of every person in the city to provide for his old age at the minimum of expense and with the utmost certainty that he never would lose the sum that he had paid into the care of the city.

Can you imagine anything which would give the citizens of the city a greater interest in their city than that every one of them, by his own efforts, might become a participant in a great system of provision for old age for the time when he can no longer work?

The same system will apply, perforce, should it be adopted to the care of all those who might become dependent upon the city's bounty and they would be paying their own way and taking care of themselves in their old age under such conditions as they saw fit instead of being turned into great institutions which, however good they may be, are not like one's own home.

I can hardly hope in the course of a few moments to convey to you this idea of the solidarity of all the people of the city and the possibilities that this holds out in the way in which it has grown upon me through thinking of it for many years. If, by this brief presentation, I can start some one here from some city in the country to taking this subject so to heart that some city may start this system, I have perfect confidence that it will grow and spread from city to city, from state to state and to the nation itself so that all the federal employes shall in this fashion be enabled to have a certain provision for the future and so that within a brief span of time, as history is measured, it shall be without present expense to the inhabitants of the United States.

WAR TIME EXPERIENCES OF CANADIAN CITIES[1]

BY W. D. LIGHTHALL, K.C.
Montreal, Canada

IN THAT intercommunication which is of late years constantly taking place between the municipalities of the United States and those of Canada, largely through the National Municipal League and the Union of Canadian Municipalities—which I represent—our cities of Canada usually look to yours for experiences. But in the case of experiences of the present war we find the rule reversed. No sooner had you come into the conflict than your military leaders appeared at our review grounds and at our officers' training corps; your gallant soldiers were seen fraternizing with our kilties on the streets; we lent you military instructors of all ranks and services familiar with actual fighting at the front, and our returned soldiers were frequently called to your public meetings to describe the situation in Belgium and France. And to-day some of us dwellers in the larger communities in Canada have been asked to come here and try to tell something that might help your communities from what we have seen and felt during these last sad but glorious three years and a quarter.

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[1] Opening remarks of Mr. Lighthall as chairman of the session of the National Municipal League meeting at Detroit, November 23, 1917, on "War Time Experiences of Canadian Cities."

FIRST EFFECT OF THE WAR

The first effect of the war upon us is something you will never have,—a stunned sense of disastrous surprise. You also were surprised at that time, but you were not yet struck. You had some stock exchange panic, it is true, but we had far more; we knew we were actually plunged into a stupenduous conflict, for which we were absolutely without preparation. For months our banks shut down on even the most ordinary enterprises. One banker expressed it—"We may all go to pot together." A well-known capitalist sat in tears in a leading club of Montreal after vainly trying to raise a few thousand dollars to save hundred of thousands of good property. "I have lost everything: I am entirely ruined," he moaned. And he was but a type of many. But the general commercial panic—fortunately soon surmounted—was but secondary to other things, the military anxiety over the fateful fighting in France, the possibilities of invasion at home, of explosions, of destruction of our canals, railways, and buildings, and above all the anxiety over our sons and other relatives destined for the front. But the blood that runs in our veins and yours is not given to fear or loss of will. We immediately gathered thirty-three thousand eager young men in khaki and shipped them to England, with the pledge of more. We were pleased to learn that you watched their progress as kinsmen. There were not a few of you among even those immortal first crusaders. They could not resist the call of chivalry and liberty.

Then first we knew what war, though far off, meant in our cities. The wrench of the heart of the mother, and then her noble pride in the sacrifice of her son; the young wife's fears, but her trust in her brave man; the father's silent consent; the forebodings and excitements of parting. Afterwards the feverish interest in every incident of the war affecting in any way "our boy." All these you have lately had like ourselves. And here I can say something that will help each anxious parent. Do not read the news of every fight with the thought that your boy may have come to harm. On the contrary you may conclude that nothing has hurt him. Because, assuming that your war department system is like ours, the earliest news of a casualty to him will come to yourself by a government telegram before the newspapers get it. Unless and until, therefore, a telegram has come to you, assume that all is well.

WAR TIME CASUALTIES

Another fact may also help you. We read in the newspapers of many accidents every day. But in actual life serious accidents are rare. So it is with war. One reads the lists of killed and wounded, but forgets that the vast majority of the army survives. The deaths and cripplings are bad. I do not wish to minimize them. But they are apt to be overestimated and make us unduly depressed. The total deaths of our first contingent (the 33,000) are about 8 per cent in three years. In civil life about 3 per cent of them would have died anyway. Their deaths by the war were therefore one in twenty in those three years. Should the war last another year, then at the same rate your first contingent might lose one is sixty. And during the winter it ought not to be one fourth of that, because winter is not a fighting season.

Yet with all these deductions, we have had sad and grave times. To send 400,000 (soon to be 500,000) men overseas has made a drain upon our manhood equal to five or six millions from the United States. Consequently, the daily list of casualties mean much to every community. Blow after blow falls every few days. Some bright and generous youth, who a short time ago was our happy neighbor, dies in some heroic effort. We shudder at the fall of the stroke upon the unhappy mother and father. We reverence them and their signs of mourning. But each time the carrying on of the war becomes in us a deeper and deeper religion, so that the lives of our heroes shall not have been laid down in vain. We have come to regard earthly things as mattering little, and to live for glorious ideas, like the resolves of men of former great days. Our feelings, we think, resemble those of the height of your Civil War. Your present generation have yet to fully understand these stern and solemn feelings. Your oldest G. A. R. men understand them. Our churches are decorated with allied flags and "Rolls of Honor." Alas, too, memorial tablets are increasing. At the end of each service the congregation standing at attention sings a stanza of "God Save the King"; and at times, the new stanza:

God save our splendid men,
Send them safe home again:
   God save our men.
Send them victorious,
Patient and chivalrous;
They are so dear to us,
   God save our men.

ORGANIZING FOR THE WORK

Our experiences in the way of organizing to meet the various demands of the war have been many. Let me give a sketch of what has been done in the city of Montreal, whose population is about 800,000. Montreal differs from most of our places in that it is not the city hall which is the center of patriotic action but the Canadian club. It is in this ever active body that are hatched the whirlwind campaigns for the Canadian patriotic fund, for the Red Cross, and for the war loans. The Red Cross and the war loans you are familiar with—but the work of the Canadian patriotic fund is unique. It is an immense voluntary organization which keeps the wife and family of the soldier in comfort during his absence. Its whole management is perfect down to the smallest detail and it is a treat to go into the large offices and watch the despatch of innumerable applications, complaints and inquiries under the leadership of a wonderful woman, Miss Helen Reid. It has collected and administered in Montreal alone over $3,500,000. An interesting fact is that it is entirely managed by women, none of whom had previous business experience. The problem of affording club homes for the numerous uniformed men in the city is attended to by the khaki league, a voluntary institution peculiar to Montreal, and which runs many departments very popular with the soldier. Hospitals are chiefly provided by the government by means of the hospital commission, but volunteer aid detachment nurses (V. A. D.'s) have done a great deal in private institutions, together with professional nurses, some of whom have gratuitously given their time and skill.

The large numbers of returned men give rise to several other problems —such as re-educational classes for those whose wounds and mutilated limbs unfit them for their former employment. Those gassed and shell-shocked also present serious questions. They start at sudden sounds, fight battles in their dreams and require very sympathetic treatment. One question of deep importance has been how to see to it that the soldier, his sacrifices, and his war aims shall not be forgotten in the years after the war. Some of us thought the solution to have been reached by your Grand Army of the Republic. We have, therefore, aided in forming The Great War Veterans' Association which now numbers between twenty and thirty thousand and will probably when peace arrives contain four hundred thousand. It already promises to be one of the most powerful of the new influences in Canadian life. It has been imitated in Australia, and ultimately the hope is that all soldiers of the allies will be linked together in The Great War Veterans of the World. The most precious of all honors is to wear the gilt wound stripes and the button of the returned soldier.

With all our losses, our anxieties, and our stern and serious days, no Canadian worthy of the name will ever regret that our boys sprang by instinct to the help of the oppressed and took up the battle for the common liberties of mankind. You also, men and women of our blood, were bound to be there. We felt you could not keep out of it, although the stupid Hohenzollern, true to type, took your long tried patience for fear of his might.

Throughout all these conditions the place and office of municipal authorities is plain. It is to lead and to co-operate in all movements of relief and action.

WAR TIME EXPERIENCES OF TORONTO, CANADA

BY HIS WORSHIP, MAYOR T. L. CHURCH
War-time Mayor of Toronto

THIS subject is a large one to deal with at all in an adequate way. When war broke out Canada was unprepared to meet conditions and dislocations, which resulted, but recovered itself very quickly. Toronto is a city of 486,000 in population at present, with an area of about twelve miles along Lake Ontario by ten miles inland, and is almost entirely built up. Our city has sent already in the neighborhood of 60,000 soldiers overseas to fight in Flanders and in France, under the voluntary system.

War has made many changes in our city. A municipality in war time must cease spending money on local improvements and stop its capital expenditures as far as possible, except for works under construction. It should be careful not to add to the capital debt except for works which are revenue producing and absolutely necessary.

Returned soldiers should be given the preference in all civic positions exclusively.

The city should insure its soldiers who enlist in this fight for humanity. Every resident of Toronto receives one thousand dollars cash indemnity from the city.

The work of many civic departments is multiplied in war time, while in the public works department the work is lessened. The police department is overworked in war time. They have to assist the federal and state authorities as well as look after aliens and alien enemies.

Our larger cities, in winter, become a training camp for soldiers. Cities give city properties free to the government for camps for soldiers, and the city's own car lines carry the soldiers free, although the private street railway company here makes them pay a fare.

Unemployment is very largely eliminated. Owing to the work provided by munition plants and other war works labor is at a premium.

The city should take the lead in all patriotic work, such as Red Cross and patriotic funds, assisting them in every way possible. The best that a city can give the soldiers is none too good for them for all they are going to suffer for us. In Toronto the returned men are met by a band, given a civic welcome and taken to their homes in automobiles, and otherwise looked after, and as soon as discharged are found suitable positions.

Employers of labor and manufacturers when their employes return from the front should not expect 100 per cent of efficiency from them and should not reduce them to a minor position at lesser pay, for were it not for the soldier to-day the manufacturers' business would be nowhere in such a war as this.

The coal and food situation may be materially relieved by civic cooperation and the city should by joint action assist the federal and state government in regulating prices, and also in the fuel and food situations.

Proper guards should be placed on all public property. They have a twenty-four hour a day guard on our waterworks and on other public buildings. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. At the beginning of the war we had a military guard, but this has been substituted by a civil guard under the control of the police department.

Officers of all ranks should not forget that the soldier of to-day is a civilian. The men should be treated properly, not as inferiors. This is a democratic country and the men have left their civil positions for the good of the colors and civilization. While discipline is necessary there should be a democratic spirit between the officers and men of all ranks.

The people are severally taxed by federal and state enactments and while the municipality's expenditures are doubled for war purposes, their revenues are becoming depleted all the time; but the assessment of the city in war time should as much as possible not be interfered with. The province imposed a war tax of one mill on the dollar per annum on the assessment of the city.

We have 60,000 soldiers from Toronto on active service, but only some 50,000 are included in the civic insurance inasmuch as they had not all been residing in the municipality prior to 1914.

The city should assist the soldiers in seeing that they get proper transports, assist in notifying their relatives, have a civic bureau to look after the soldiers' wants and needs. The city should pay the difference between the military pay and the civic salaries of its own employes who have joined the colors, while they are on active service.

The war is a gigantic affair and rigid economy should be practiced. American cities should not make the great mistake that Toronto has made of assuming too many federal responsibilities. Toronto has spent vast sums to assist recruiting which the federal government should have paid. We have given over to the government a ten-million dollar property known as the Canadian National Exhibition Grounds and buildings to house the troops for eight months of the year.

Preparations to receive the returned men should be made, as in less than a year they will be coming back in large numbers to the United States wounded and medically unfit. Now is the time to prepare a hospital scheme and local hospitals to take care of the situation before it is too late.

Sports in war time are not a luxury, but a necessity. They help perfect the training of the troops. The troops in training must have some recreation, and in each military district there is a military sporting programme for all seasons of the year on a large scale. It is a good thing to have a sportsmen's patriotic association in each city to collect funds from the theatres and elsewhere to provide Christmas presents for the men overseas and their children and dependents at home. The sending of sporting goods to the training camps and to the men overseas is a commendable form of help. Soldiers should have their own military police to deal with breaches of discipline on the streets, especially in the evenings. Our civil police do not interfere with the soldiers. They are left to their own military police to deal with them. Two hundred and fifty soldiers each night patrol the streets all over the city for a few hours, and they look after their own men, although the conduct of the troops has been most admirable.

The curtailment of sports in war time is a mistake, although the money collected from sports should go to patriotic uses.

The railways should give cheap fares to the soldiers for week-end trips.

Adequate leave should be given to the married men with the colors from time to time in the training camps to visit their families, on week-end passes. The authorities should not forget that while discipline is necessary, the men in training have families and home ties. Liberal leave and passes should be given at all times, but not to interfere with the training. Arrangements should be made by the city to get information re casualties and have the news properly announced to the suffering families.

The women's organizations of the city are the backbone "in keeping the home fires burning,"—as it were. Toronto has made a splendid showing in regard to money contributions—the best of the cities in His Majesty's overseas dominions. The women encouraged their men to enlist, and did not make it hard for them to do so. They also did great work in the Red Cross and other patriotic campaigns.

All contributions for patriotic purposes should be under civic control. If not some fraud is bound to be practiced on the public. A license should be obtained from the chief of police or other civic agency before anyone is authorized to collect for patriotic purposes. This will prevent overlapping and any imposition on the public from countless appeals.

The commercial men and manufacturers have done nobly in this war, and vie with each other as to who can do most for their employes with the colors. The churches and the pulpit have also done splendid work and their co-operation is most essential and necessary, also the school children and the boy scouts and other fraternal societies.

Military hospitals should be provided for in the cities with lots of surrounding grounds. Every city should have a large base hospital for its troops in training and those returning.

The following is a summary of the war disbursements and liabilities assumed by the city of Toronto since the war started amounting to over $7,000,000.

WAR DISBURSEMENTS AND LIABILITIES OF CITY OF TORONTO, TO OCTOBER 31, 1917

1.	Insurance of soldiers	$2,680,087.55
2.	Canadian patriotic fund	300,000.00
3.	Canadian patriotic and Canadian Red Cross fund	500,000.00
4.	British Red Cross	250,000.00
5.	Overseas Y. M. C. A. fund	25,000.00
6.	Canadian Red Cross	20,504.40
7.	Italian Red Cross	5,000.00
8.	French Red Cross	2,500.00
9.	Belgian relief fund	25,000.00
10.	Palestine war relief fund	2,500.00
11.	British sailors relief fund	25,000.00
12.	Seamen's hospital fund	2,000.00
13.	Canadian war veterans' association	11,000.00
14.	Sportsmen's patriotic association	2,500.00
15.	Maple leaf club	500.00
16.	War prisoners' relief fund	5,000.00
17.	Purchase of aeroplanes	22,800.00
18.	Purchase horses, rifles, ammunition	69,930.45
19.	Salaries of enlisted civic employes	975,274.35
20.	Food, clothing, etc., for soldiers overseas	16,052.96
21.	Maintenance and temporary barracks	14,853.11
22.	Recruiting grants to battalions, etc.	67,083.02
23.	Wages paid to those protecting city property	333,073.84
24.	Paid to soldiers for picket duty	945.00
25.	Rent of hospital and hospital accommodation	13,386.42
26.	Receiving returned soldiers and miscellaneous	11,951.23
27.	Provincial war taxes, 1915–1916–1917	1,736,357.00
	Total	$7,118,299.33

This large total is being added to through the falling in of life insurance which the city is carrying. The number of lives now covered by insurance is 41,645, of which 32,596 are carried by the city, involving a contingent liability of no less than $32,596,000. The remaining 9,049 are carried by life insurance companies, at an annual charge of approximately $176,000.00.

The following are the gross assessments of the city for 1914, 1915, 1916, and 1917:

1914	$513,380,984
1915	565,300,294
1916	589,036,455
1917	592,123,873
1918 (unrevised)	605,107,430

The Toronto harbor is being rebuilt at a cost of $26,000,000 of which the city contributes $20,000,000. Notwithstanding the war, these works are not being shut down, because they are, in the main, revenue producing. The British forgings plant, on which three and a half millions has been spent, has located on the harbor property, which would not have been secured if the harbor had been closed down. They are manufacturing munitions.

The following is a statement of the amount of money collected by the city of Toronto towards the patriotic fund and the patriotic Red Cross:

First patriotic appeal	$1,100,000
Second patriotic appeal (of which $250,000 given to Canadian Red Cross)	2,400,000
Third patriotic appeal	3,300,000
British Red Cross Appeals:	
(1) Appeal no. 1	$550,000
(2) Appeal no. 2	740,000
(3) Appeal no. 3	837,000
Secours National:	
Amount of cash subscriptions	$104,157
Value of different kind of goods contributed	200,000

REPRESENTATION IN DAYTON AND ASHTABULA

BY RAYMOND MOLEY
Western Reserve University

SHOULD the city council of the future be large or small? Should it be chosen by wards or at large? If chosen at large, should the Hare system of proportional representation be used or should it be partially renewed at alternate elections? These are questions of paramount importance to cities contemplating charter changes. Moreover, they are questions of fundamental interest to everyone connected with the theory or process of government. The answers to them involve the future of the representative system.

The recent elections in two Ohio cities that have braved the uncertainties of governmental experimentation, are rich in practical lessons for those who seek a better type of representative government. Ashtabula and Dayton are both governed through city manager charters. Both have had two elections under the new system and both have received a considerable amount of notice from students of city government. On account of the dissimilarity of the methods used in the two cities in choosing their commissions, a comparative study seems appropriate at this time.

It must be frankly stated that the difference in size of Dayton and Ashtabula very largely detracts from the value of the comparison. Dayton has a population of 140,000 while Ashtabula is only an eighth as large. This means that Dayton has in a great measure outgrown the characteristics of a small city while Ashtabula retains a considerable amount of provincialism. Nevertheless, both are alike in general economic interests and in the fact that their populations include a large proportion of the foreign born.

DAYTON'S ELECTION

The manager plan was adopted in Dayton in the period following the great flood, which almost prostrated the business life of the community. John H. Patterson, president of the National Cash Register Company, the hero of the flood, became the chief statesman of the reconstruction. A non-partisan organization was formed which promoted the formation of a new charter and nominated five candidates for the new commission. These were all elected. Four were business men and one a labor unionist. In the election of 1915 one of the non-partisan members was displaced by a Democrat. During the past two years a considerable feeling has developed among the laboring classes that they have not been properly represented in the government. Much of the criticism that has been leveled at the singularly efficient and vigorous administration of Manager Waite can safely be attributed to this disaffection. This feeling the Socialists carefully stimulated, and in the pre-primary campaign of 1917 they skilfully capitalized it. In the primaries the three Socialist candidates ran far ahead of all others,[1] with the non-partisan commissioners winning the other places on the ticket. The defeated Democrats threw all of their strength to the support of the Citizens' ticket in the pre-election campaign.

The campaign was sensational and bitterly fought by both sides. The Citizens' candidates stood on their record, claiming support on the basis of the increased efficiency and economy of the Waite administration. With the exception of a Socialist weekly, they had all of the newspaper support of the city. Governor Cox, a citizen of Dayton, supported the Citizens' candidates both in person and through his newspaper. The "extravagancies and failures" of the "local capitalistic clique" received the attention of the Socialists. They made few specific promises, however, of changes in the policy or administration of the government. They did not commit themselves against the city-manager form of government nor against Manager Waite himself. The campaign was full of generalities and practically no local issue of importance was raised upon which the two sides actually differed.

The most important feature of the later weeks of the campaign was the attitude of the Socialist party on the war. The candidates themselves seem to have made no specific criticism of the national government, but their unquestioned adherence to Socialist principles was used by the opposition with telling effect. The "red flag of revolution" was used to characterize the men who were claiming the support of the voters of the city. The following challenge to the voters upon the front page of one of the newspapers is notable:

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. vi, p. 623.

"The red flag which is carried by the Socialists of this country is the flag of destruction, disloyalty and dishonor.

"The Star Spangled Banner is the flag of patriotism, of virtue, of liberty and of justice.

"Under which flag do you stand?" The Socialists replied that they were not disloyal and taunted their critics with the counter charge that the Citizens' candidates were "wrapping themselves in the flag."

The election resulted as follows:

Switzer, non-partisan	17,248
Schroyer, non-partisan	16,661
Mendenhall, non-partisan	16,474
Barringer, Socialist	13,633
Geisler, Socialist	12,248
Farrell, Socialist	11,940

The Socialists, polling 42 per cent of the total vote cast, were unable to displace a single member of the existing commission.

ASHTABULA'S ELECTION

Ashtabula is a city of about 17,000 population, composed of two parts, two miles distant from each other, the harbor and the city proper. The harbor is the part surrounding the ore docks and is largely populated with foreign born. It is noteworthy that proportional representation has been introduced into America through a trial in a city with a real problem in geographical representation, and that less complaint has been voiced within the past two years by residents of the harbor, on the grounds of discrimination in favor of the city proper, than ever before.

The first election in Ashtabula under proportional representation, held in 1915, resulted in the election of a commission of seven members, representative of widely diversified interests. "The business element may be said to have three representatives. The Irish, Swedes and Italians each elected a member of the council. The Socialists elected a member. On the liquor issue three of the successful are pronounced drys, three are classed as liberals and one is very wet!"[2]

Two years' experience under the new system seems to have satisfied its friends and silenced its enemies. No demand has been made for a change. The consensus of opinion seems to be that the commission elected in 1915 adequately represented all shades of opinion and all types of interests. After the commission took office, in 1916, a city manager was selected. For this position the commission selected a local man who had been closely identified with partisan politics for many years. He did not carry the spirit of partisanship into the administration of his new position, appreciating the fact that his tenure depended upon the coalition of local interests which had no relation to the old party alignments. His appointments were not partisan; he abolished a number of useless positions and in the general administration of affairs displayed a large amount of common sense and of sympathy with the special needs of the community. Perhaps the cause of good city government can sometimes best be served through such a gradual transition from the old partisanship.

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[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 36.

The issues in the election just held differed somewhat from those of 1915. The question of prohibition, which was important then, has been eliminated on account of the fact that the city has since gone dry. No avowed Socialist was a candidate and the war was not mentioned in connection with the municipal election. No attention seemed to be given to the national party affiliations of any candidate. In this connection it may be asserted with positive emphasis that in the municipal affairs of Ashtabula there is no Republican or Democratic alignment at the present time. Few people seem to know and no one cares for the national party to which the candidates belong. The only issue upon which concerted effort was made by a well defined group of voters was religious. Some weeks before the election a dispute between the Guardians of Liberty and the Roman Catholics concerning the use of a school building for an anti-Catholic lecture ended in the courts. As a consequence, the Guardians of Liberty selected four candidates from among the sixteen and concentrated their efforts upon the task of electing them. Instructions were given to voters to express choices only for these four candidates, and on election day marked sample ballots were passed out in large numbers by representatives of the anti-Catholic group.

The outstanding fact in the election returns[3] was the election of Rinto, Amsden, Swedenborg and Mack, the candidates endorsed by the Guardians of Liberty. In addition to these, Hogan and McClure, former commissioners, and William E. Boynton were successful.

COMPOSITION OF ASHTABULA'S NEW COMMISSION

The new commission seems to be as representative of the expressed will of the voters as the one elected in 1915. Rinto is a young lawyer of Finnish descent. His standing with the Finns is shown by the fact that he received two thirds of all the votes cast in the precincts inhabited by voters of that nationality. His residence is in the harbor district and he was by all odds the choice of the voters of that section. This preference, coupled with the endorsement by the Guardians of Liberty, accounts for his large vote. Amsden is a dock superintendent for a large coal corporation. He received strong support in the precincts in which most of his employes reside. Swedenborg is the proprietor of a small manufacturing establishment. He is known as a substantial Swedish-American citizen and he received almost the entire vote of the members of his nationality. Mack is a foreman in a printing establishment. His greatest strength was in the middle class precincts. Hogan is a leading physician and a Roman Catholic. He was elected in 1915 and was president of the first commission. He seems to have received strong support from the Roman Catholics. The strength of the anti-Catholic bloc is shown in the fact that in the distribution of Rinto's 143 surplus votes, Hogan received not one. Boynton was a member of the commission which wrote the city charter, and it was largely due to his efforts that proportional representation was adopted. He is a railway engineer, a member of the brotherhood of locomotive engineers, and a life-long friend of labor. McClure is a department manager in a large retail store. He is one of the two hold-over members of the commission. Corrado, elected in 1915 after long service in the city council, was representative of the "wet" interests as well as of the Italian voters. In this election he was defeated in the final count. His election in 1915 did not add to the quality of the council, but it was evident that he was chosen by interests sufficient to be represented. In the present election he lost a large part of the Italian vote.

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[3] See the result sheet at the end of this article.

The council chosen is representative of all the elements of the city which seemed to desire representation. There is no labor vote in Ashtabula such as is found in larger cities. The city is predominantly middle class with the addition of a foreign born element which seeks representation of nationality and creed rather than economic interest. There is evidence in the Ashtabula election to indicate that sectional preferences may function very easily in the proportional representation system. The harbor is represented. Three of the four wards of the city are represented.

The habit of voters in the small city to prefer candidates who live nearby is shown in the first-choice votes in the precincts. In twelve of the sixteen precincts the candidate receiving the highest number of votes was a resident of that precinct. This indicates that proportional representation does not eliminate locality representation when it is genuinely sought by the voters. The virtue of proportional representation as shown in the Ashtabula election is in the fact that while the voters were not restricted to candidates living near them, they had the opportunity to retain all of the benefits of the old system.

DAYTON'S DIVISION

The experiences of Dayton and Ashtabula throw much light upon the claims which have been urged for proportional representation as a method of selecting a city council.

The claim has been made by opponents of proportional representation that while election at large under the Dayton plan tends to divide the community into two permanent groups, proportional representation would increase the number of permanent groups to a number practically equivalent to the membership of the commission. There is much evidence to show that such a permanent division is already present in Dayton. In the primaries the Democratic organization placed three candidates in the field. Prior to the adoption of the city-manager charter Dayton was normally Democratic and the organization of that party was very strong. The strength of the new Citizens' party is shown by the fact that it defeated the Democrats. It is fair to assume that the Citizens' party, if it seeks continuity of power, will in the future perfect its already well organized power. The Socialist party will probably become the chief competitor of the Citizens' group, and the politics of Dayton for a long time will be dominated by these two groups.

ASHTABULA'S RELIGIOUS GROUPING

It is early to prophecy as to the future of party divisions in Ashtabula. The recent election resulted in the victory of four candidates supported by an anti-Catholic movement which had existed only a few weeks. The history of the country tells us that political organizations which originate in religious quarrels are seldom permanent. The opposition of the anti-Catholic group in Ashtabula is directed at the Roman Catholic Church as a religious institution rather than at any economic power that it may possess. For this reason the opposition group is not likely to reveal much solidarity. Other temporary issues will come which will, like this religious quarrel, function through the proportional system. The system gives possibility for this constantly shifting alignment. That it will result in the formation of a number of permanent parties is not to be expected.

As life increases in complexity, interests not only become more diversified but lose more and more of their permanency. To give to voters sixteen or more avenues of choice is more in keeping with this evolution than to adopt a system which tends to divide a community into two permanent parties. The need of a modern community is a method of choosing representatives which will allow the most complete freedom to the changing interests which will present themselves. It is unnecessary to provide artificial party divisions in a democracy. These divisions will act through the government if our system of representation offers the opportunity. The pressure of want, the grip of tradition, and the attraction of like for like can be trusted to provide political impulse and guidance. Proportional representation, more than any other system that has yet been devised, offers the flexibility necessary for the free play of these forces. If we frankly recognize the presence of these interests in society and believe in a government which offers them the opportunity to reach an equilibrium we can scarcely escape the logic of proportional representation.

The tactics of the Guardians of Liberty indicate the method which we may expect a group to adopt in seeking control of a legislative body elected by proportional representation. In this case the election of four members is indicative of the accuracy of the estimation by the anti-Catholics of their own strength. However, if they had chosen to work for six or seven candidates, the ultimate result would have been the same, although probably Rinto and Amsden would not have been elected so early in the count. If the strength of the group had been equal to only two-sevenths of the vote cast, the fact that four members were supported would not in the smallest degree have injured the opportunity of the group to gain two members, their just quota.

The practical result of this is to throw representatives of conflicting interests together at the meetings of the commission. Their differences may be subjected to frank discussion. This is surely more conducive to an intelligent understanding by all of the various points of view than the operation of a system which makes of the minority a critical element shut out entirely from participation in the government.

The stock argument of opponents of proportional representation is that it is too complicated. This tends, they say, to lessen interest in elections and to discourage the exercise of the suffrage. The result sheet shows that very few voters failed to use second and third choices, while the vast majority expressed seven or more preferences. Very few ballots were invalid on account of improper marking. In 1915 10 per cent of the votes cast were invalid. In 1917 this fell to 7 per cent. This is not an unusual number of invalid ballots for any election. The reason why most of these ballots were invalid was the fact that crosses instead of numbers were used in marking preferences. When we consider that Ashtabula has a very large number of foreign born voters who have not been citizens many years and add to this the thought that making crosses is almost as much of an Anglo-Saxon heritage as representative government itself, this slight reversion to habit is not remarkable.

It may be well to remind the reader that under the Hare system all first choices are counted by the precinct officers immediately after the close of the polls. The ballots on which first choices are indicated for a candidate are put into an envelope bearing his name and the number of ballots thus deposited. After this is done for each candidate, all envelopes are sent to the central election board, who have charge of the tabulation of transfers.

TECHNIQUE OF NEW SYSTEM

The election officials at Ashtabula have thoroughly mastered the technique of the new system and the process takes no more time than the old system. The counting and tabulation by the central board this year took less than five hours, which would not have exceeded four had not a precinct official made an error in his returns. The tabulation requires care and accuracy, which is of course true of any system of vote counting.

In this connection a recent article in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW[4] contains a statement which betrays a grave lack of understanding of the practical methods used in counting the votes. It is asserted that the practical working of proportional representation is so involved in technicalities that under it election officials would have more opportunity for fraud. In Ashtabula all ballots, after being sorted by precinct officials, were enclosed in sealed envelopes and sent to the central board. The count took place in the afternoon of the day following the election. The public was admitted and a number of the spectators amused themselves by tabulating on sheets of their own the transfers as announced. The whole proceeding was as open and as free from mystery as the drawing of the draft numbers in Washington last June. The imperative need for accuracy, the check which the result sheet provides, and the presence of spectators renders fraud practically impossible.

The comparison of representation in Dayton with that possessed by Ashtabula is most significant. In Dayton 42 per cent of the voters are manifestly without representation in the government. This minority has in the campaign been stigmatized as pro-Kaiser and anti-American, and it will not have for at least two years an opportunity to express its criticism within the body which, according to our theory of government, is the mirror for reflecting all classes and all interests. Within the commission is regularity and a cohesion solidified by the fires of a bitter campaign. Without is a large body of citizens gathering its forces for another onslaught two years hence. No doubt this system which provides periodical life or death struggles is productive of a certain kind of stimulation and is interesting to that which Veblen designates as the "habitual bellicose frame of mind." But there may be difference of opinion whether it constitutes an approach to a higher type of democracy.

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[4] Proportional Representation: A Fundamental or a Fad, Herman G. James, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 306.

ASHTABULA, OHIO. ELECTION OF COUNCIL, NOVEMBER 6, 1917

Number of Valid Ballots, 3,176 Number of Seats, 7 Quota or Constituency $\left(\frac{\text{No. of valid ballots}}{\text{No. of seats} + 1} +\right) = 398$

Names of Candidates	Total First choice Ballots	Transfer of Surplus Ballots	Result	Transfer of De Rosa's Ballots	Result	Transfer of Neill's Ballots	Result	Transfer of Boerngen's Ballots	Result	Transfer of Koski's Ballots	Result	Transfer of Bartram's Ballots	Result	Transfer of Candela's Ballots	Result	Transfer of Tilton's Ballots	Result	Transfer of Reed's Ballots	Result	Final Result
Amsden	348	+ 50	398	Elected																Elected
Bartram	104	+ 6	110	0	110	+ 2	112	+ 4	116	+ 4	120	−120	Defeated							
Boerngen	69	+ 1	70	0	70	+ 2	72	− 72	Defeated											
Boynton	228	+ 5	233	+ 1	234	+ 1	235	+ 9	244	+ 4	248	+ 33	281	+ 13	294	+ 46	340	+ 45	385	Elected
Candela	154	+ 3	157	+ 4	161	+ 4	165	+ 2	167	+ 2	169	+ 6	175	−175	Defeated					
Corrado	214	+ 1	215	+ 4	219	+ 4	223	0	223	+ 17	240	+ 2	242	+ 13	255	+ 2	257	+ 5	262	Defeated
De Rosa	19	0	19	− 19	Defeated															
Hogan	357	0	357	+ 1	358	+ 3	361	+ 4	365	+ 12	377	+ 4	381	+ 17	398	Elected				Elected
Koski	90	+ 2	92	+ 1	93	+ 5	98	+ 2	100	−100	Defeated									
Mack	196	+ 21	217	+ 1	218	+ 4	222	+ 6	228	+ 4	232	+ 9	241	+ 9	250	+ 26	276	+ 66	342	Elected
McClure	200	+ 7	207	0	207	+ 5	212	+ 11	223	+ 17	240	+ 11	251	+ 6	257	+ 40	297	+ 64	361	Elected
Neill	52	+ 3	55	0	55	− 55	Defeated													
Reed	196	+ 3	199	0	199	+ 3	202	+ 10	212	+ 2	214	+ 8	222	+ 1	223	+ 24	247	−247	Defeated	
Rinto	541	−143	398	Elected																Elected
Swedenborg	255	+ 38	293	0	293	+ 3	296	+ 4	300	+ 10	310	+ 23	333	+ 34	367	+ 25	392	+ 6	398	Elected
Tilton	153	+ 3	156	0	156	+ 7	163	+ 6	169	+ 8	177	+ 20	197	+ 4	201	−201	Defeated			
Non-transferable ballots				+ 7	7	+ 12	19	+ 14	33	+ 20	53	+ 4	57	+ 78	135	+ 38	173	+ 61	234	
Total valid ballots	3,176		3,176		3,176		3,176		3,176		3,176		3,176		3,176		3,176		3,176	

THE NOVEMBER MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, 1917

BY THE EDITOR

QUITE naturally the New York and Philadelphia municipal elections claim the largest share of general public attention, and because they went the way they did cast a gloom, which only a wider survey will dispel. If one looks at the results in the middle-sized cities of the country, and especially those in the state of Ohio, one may take courage to go forward. It was not always so in Ohio. There was a time when her cities afforded grave cause for concern, but since the adoption of the municipal home rule amendment in 1912 (whether because of it or irrespective of it) there has been a steady progress.

DAYTON

Dayton has, ever since she adopted the commission-manager form of government, occupied a prominent place in the national eye. Her government had distinctly made good under the city managership of Henry M. Waite, and this autumn the question arose as to whether her citizenry would support the advances which had been accomplished or would turn her affairs over to the representatives of discontent.

In August the situation was dubious indeed. The Socialist candidates were the top men in the poll, the Citizens' candidates coming next but quite a way behind. In the words of a Socialist leader: "The great victory of the Socialists in Dayton, Ohio, at the primary election in August, was won squarely on the anti-war issue, and any attempt to minimize the significance of the victory is an effort to hoodwink the rest of the country. The contest was clearly between the business interests and the workers, and the workers registered their protest against the war, and voted for peace."

This clearly indicated the reactionary result: the determination of a municipal election on national issues (and right here it may be observed that Mayor Mitchel and his friends made the great mistake of trying to give to the New York campaign a national character). The friends of progress in Dayton, however, forced the issue—which was admirably expressed in a leaflet headed "Community Insurance." Its first page read:

> Take out a POLICY with Good Government—the safest insurance in the United States.
>
> The only PREMIUM is your VOTE.
>
> The LIFE OF THE POLICY is four more years. RENEW your policy of four years ago.
>
> To vote for Messrs. Switzer, Shroyer and Mendenhall, is merely to secure insurance against civic and industrial turmoil.
>
> Can YOU afford to let it LAPSE?

The campaign was lively from the start and easily maintained the statement that the city hall news had displaced the sporting and the market news in the daily papers.[1]

DAYTON'S OPPONENTS

Dayton gave the response that was expected and is now preparing to go forward to justify the expectations aroused by the campaign. In the words of the Dayton *Journal*, a persistent supporter of the Citizens' candidates from the start:

> A splendid yet grave responsibility now rests upon the commission. They have the chance now to establish non-partisan government as an institution and a model for every American municipality.
>
> Our government has given the people an honest and efficient administration. The interests of the taxpayer have been protected as a sacred trust. Now we must go further. Our government must be more humanized and get down close to the masses of the people, and their neighborhood wants and needs must be looked after with effective care and promptness. In the years to come this policy of making the masses of the people part of the government and engaging their intimate interest in the government must grow in power and scope so that the interest in honest and efficient municipal goverment under the Dayton non-partisan plan will reach into every working man's home in this splendid community.
>
> Now that the great victory for good government has been won, the real work of progress and the accomplishment of greater things must begin. New conditions are forming, events plainly indicate that humanity must be a brotherhood, working in co-operation and sympathy that every man and woman may get a fair deal. Happiness and contentment and progress must include all the people, not some of the people. And so far as our municipal government can work to this end, no stone must be left unturned to establish and maintain a progressive policy based on the broadest humanity and sympathy with those who toil, the working men and women who by their loyalty to right things, their loyalty to their country and their approval of an honest and sincere endeavor to give them good municipal government, made the victory in Dayton possible.

SPRINGFIELD, OHIO

Springfield, Ohio, is another city in which municipal issues decided the election and integrity and efficiency won the day. The splendid record of City Manager Ashburner was endorsed. The candidates at the primaries for the three offices to be filled in the city commission were the three members of the commission whose terms expire on January 1, also three Socialists and one other candidate, a former councilman of the old political stripe. The primary vote resulted in the nomination of the three members of the commission, two Socialists and the former politician, from which three were to be elected. The three commissioners received very heavy pluralities over the other candidates and the election of all three was well assured from the start, and their primary pluralities were turned into substantial majorities at the general election, the vote being nearly two to one.

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[1] For results see Dr. Moley's article in this issue.

SANDUSKY

In Sandusky an awkward and distressing situation has existed since the beginning of the city manager régime, resulting in the enforced retirement of one city manager and of a mayor, the latter on account of his inability to secure a renewal of his bond and the resignation of two commissioners. It is difficult to sum up the difficulties in a single paragraph, but a contributing factor of considerable importance was a free lance commissioner who seemed to be more interested in creating trouble and difficulties than in working out a constructive program. This disturbing element has been curtailed through its failure to elect its slate.

TOLEDO, OHIO

In Toledo the municipal campaign resolved itself into a contest between the Socialists running on a pacifist platform and the pro-war people who united on the candidate that was brought forth by the local Democratic organization. The Socialists were defeated, receiving about one third of the votes cast.

Toledo's charter provides for non-partisan nomination and election. As a result of the primaries, however, three candidates who represented very definite groups, if not actual party organizations, were nominated. Cornell Schreiber, the mayor-elect, was formerly city solicitor under the Whitlock administration. Two years ago he ran for the nomination as mayor, but was eliminated in the primaries. This year he had the support of the Democratic organization and received the highest number of votes in the primaries. George M. Murphey, formerly chief of police, was the second nominee for mayor. He was a Republican in politics and had also gathered around him the anti-Catholic elements in the community. The third nominee was the Socialist, Robert T. Haworth, a machinist.

Mr. Murphey died shortly after he was nominated and it was found that the charter made no provision for appointing a substitute. This left the contest between Schreiber and the Socialist. Before Murphey's death it was evident that in spite of the non-partisan provisions of the charter the contest would be along national party lines. Democrats were to vote for Schreiber, Republicans for Murphey, and the Socialists for Haworth. After Murphey's death part of his campaign committee endorsed the Socialist candidate but this was repudiated by other members of the committee.

While the interest of the election was centered mainly in the mayoralty contest, the organized political elements of the community under cover of the non-partisan provisions of the charter were working for the control of the council. The result of the election shows three Socialist councilmen, six Republicans, and seven Democrats.

This year Toledo abolished its police court and its justice courts, and in their place substituted a municipal court with four judges who would divide the criminal and civil dockets among them. The election of the municipal judges excited a great deal of local interest and the old police court judge and two of the former city judges were elected as judges of the municipal court. The fourth was a popular young progressive Republican.

The Socialists made an attempt to capture the school board, three of the five members of which were to be elected. One of the Socialists came close to election, but most of their candidates were far behind. The two members of the present board who were candidates were re-elected.

The wet and dry issues were hotly contested and the wets won. Six different bond issues and special levies were submitted. All of them but one carried, and that one was to provide a special tax levy for maintaining the branch public libraries which have recently been built.

The fact that Toledo voted for saloons and against public libraries would be more significant if the vote on the questions submitted to the people really represented their intelligent choice. As a matter of fact, however, much of the voting was pure guess work. The long ballot in Toledo has been abolished and a great many short ballots substituted for it, each voter receiving nine different ballots when he entered the voting booth.

OTHER OHIO CITIES

In Akron the new charter issue carried by 1,500 majority and the 15 candidates for the charter board endorsed by the citizens committee of 100 were elected. The Socialist candidate for mayor received 375 less votes than the total Socialist vote for mayor two years ago.

The Columbus election was over subordinate offices, but the civic league was quite well pleased that no one was elected whom it had not approved.

There was very little of general interest in the Cleveland election. The present mayor was re-elected on a preferential vote which was as follows:

	First Choice	Second Choice	Other Choices	Totals
Harry L. Davis	48,827	4,819	1,651	55,297
W. A. Stinchoomb	32,837	5,511	1,801	40,149
C. E. Ruthenberg	21,378	4,625	1,642	27,645
Hugh F. Taylor	2,173	6,736	3,740	12,649
E. B. Bancroft	2,693	5,655	3,943	12,291

Davis' plurality—15,148 all choice votes

Following the precedent established six years ago, the civic league expressed no opinion on the merits of the respective candidates for this office, because they were sufficiently well known and the principles for which they stand so fully discussed in the press.

Cincinnati has adopted a home rule charter, being the last large city in the state to take advantage of the home rule amendments.

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS

East St. Louis, Illinois, sprang into an unenviable notoriety last summer through a race riot that shocked and horrified the state and country. The need for a change in the local government became glaringly apparent and as a first step a movement to inaugurate a commission form of government was inaugurated. In spite of the organized opposition of the city officials and the allied liquor interests and machine politicians, the commission form of government proposition carried, by a two to one vote. The significant feature of the revolution was the activity of women for the commission form. A fourth of the votes cast for the proposition were women's votes, and the women used automobiles during the day in getting men to go to the polls. Without the aid of the women, the step could not have been accomplished, even in face of the disgraceful exhibition of lax government and aggressive crime which the city has just had.

But the East St. Louis people must not think they have finished the reformation of the city, as the editor of a neighboring paper pointed out. The machine politicians will at once begin adjusting themselves to the new condition. They were against the adoption of the commission form, but now that it is adopted, they will try to use it. They will have their slate of candidates for commissioners, and will depend upon the lack of cohesion on the part of the reform element to elect their slate. And if they succeed in electing their candidates, government under the new form may be as rotten as under the old form. Changing the system of government gives better opportunity for efficiency, but if the wrong men are elected, the whole scheme may fall through.

DETROIT

In Detroit the chief issue was the revision of its charter and charter revision carried by a vote of 27,422 to 9,994. The proposal for a small council (about nine) elected at large on a non-partisan ballot carried by 23,637 to 10,852. The aldermen's amendment to the present charter calling for one alderman to a ward after January 1, 1919, at $2,000 per annum, carried by 18,966 to 16,331. Mayor Marx and some others who campaigned in behalf of charter revision, differed with the citizens' league in favoring this third measure. Many voters voted for it, thinking it meant "small council." Only nine candidates for charter commission could be elected and only nine were nominated. They were brought out solely by the efforts of the citizens' league.

The vote is a vindication of the citizens' league policy and plans. All the elements of so-called "good government" were with it, including all the newspapers. In spite of the war interest it got out a fair vote. "In time of war prepare for peace" was the basis of the argument for refusing to postpone this question. The league was opposed publicly and vigorously by an organization of ward aldermen, with whom were working a small group of I. W. W. radicals assuming to represent union labor. Yet even in the "lower" precincts there were good majorities for the measure.

The campaign was waged by organization of voters in the big factories, churches, and through letters to the 18,674 signers of our initiative petitions. Many meetings were held, particularly in the factories at noon hours, and newspaper publicity was a great help. The big fight, however, will come with submission of the completed charter.

BUFFALO

Buffalo has a commission-government charter with the usual non-partisan features, but this year's mayoralty election was fought out on partisan lines, the Democrats supporting the sitting mayor, Louis P. Fuhrman, and the Republicans, George S. Buck. The latter was preferred by the Buffalo municipal league and was elected by a handsome majority. Concerning his public work the league said:

> George S. Buck, county auditor 1912–1917; he voted for the public interest on all our nine test measures occurring during his term as supervisor, except one, on which he was not recorded; he was a leader in the great transformation which has taken place in the board of supervisors; he has been a most efficient county auditor and has saved the county thousands of dollars annually through a budget system, careful accounting, appraisal and inventory of county property and through improved specifications which have resulted in real competitive bidding and through drafting the bill resulting in a county purchasing agent; has a large knowledge of municipal affairs. Of late years the auditor has some of the functions of a mayor to the county. He was a worker for the existing new charter, but has refused to sign the above home rule charter pledge.

NIAGARA FALLS

While Niagara Falls has the city-manager form of government, candidates for all offices were nominated under the old charter, which the manager plan was designed to displace. The constitutionality of the city-manager charter is contested. Justice Bissell has decided that it is unconstitutional and he has been upheld by the appellate division. The question is now before the court of appeals. Arguments were made November 19.

If the present form of government is declared constitutional then only two members of the council should have been elected. If it is declared unconstitutional, then a mayor, president of the common council, city treasurer, overseer of the poor, three assessors, and thirteen aldermen, a full city government ticket would be required by the old charter, but the city-manager government was vindicated by the handsome victory achieved by the People's ticket, nominated by the Republicans. The election was practically a clean sweep for the Republicans, who were committed to the city-manager form, and whose platform declared for a continuance of that form through the establishment of a legal charter.

Maxwell M. Thompson, who headed the People's ticket, was elected over George H. Courter, who ran on the Citizens' ticket, by a plurality of 607 votes. All three of the Republican candidates for assessor were elected. It is in the election of these three candidates that the people expressed themselves on one of the main issues of the campaign, the question of assessed valuations and the tax rate. The Democrats made their fight on the declaration that the people had been exploited by the present city-manager government. The Republicans took the stand that the present system of city management was what the people wanted, and the vote indicated that this estimate of the public view was correct.

POUGHKEEPSIE, NEW YORK

Dissatisfaction with the aldermanic system of government found expression at the polls in Poughkeepsie in the defeat of Mayor Wilbur and the election of Ralph Butts on the latter's expressed promise to place before the people a proposition to change to the commission system. Agitation for a change has been going on ever since Newburgh adopted plan C. The results of the city-manager system in Newburgh were placed before Poughkeepsians in the late campaign as an argument for the progressive step there. Mayor Wilbur has gone a long way in instituting business administration in Poughkeepsie and the people were not unappreciative; but they wanted more progress than is possible under the aldermanic plan, and when Wilbur arrayed himself against the change they decided on a new deal in public control as the first and perhaps most important step to attain the kind of government desired.

NEW YORK CITY

The New York situation is difficult to summarize. There is a general feeling that the Mitchel campaign was badly managed and that it was a great mistake to inject national and international issues into what should have been a campaign conducted solely on local issues. In the words of the *Wall Street Journal:*

> Mr. Hylan's election was hailed by the German newspapers as a triumph for the Kaiser, and a mandate for peace at any price, particularly as the Kaiser's faithful representative here was a good third in the race, where Mayor Mitchel was only a bad second. But Mr. Hylan is an American, and in spite of his unfortunate affiliations in the past, he must realize, like all thinking Americans, that he represents a democracy which the rigid German mind cannot comprehend.[2]

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[2] The vote was as follows: Hylan, 297,282; Mitchel, 149,307; Hillquit (Socialist), 142,178; Bennett (Republican), 53,678.

The only word of encouragement so far uttered since Mayor Mitchel's defeat is that of the institute for public service of which Dr. William H. Allen is director. In a bulletin issued the day after the election, Dr. Allen said:

> Reform had no right to fool itself into forgetting that human progress is due quite as much to protests against evil as desire for good. So far as the rest of the country cares about what happens in New York City, it is important that the truth be told about the breakdown of our last reform administration. Please do not misread the public's intention. Never in our history has the New York voter been more specific in his definition of what an efficient municipal government ought to be. If the spotlight of publicity is kept on what our newly elected officials do, there is every reason for believing that we shall have a better government these next four years than we knew how to want before this last election.

PHILADELPHIA

Philadelphia had a hectic campaign. Seven weeks before election there was organized a Town Meeting party to defeat the candidates of the Republican party which were nominated at the primary on September 17, which the now notorious fifth ward scandal tainted. Notwithstanding the perfection of the Republican machinery and its absolute control of immense patronage and the short duration of the campaign, the Town Meeting party, which had the support of a portion of the Republican machine, elected enough members of councils to destroy the heretofore absolute control of the city's purse strings and came very near to electing its city ticket. At the time of this writing the count of the vote is proceeding and the claim has been made that there was a widespread effort made to defeat the will of the people. As one old-time political leader said, "Another victory like this for the machine, and it will be undone."

One Pennsylvania city, Altoona, voted to go on the city-manager basis under the lead of its aggressive chamber of commerce. Candidates for the office of commissioners were pledged to cut down their salaries to provide an $8,000 salary for a city manager, and they were successful at the polls.

Newark, New Jersey, adopted the commission form of government this autumn, and on November 15 elected its first commission. The election of Thomas L. Raymond, the present mayor in Newark, to the commission was most interesting. The commission movement was favored by the politicians on each side, because they were hostile to Raymond; he headed the poll, no doubt because he was personally regarded as decent, independent and efficient.

CHICAGO

Concerning the Chicago situation Dr. Graham Taylor has this to say in the *Chicago News:*

The people's verdict on the confused issues of the judicial election is both decisive and hopeful. Those who sought to carry the Socialist party ticket by intruding national issues into this purely local election, or at least to demonstrate by the election returns a great division in public sentiment regarding the prosecution and continuance of the war, decisively failed to do either.

But they did achieve an unexpected result which may bear good fruits in future judicial elections. They forced the two great parties to become so far non-partisan as to unite in framing and pushing through to triumphant election a fusion ticket. The non-political nature of the judges' position and function was thus far conceded by the party managers and overwhelmingly ratified by the voters.

OTHER CITIES

Louisville, Kentucky, a nominally Democratic city, went Republican. This party likewise carried Indianapolis, partly as a rebuke to the Democratic administration, many members of which are now under indictment for election frauds.

In Massachusetts, Haverhill voters defeated a city-manager form proposition, as did the voters of Winchester. Waltham voted to adopt one, and Lynn voted to abandon its commission form.

By an overwhelming majority running about four to one, citizens of Clarksburg and its suburbs adopted the Greater Clarksburg charter at the special election, thereby putting Clarksburg properly upon the map as the third largest city in West Virginia. The total vote was 2,939 for and 760 against the charter.

Pueblo, Colorado, rejected the proposed single-tax amendment to its city charter by a vote of two to one. Two amendments proposing an entire change in city government from the present commission form to that of commissioner-city manager were defeated by approximately the same majority.

Generally speaking the Socialists achieved no victories. Their votes in places were numerous, but nowhere preponderating. In New York, Chicago, Cleveland and Buffalo, where Socialism might have been expected, owing to the immense foreign influence, to show alarming gains the results can hardly be encouraging to the anti-American leaders. Their fight in those cities was made on an anti-war, anti-American platform, and the verdict was against them overwhelmingly, in some places because of the desire to register a pro-American verdict, but in most places because there was a desire emphatically to resent the intrusion of national and international affairs in local campaigns. Where there were "immense" Socialistic gains they were due principally to a previous lack of interest in Socialism. To record a gain of 400 per cent for Socialism means little where the previous Socialist vote was only two or three hundred. Nevertheless the Socialist movement is one that should not be ignored. It represents a closely compacted political organization, with power to attract the elements of discontent and it is quite as unscrupulous in its appeal to passion and prejudice as any of the older political machines.

THE CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION[1]

BY OSSIAN E. CARR
Niagara Falls

IT IS four years since our association was organized,—four years full of progress in municipal government in America. Public sentiment has been slowly crystallizing in regard to the matter of government. Disinterested people are becoming more and more allied with the societies which are developing and organizing a movement looking toward improved municipal conditions. As an association, the city managers have no precedents. Our thought has to be exercised in a new field. How quickly we are beginning to sense details peculiar to our position in government and to reflect upon them!

I have said that four years ago we were organized as an association. By a coincidence, it happens that just four of us who were city managers then are with the association now. We have had an idea before of the large percentage of mortality which attended the position of city manager. Now we see that it is really true. One of the duties which should be added to those of our secretary should be the tabulation of those who are gone from the profession, tired of the conditions that they found surrounding them.

Humanity must ever have a means of absolving itself from individual blame or responsibility. Humanity joyfully acclaims the city manager the butt of all mischance. The plan fixes the responsibility. The manager realizes this, even though the irate citizen holds him accountable for weather and other malevolent manifestations of providence.

CONTRASTS WITH OTHER PROFESSIONS

The lawyer who makes a mistake is able to explain it away to his client, or he goes forth seeking a new client and sues the talker for libel. The doctor who makes a mistake buries it and a silent monument marks the spot where it lies. But if a city manager makes a mistake, how the opposition does fall in line to see that it receives full publicity and how the citizens joyfully come at the call to lend their services to send it to all the suburbs! On the other hand, the manager works long hours to an end, achieves it and passes on to another. It may be that the problem is organization, it may be finance, and it may be construction. If good, the result of his effort is greeted with a silence and he must perforce be content with the approval of his own consciousness of work well done.

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[1] Presidential address of Ossian E. Carr as president of the City Managers' Association, delivered at Detroit, November 20, 1917.

These conditions of society account for so many managers leaving the field in order to take up a profession where mistakes are accepted as part of man's finite nature. There were many changes of managers in 1916, still others in 1917. Some of the reasons for removal are strange and paradoxical. One city manager was openly charged with demoralizing the Republican party. He did not consult the party chiefs for names to fill appointments. He played no favorites. He took his position seriously and he applied a private conscience to a public office, all of which, tested by public sentiment, was wrong, and the manager was removed. The paradoxical part of this is that it took place in a municipality which was so progressive as to vote for the city-manager form of government. The strangest part of it is that I could name several manager cities affected in this way.

TACT AS A QUALIFICATION

At different times in the past, we have discussed the qualifications which we decided a manager should possess. The consensus of opinion has seemed to be that the one kind of ability most needed was executive ability. We engineers modestly conceded that if an engineer should chance to have this kind of ability, his engineering training would be very useful. I do not know but that, in observing the careers of many of us, some spectacular, some meteoric, some commonplace, that I have been moved to place tact in the very first row of essential qualifications. Tact is needed in securing the appointment, in dealing with the public, but above all in relation with the commission. It is so essential that unless it is exercised, the tenure of office of the individual is bound to be short, regardless of executive ability, efficiency and education.

Commissioners asked one city manager his reasons for discharging a certain official. He replied that he could discharge any employe with or without reasons and, further, that he need not state reasons to the commission. The manager went on to say that, while in this particular case, he would grant their request and specify reasons, he wished his action to be considered no precedent. Thereupon he gave a half dozen reasons, any one of which would have been sufficient grounds for dismissal. But this man is no longer city manager. He lacked tact. I doubt whether he would be retained as manager of a private corporation, no matter what his production record, but with a private corporation production record does count. With a municipality he had no chance whatever.

The situation is complicated for the average manager in that he has in his commission men who were never in favor of commission-manager government. It is a large part of the work of the manager to keep these men from developing active antagonism. He must have no feelings in the way some of his recommendations are rejected. Possibly it may be for the good of the community that they are. He always knows that the records will show just what his recommendations were on the various propositions. Many of the people come to understand these handicaps. Perhaps, too, the commission may come to realize in time that his advice is not lightly given, in fact that his action and advice is exactly what they are paying for. He must not feel irritated if the commission refuse to accept entirely his recommendations. It is their city and they are responsible to the people.

In the light of these facts, we come again to the conclusion which has often been mentioned in our meetings, that no people can or will have a government better than the majority of the citizens deserve and desire, and, out of this conclusion, yet another,—that no form of government can correct errors in thought on the part of its citizens.

MOLDING MUNICIPAL THOUGHT

Our government is built on the idea that the majority of our citizens will inform themselves on civic and national facts. It is obviously possible to achieve the ideal better in national policy than in civic conditions. We have for the purpose in the nation a wide variety of periodicals which open up the range of human thought from so many different viewpoints that it is possible to sift them to arrive at sound conclusions.

But in all of our American cities our municipal thought life is molded by the daily press. These papers belong to either one party or the other. Consequently, the news given out is colored with partisanship. I believe that all city managers long for a press that will print city affairs fairly and impartially, that will exercise a criticism constructive and not destructive. I believe the editors also are thinking over this problem. William R. Nelson, of the *Kansas City Star*, has reared for himself a monument more potential than the form adopted by another well wisher of the people who built libraries over the length and breadth of the land. Mr. Nelson did more, because he left the city in which he had spent his energies the paper which he had made great. Moreover, his idea for its future was that of non-partisanship. He realized the educational value of his work. The board of control comprises, by the terms of his will, the presidents of the Universities of Kansas, Missouri and Nebraska.

Our schools have been taken out of politics, but our great universities of the common people—the newspapers—are still in them. The hope for the future is that more of our wealthy men may become interested not only in libraries and colleges and foundations, but also in newspapers, that our editors may adopt the ideals of the non-partisan press. Municipalities would thereby eliminate the expense of cross purposes and misunderstandings. Criticism would point out the road toward betterment and we would have efficient government by a well-informed people.

Still, we can report progress. Dayton has passed through a political struggle, let us hope the last breath of the machine. The people supported the administration. Niagara Falls speaks in election uncompromisingly for her form of government. Just now we have a particular interest in good government. We are a nation at war. At this time there is every evidence of a long struggle, resource against resource. Any waste of funds, any waste of effort is bound to help our enemies. The war is bound to produce a wonderful incentive toward economical government in the United States. We look forward to a year of unprecedented growth.

RECENT RESULTS IN THE SOCIAL AND CIVIC SURVEY MOVEMENT

BY MURRAY GROSS
Philadelphia

THE present year has seen the people of the United States drawn into active participation in the lamentable world conflict, and the interests and efforts of the country centered upon the problems and exigencies of war. This has compelled the nation as a people to stimulate and make effective individual sense of responsibility and service in the affairs of the country, and particularly to study, organize, and make economically available the whole power and resources of the people. This task is so enormous, and the study involved has assumed such character and scope, that it promises to culminate in a general and complete recognition of the scientific survey method as the basis for constructive plans and action, and to lead the way to a new era in the accomplishments of local, state and national life, based on comprehensive investigations in preparation for efforts to solve specific community problems.

RESULTS OF THE SPRINGFIELD GENERAL SURVEY INSPIRING

In the survey movement, the year 1916 marks the completion as well as the beginning of a considerable number of notable social and civic survey studies which will be the basis for carrying forward comprehensive and co-ordinated plans for community betterment in the social, economic, and political life of the people. To a marked degree, however, it was a year of fruition, a year during which there were in process of realization plans and recommendations worked out by surveys completed or begun in earlier years. Thus it is in the case of Pittsburgh, Birmingham, Ala., Syracuse, N. Y., Newburgh, N. Y., Topeka, Kan., Buffalo, Rochester, N. Y., Norfolk, Va., Richmond, Va., Cleveland.

Nothing has appeared more illuminating as to the force and value of the scientific survey in community life than the summary of the results of the Springfield general survey prepared by Dr. Shelby M. Harrison, director of the department of surveys of the Russell Sage foundation and published as an article in *The Survey*, February 3, 1917.

It may be well to be reminded that the Springfield general survey, made largely during 1915, covered seven phases of the city's life, including the schools, the mental defectives and insane, recreation facilities, housing, public health, charities, and corrections. Moreover, it dealt with a typical American city with a population of 60,000 people, one of the 80 per cent of incorporated places in the United States that range from 25,000 to 150,000 inhabitants. Hence it is that the developments in this city as a result of the survey are of widespread interest and warrant a brief recapitulation here.

These are some of the developments in Springfield following the survey: *In the public schools:* committees of the board of education reorganized to promote their efficiency; junior high school system adopted; four junior high schools organized; high school organization and course of study changed, including the introduction of better system of supervised study and discipline; modern high school building erected to accommodate about 1,500 pupils previously inadequately provided for; lighting, ventilation, general sanitation, and fire protection of all schools improved; patrons' clubs organized in every district of the city, and nearly every school house used as a social center for neighborhood meetings; manual training, household arts, pre-vocational training and guidance in the schools promoted; school census revised to secure more valuable information; seven branch libraries established in schools and five in other centers; and new salary schedule established for teachers and janitors, with rates based on efficiency. *In recreation:* director of hygiene employed by the board of education for playgrounds, athletics and social centers; athletic organization extended among elementary school children; athletic contests and a play festival held; equipment of park play sections extended; free public golf courses established; bathing beaches constructed; and burlesque theatre cleaned up. *In delinquency and corrections:* sheriff pledged to turn into the county treasury approximately $7,500 per year profits from feeding prisoners in the county jail; large and flourishing red-light district closed; woman of energy and ability appointed as deputy sheriff; two additional probation officers appointed; juvenile detention home improved; city jail prisoners put at work in farming and gardening on farm land owned by the city. *In health:* child-welfare station to promote infant hygiene work established; movement started for new contagious disease hospital; one hundred and twenty acre farm purchased for a sanatorium for the tuberculous; free dispensary established. *In mental hygiene:* methods improved in handling cases of insane and feeble-minded before the county court; and some improvement in handling cases requiring mental examination before juvenile court. *In charities:* work of associated charities completely reorganized; better co-operation between public and private agencies established; placing out work initiated by Home for the Friendless; trained nurse added to its staff, and physical condition of the children improved; central council of social agencies organized; and city conferences on social work started. *In city and county administration:* more equitable rules for assessing corner lots adopted; cost accounting system installed; detailed monthly reports in issue; better water and fire protection facilities secured, and garbage collection started.

This recapitulation of results demonstrates the force the survey exerted in the city upon official and public opinion alike and is evidence that social and civic improvements went on at a pace which could hardly have been expected to be paralleled without the comprehensive insight furnished by the facts and recommendations of the survey. This survey is particularly worth the attention of every municipal official and citizen of the country.

SAN FRANCISCO SURVEY MAKES POSSIBLE A ONE MILLION DOLLAR MUNICIPAL SAVINGS

Out on the Pacific coast, San Francisco is working out the plans of the administrative and government survey made by the New York bureau of municipal research under the direction of Dr. F. A. Cleveland. This voluminous study of the municipal activities of the government of San Francisco presents almost seven hundred pages of intensive investigations and recommendations, which, when carried into effect, will save the people of the city approximately one million dollars annually. As stated by the San Francisco *Argonaut*, it was first the intention of the San Francisco real estate board to conduct an investigation of the "rapidly rising taxes" itself, but the task proved too large. "The financial jungle," so says the paper, "was almost impenetrable. The city accounts furnished nothing from which it was possible to construct a statement of the actual needs of the city in the past or in the future. There were innumerable indications of inefficiency and waste, but it was impossible to identify them except from the basis of some comprehensive and accurate survey."

The general impression left upon the mind by the report of the survey is encouraging in that if there was inefficiency and maladministration they were not of a willful or vicious character. The chapter on financial mismanagement, however, is heavy enough and serious enough to weigh upon the conscience of any municipality. The survey found that nearly a million dollars a year was wasted by five departments of city government,—finance, fire, health, coroner, and public works. In the report, new sources of revenue are estimated at $52,000 a year, and the assurance given that a "complete revision of the city's license system should add several hundred thousand dollars to the annual revenues." A reform of purchasing methods would save $100,000 a year. Another $100,000 a year could be saved on registration expenses. The fire department spends $88,000 a year more than it should. The department of health ought to economize to the extent of $33,540. And the department of public works showed a waste of $500,000 a year.

It is exceedingly regrettable that it is impossible to include here the fifty-five pages of recommendations made in the report, for they constitute a terse program of administrative reorganization and reform of exceptional value to every official municipal administrator as well as every citizen. The abbreviated statement in regard to the financial side of the department of public works, however, is so striking that it is given as an illustration.

> "In considering the possible economies in the administration of the public works activities of the city," says the report, "it is first necessary to establish a basic factor of service. In the following tabulation the statement of possible savings is predicated upon a service equal to that now being obtained. The point is not made that it would not be desirable in certain instances to apply the savings which might be effected to increasing a part of the service. The following amounts are calculated on an annual basis:

Elimination of holiday pay for teams would result in a saving of approximately	$10,000
Reduction in number of teams and employment of automobile transportation would result in saving	35,000
Reduction in rate paid for both double and single teams to that of prevailing market rate—approximately	20,000
Reduction in the general yard assignments	10,000
Reduction in force through consolidation of corporation yard and night emergency forces	$10,000– 15,000
Reduction in number of watchmen and the elimination of high priced labor as caretakers	6,000
The use of the bureau of architecture forces for the design of public buildings (part)	5,000– 10,000
The abolition of the positions of brick inspectors	2,500– 3,000
The transfer of the high pressure system to the board of public works; the use of uniformed force for operation inspection; the use of pumping plants for manufacture of electric current	75,000–125,000
Reduction in the number of low pressure hydrants in high pressure zone	8,000– 15,000
The establishment of a central shop and municipal garage	10,000– 15,000
The handling of part of the building repair work by contract; the closer co-ordination of the power plant force and the revision of the method of controlling work orders	10,000– 15,000

Improved methods of sewer cleaning; the amalgamation of side sewer department with other sewer construction work; the use of improved methods of catchbasin cleaning, and reduction in amount of supervision and administration	$10,000– 15,000
Improvement in the methods of street flushing; combination of small cleaning gangs; the use of equipment on more than one shift; the purchase and use of more equipment	25,000– 75,000
The abrogation of expensive dumping privilege agreements; the use of the dumping trestle at the old incinerator	5,000– 10,000
Improvement of the working force in the bureau of streets; purchase of more roller and automobile hauling equipment; the increased use of contract method of construction; the abrogation of asphalt filler contract agreements; the reduction in yard costs; the reduction in division supervisory overhead costs, etc.	100,000–200,000
The reorganization of the department would result in a saving in the cost of supervision and administration through the centralization of functional activities of	10,000– 15,000
Total	$450,000–500,000"

MINNEAPOLIS SURVEY WELDS EDUCATION AND INDUSTRY CLOSER TOGETHER

One of the most important means of promoting the social and economic welfare of men and women is a proper educational system. For this a thorough knowledge of industrial processes and industrial conditions is necessary. In this respect, one of the most notable additions to the literature on education is the vocational education survey of Minneapolis made by the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education and published as a bulletin of the United States bureau of labor. It follows the general plan of the vocational education survey of Richmond, having in view an analysis of the conditions pertaining to local industries and systems of education, and a desire to ascertain what kind of instruction is needed, but it is more comprehensive than the earlier study in that the number of industries studied is more numerous and varied. The report of the survey is a volume of six hundred pages, and constitutes an intensive study of the following educational problems: To what extent is there a need for vocational education; to what extent are public schools, other agencies, and apprenticeship meeting the need; what vocational education is needed in the building trades; among the electrical workers; the metal workers; the wood workers; in the flour mills; in the baking business; in the laundries; in the garment trades; among dressmakers and milliners; in the knitting mills; in department store salesmanship; in office work; in home gardening and agriculture;

and what practical arrangements is possible between the schools and the trades and industries.

The facts and conclusions given by the report of this survey are in general peculiar to the same trades and industries throughout the country, and the methods suggested for dealing with the local school and industrial conditions in Minneapolis will be helpful to communities everywhere. The report is an important addition to the means at hand for solving the educational problems of the country.

OTHER COMMUNITIES NOW ENGAGED IN SURVEY PROJECTS

Scientific survey methods are now being utilized and applied in the following communities: Nassau county (N. Y.) in the reconstruction of its roads; Newark (N. J.) in the revision of its charter; Springfield (Mass.) in the installation of an accounting system; North Adams (Mass.) in a general program of betterment covering all fields of municipal activities; Plainfield (N. J.) in a general program of community advancement; Stamford (Conn.) in the installation of an accounting system; the state of North Carolina in the audit and realignment of the accounts of its treasurer; San Francisco in a study of its industrial situation; Detroit (Mich.) in a reorganization of the department of public works; Mobile (Ala.) in a study of the school system of the city; the state of Rhode Island in an intensive study of the penal system of the state; Columbus (Ohio) in a comprehensive study of municipal activities; Kansas City (Mo.) in a reorganization of the health department, hospitals, fire department, and certain branches of the public works department; Jamestown (N. Y.) for charter revision and improvement in municipal government; Sharon Parish, Tuscarawas (Ohio) in rural uplift work; Boston (Mass.) in a study of urban disease; Council Grove (Kan.) and Muscatine (Iowa) for general civic betterment; Bridgeport (Conn.) and Penn's Grove (N. J.) in the solution of problems following upon growth of munition-making population.

NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH[1]

BY WILLIAM H. BALDWIN, 3RD

Brooklyn, N. Y.

IN THOSE muggy days at the end of August when only the press of war work was considered sufficient stimulant to keep Washington hard at work until late into the night, Philander P. Claxton, United States commissioner of education, held a two-day conference which marked a new epoch in the long uphill struggle to give the 9,000,000 negroes in the south the education they must have to take their due place in the body politic. For those whose interests are confined to things "practical," it may be pointed out parenthetically that the south, although 80 per cent rural in population, is draining the surplus food production of the rest of the country to the extent of many millions of dollars a year—and the negro forms the backbone of farm labor in the south.

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[1] The negro is penetrating to all sections of the country, and the industrial centers which have need for his labor have incurred the responsibility of determining whether he will become an asset through intelligent guidance or a menace to the community

Two months before Commissioner Claxton called the conference, his bureau had issued a two-volume "Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States." This was the result of three years of exhaustive investigation of 747 institutions by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, a specialist of the bureau; and it was made possible through the co-operation of the Phelps-Stokes fund, of New York. Endorsed by leading students of education as the most valuable contribution to their work since the Flexner report on medical schools, Dr. Jones's study nevertheless met with a certain amount of suspicion on the part not only of many negroes in the south, but also of white men identified with certain colleges and so-called universities for the colored youth. Dr. Jones had emphasized the need for the co-operation of the north, the south, and the negro with "an abiding faith" in each other; and the great achievement of the Claxton conference was the revivification of this faith between the leading spirits of these three elements. A man who has attended every important conference on the race question during the past twenty years said the discussion was the frankest and best willed he had ever seen. As the conference divided its five sessions according to the five main divisions of the Jones report, a summary of the discussion will bring out the principal points in the government document.

As a background to his investigation of the private institutions Dr. Jones studied the field of public provision. He finds that the states apportion their school funds according to the total population of each constituent county. The money is then divided between the two races according to the wishes of the county officials, with the result that the negro gets on the average only one-fourth of his just share. In some counties the disproportion increases to twenty to one or worse. As a consequence, most of the schools are taught in abandoned cabins, children of all ages and degrees of mentality from a radius sometimes as great as six miles are crowded in under one teacher, and the average school term is

life through neglect. If the former policy is followed it must take into consideration the background of the migrant. Mr. Baldwin's article is at once a review of the Jones report and an account of the conference called by Commissioner Claxton. The Jones report is entitled: "Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States," prepared in co-operation with the Phelps-Stokes fund under the direction of Thomas Jesse Jones, specialist in the education of racial groups, United States Bureau of Education. Volumes I and II. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1917.

less than six months. As for the teachers, there are only 30,000 of them—one for about every sixty-five children of school age—and of the total at least one-half have had less training than a New York city boy must have to qualify for his working-papers. Bad as the conditions seem at first glance, they are offset, first, by the fact that they are an improvement over the past and, second, by the growing spirit of fair-mindedness and sense of responsibility on the part of the white south. Dr. Jones testifies to this progressivism, and it is significant that the frankest and most outspoken talk of the whole conference was made at this first session by the superintendent of education in Louisiana, a southern white man. It was the unanimous opinion of the conference that the southern states should assume entire charge of the elementary education, freeing the private institutions for the secondary field and special work.

THE DEARTH OF TRAINED TEACHERS

But even more generous appropriations from the public funds would not get far without an adequate corps of trained teachers, and this problem came up for discussion at the second session. Dr. Jones's study brings out the fact that some 6,000 new teachers must be recruited each year to keep the present staff of 30,000 teachers filled. Yet only 2,500 young men and women are graduated each year from all the schools which make any pretense of providing teacher-training. Next to increasing the salaries of teachers in colored schools—in some southern states the average annual salary is below the $150 allowed to jailers for the feeding and clothing of a prisoner—the great need is for county teacher-training schools supplemented by simpler courses in the last year or two of the private secondary schools. At present less than thirty counties out of a total of 1,055 in the south have such schools; but the movement is growing and meanwhile the private institutions are rendering valuable support.

It is in the general field of secondary education that the great contribution of the private institutions is made; for there are in the south only eleven state schools, sixty-seven city high schools, and twenty-seven county training schools for negroes in addition to the sixteen land-grant colleges which are supported in large part by federal funds. Philanthropy, indeed, functioning through individuals and churches in the north and increasingly through the sacrificial offerings of the colored people themselves, has built up 625 schools and colleges valued at $30,000,000 in land, plant, and endowment, and gives $3,000,000 annually for the operation of these institutions. Hampton, Tuskegee, Fisk University and Meharry Medical College are the best known of these schools, but Dr. Jones brings out the fine, though more modest, work of many smaller institutes and colleges which are meeting urgent needs in various parts of the south. And the speakers at the conference—white and colored, northerners and southerners—bore him out in his tribute to the achievements of private generosity and initiative.

Taking the group as a whole, however, there are certain tendencies which Dr. Jones has found it necessary to criticize, offering at the same time concrete suggestions for future policy. These are briefly as follows: First, the transition from white to colored teachers has been too rapid in many institutions for the maintenance of the proper educational standards. As the colored people as a whole become better educated, they naturally will be in a position to furnish an increasing number of trained teachers; but in the interests of better relations between the races, segregation in teaching colored children would be bad policy. From the early Reconstruction days the north has sent down some of its best sons and daughters to teach the negro and they have brought with them certain contributions to the education of the colored people, which no southerner, black or white, could possibly duplicate. Dr. Jones blames the north largely for an appreciable lessening of this missionary zeal, resulting in a marked decline in the north's influence on the preparation of the millions of negroes for real citizensihp in the United States.

GARDENING A BASIC STUDY

The second criticism is that the school work too often ignores the environment of the pupils. Eighty per cent of the southern negroes are classed as rural and farming is their chief pursuit; yet even the so-called agricultural schools fail in many instances to give agriculture more than a perfunctory place in the curriculum. He advocates, therefore, a thorough and "enthusiastic" course in gardening for every pupil as fundamental to all school work. With this as a basis he outlines a scheme for building up a correlated plan of education, branching out at the top into such highly specialized schools as Hampton and Tuskegee and such colleges as Howard and Fisk universities. Carrying the adaptation of study to environment a step further, Dr. Jones urges that courses and teaching methods be kept simple especially in the schools drawing their pupils from a backward countryside. Thus, thorough training in the fundamentals of farming and a general knowledge of the use of tools and paint for the repairs and simple construction work of the farm are more to point than a smattering of agronomy, pomology, and such specialized trades as masonry, blacksmithing, and harness-making. And the simpler courses have the added advantage of less cost in equipment and faculty.

The justice of these suggestions was readily recognized at the conference; but when the session on college and university training opened, it was soon apparent that the representatives of many of these institutions were hostile to what they thought was the tenor of Dr. Jones's recommendations in their field. In the ensuing frank discussion, however, those who had come to protest vigorously were shown that they had misinterpreted the report's attitude, and in the end they pledged their hearty co-operation in putting into effect the Jones program. At the bottom of the misunderstanding was the jealousy with which the negro guards his opportunities for higher education, opportunities won by the sweat of his own sacrifices and the generosity of the north in the face of complete indifference—often amounting to open hostility—on the part of the white south. His inheritance from slavery is a bad perspective toward the status of manual labor, and even now the splendid agricultural and industrial schools which are consecrated to building up a solid, independent citizenry, are twisted by him into attempts to "keep him in his place." The result has been that through his own churches and through winning the unintelligent generosity of some northerners, the negro has built up scores of so-called colleges and universities which struggle along without the resources, faculty, or even the student body essential to real collegiate work.

It is just these institutions which Dr. Jones would reorganize into valuable parts of the whole educational scheme and supports to the few schools which measure up to college standards; but the proponents of the "colleges" misconstrued his recommendations as a direct attempt on the part of the federal bureau of education to restrict the opportunities of the negro for higher education. What amounted to the charge of "Jim Crowism" in education was raised at the conference. Dr. Jones answered it, first, by proving his conviction that the negro must have ample provision for higher education and, second, by pointing out that misbranding low grade work as college education was no less heinous a crime against the body politic than the sale of adulterated food was against the physical well-being of the nation. Commissioner Claxton, a southerner, who presided over the conference with rare judgment and contributed not a little to the discussion, drove this point home to the protestants when he said that he had been working for years for just the same sort of a reorganization and weeding out of the unfit among the white colleges of the country. The net result was that all who attended the conference unanimously pledged themselves to co-operate in making out of the present chaos in private endeavor an effective whole as the basis for further development.

With the champions of the colored colleges won over to hearty support, the final session of the conference—discussion of ways and means of co-operation between the various elements—closed in a spirit of mutual goodwill and "abiding faith" that entitles the conference to rank as one of the milestones in the progress of better relations between the races. Hereafter the Jones report and the Claxton conference will be considered as one, for the former visualized as never before the shortcomings and potentialities of negro education and the latter gave a new vision and renewed inspiration to the leaders of the north, the south, and the negro.

TENDENCIES IN CITY SCHOOL BOARD ORGANIZATION

BY BRUCE M. WATSON[1]
Philadelphia

WHEN Bill and I went to school, the problems of school administration were few and simple. The school directors hired the teacher to keep order, and fired him if he didn't. School architecture was "standardized," even to the color of the school house, which was red. Ventilation was unknown. The plumbing consisted of water-pail and dipper. School furniture was made, and nailed down, by the carpenter who built the school-house. Fuel and chalk were the only school supplies. Teacher and pupils did the janitor work.

The course of study, consisting of the three R's, was uniform the country over; so there was no discussion as to what should be taught. Every child used the books which he brought to school—books, oftener than not, from which his elder brothers or sisters, parents, uncles or aunts, had been graduated; so there was no problem of text-book adoptions.

Secondary education was the business of private schools. There were no shops, kitchens nor laboratories; no libraries, gymnasiums nor school gardens. There was no science of teaching; there were no "special subjects"; there were no standard tests, no compulsory attendance, care for defectives, health supervision, open air classes, school clinics, vocational guidance, or civic centers; no Gary system, nor other of the thousand perplexities of the modern school organism.

All of these things have come with the passing years, and have changed the character of school administration from the simplest to one of the most complex problems of management. The school board can no longer be all things to all teachers, patrons, pupils, and the public.

There still remains much to be learned before the ideal will have been reached in this as in every other field of governmental activity. And yet a few propositions may be accepted as proved by the best experience of the country, among them the following:

LEGISLATION AND ADMINISTRATION

The school board should be a legislative and not an administrative body.

It should study the needs of the school system in a broad way, determine general policies to be pursued, and employ expert administrators to carry out these policies. It follows as a natural corollary that these experts should be given authority commensurate with their responsibility. The present tendency in this direction was well enunicated at the last

[1] Secretary of the public education and child labor association of Pennsylvania.

meeting of the National Education Association, by Mr. O. M. Plummer, of the Portland, Oregon, school board, who said:

> When a board of education, after much consideration, selects a superintendent, its work is half done. When it puts in the balance of the time letting him alone, and looking to him for administrative results, its work is well nigh complete. It is apparently a question of a few years until school board people will confine themselves to the larger policies of the entire system, allowing the details to be worked out by the proper heads.

SIZE OF BOARD

A city school board should consist of from five to nine members, and the size of the city should have little weight in determining the number.

This number is large enough to include members representing a sufficient variety of types of training, modes of thought, and business or professional experience. It is small enough to work effectively.

Dr. Elwood P. Cubberley, in his book on city school administration sums up the case for a small school board as follows:

> The experience of the past century is clearly and unmistakably that a small school board is in every way a more efficient board than a large one. It is less talkative, and hence handles public business much more expeditiously. It is less able to shift responsibility; it cannot so easily divide itself up into small committees, and works more efficiently and intelligently as a committee of the whole.

The tendency toward smaller school boards is shown by the fact that, of the forty cities of the country having a population of over 100,000 in 1905, there were, in that year, seventeen that had school boards of over nine members. The aggregate membership of these seventeen boards was 352, or an average of 22 members for each board.

In 1917, only seven of those cities have school boards exceeding 9 members, and only one has a board of over 15 members. The aggregate membership of the seventeen boards has been reduced to 198, and the average to 12. The most notable changes made during the present year in the direction of smaller boards have been in New York, from 46 to 7; Detroit, from 21 to 7; and Chicago, from 21 to 11.

ELECTION AT LARGE

Members of the school board should be chosen to represent the city at large, and not by districts.

This change comes along naturally with the smaller board. Of the forty cities mentioned above, thirteen had board members chosen by wards or districts in 1905. All but four of these had changed in 1917 to representation of the city at large. The advantages of representation of the city at large are two: First, better men, those who have a city-wide reputation and standing, rather than petty ward politicians, are chosen. Second, members so chosen see the needs of all of the schools of all of the city all of the time, and work to that end, rather than to secure for their individual wards or districts or constituents some material advantage in the way of school buildings, equipment, or appointments, often inimical to the best interests of the schools.

ELECTION OR APPOINTMENT

The ratio of the number of cities having elective boards to the number having appointive boards remains practically stationary, about 2 to 1.

Accordingly the experience of cities employing either of these two methods is not conclusive as to its advantage over the other. And yet it is significant that no report from a city having an elective board suggests a change to an appointive board, while several from cities having appointive boards make a plea for an elective board.

From one city having a board appointed by the mayor comes this report: "In this city only one mayor in ten rose to the occasion and appointed representative citizens. The other nine appointed political heelers, gumshoe politicians or personal friends." Of the situation in Chicago the *School Board Journal* says, "A law taking the appointing power out of the hands of the mayor, making the school board elective, and requiring non-partisan choice of all candidates, is the only hope for a true solution of the difficulty." Other cities, like New Haven, Jersey City and Newark, seem to have had a happier experience with appointment by the mayor.

Where boards are elected at large the plan is generally satisfactory, the only changes suggested being in the particular method. Election by wards is universally condemned.

Board members should be chosen for relatively long terms, and preferably not more than one or two at a time.

By the observance of this rule, sudden reversals of school policy are avoided; there is little temptation to an individual or group of people to "put over" something on the schools, and better choices result from centering the interest of voters upon one or two names at a time.

WOMEN ON SCHOOL BOARDS

There is an extension of legislation making women eligible to vote for members and hold membership in school boards.

However, as far as available records show, there is little tendency on the part of cities to increase the number of women members of their school boards. Even in states that have equal suffrage the practice of electing women to school boards is not general. The writer recalls two cities which elected women to membership in their school boards for several years, and later discontinued the practice. This apparently was not due to any deliberate change of policy, and certainly not to dissatisfaction with women's service in the board. Wherever chosen they have performed the duties of the office with dignity and intelligence, with exceptional devotion and conscientiousness.

Perhaps the most significant evidence of the trend of school board organization in the directions herein outlined is found in recent enactments of state legislatures, and in provisions of newly revised or reconstructed city charters. Thus have been crystallized into laws these principles that have first received recognition through voluntary action of individual school boards.

The school code enacted by the last legislature of New York takes a most advanced step, by prescribing as follows:

> All present boards of education having more than nine members shall be reduced to nine, and that of New York city to seven.
>
> In all cities hereafter created the board of education shall consist of five members, elected at large for five years, one each year.
>
> In all cities the superintendent of schools shall have direction of all employes, including supervisors, teachers, janitors, health supervisors, etc.
>
> Teachers and other employes of the education department shall be appointed only on recommendation of the superintendent of schools.
>
> The superintendent shall have a seat in the board and the right to speak on all matters, but not to vote.
>
> The superintendent shall have power to suspend teachers, recommend text-books for adoption, prepare the context of the course of study authorized by the board, etc.

In conclusion, we are justified in believing that the present trend in school board organization is altogether in the direction of greater efficiency and consequently of better schools, more judicious expenditures, and better returns for the money and effort.

CONFERENCE ON PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

BY HOMER TALBOT
University of Kansas

THE prime significance of the National Public Ownership Conference, held in Chicago, November 25, 26 and 27, seems not to be found in the resolutions of immediate or ultimate action, but in the rather clear indication that this meeting represents the beginning of a nation-wide *organized* public opinion in favor of the public ownership of public utilities.

That public sentiment in support of municipal ownership of local public utilities and federal ownership of the telegraphs, telephones and railways, has been gaining, quietly but steadily, is a fact well known to careful students of present-day public affairs.

What the movement has lacked, up to the calling of the recent conference, has been national organization. The Public Ownership League of America is expected to bring together and unite in common counsel and action the hitherto disassociated persons and organizations favoring the new rule in public utility control.

PERSONNEL AND PROGRAM

The gathering at Chicago was remarkable alike in its personnel—representative of men and women of almost all parties and walks of life—and in the practical, "get results" character of the discussions.

There was Charles Zueblin—who spoke vigorously and effectively of the need of public ownership of railways, both from the military and economic standpoints; former congressman David J. Lewis, of Maryland, member of the federal tariff commission, who was given the closest attention in his disclosures of the immediate need of public ownership of the telephones and telegraphs; former governor Edward F. Dunne, who gave an address on public ownership movements in Illinois; Delos F. Wilcox and Edward W. Bemis, who discussed financial preparation for public ownership, and the question of value; Albert M. Todd, Otto Cullman and Theodore F. Thieme, successful business men backing the movement for public ownership of public services; C. W. Koiner, of Pasadena, Cal., Willis J. Spaulding, of Springfield, Ill., R. B. Howell, of Omaha, and J. G. Glascow, of Winnipeg, practical operators and managers of municipally owned public utility systems; and representatives of powerful farmers' and labor organizations.

Ably handling the publicity service was Hugh Reid—who, with Carl D. Thompson, the dynamic secretary, were two of the prime movers of the occasion.

The number present? One would say somewhat larger than the total in attendance at the meetings of the several municipal good government associations at Detroit.

BENEFITS OF CITY OWNERSHIP RECOUNTED

Results gained through municipal ownership of public service undertakings in the Pacific Coast cities and in Kansas were discussed; the story of the obtaining of low priced electric current from the plant operated by the sanitary district of Chicago was told; and accounts of service gains and rate reductions from the municipal electric plants of Pasadena, Cal. and Springfield, Ill.

Public ownership of the coal supply was also a topic of particular interest. The sentiment of the entire meeting favored immediate public control of the supply at the mouths of the mines; and the delegates generally felt the best permanent solution of the problem lay in the adoption of the policy of public ownership of the coal mines.

The story of how a municipal coal yard in Kalamazoo, Mich., had resulted in a saving to folks who were cold—if not wealthy—of $1.75 a ton on anthracite, $1.90 on bituminous coal, and $4 a ton on coke, was told by the mayor of the city, James B. Balch.

Incidentally: May it not be true that the real "city managers" of American cities are executives of the type of Mayor Balch?

DISCUSSION OF "REGULATION" IN WISCONSIN

Disinterested students of the indeterminate franchise law obtained by the private utility companies in Wisconsin, have long been hoping that the opponents of the act would be accorded the privilege of a hearing, at some meeting of national importance. This hope was realized at Chicago. The important provisions—and omissions—in the Wisconsin regulation scheme were brought clearly into light by Daniel W. Hoan, mayor of Milwaukee. For the information of its readers, perhaps the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW may find space to publish in whole or in part the address of the executive of the Badger state's largest municipality.

"PUT THE FLAG OVER THE RAILROADS"

That the President of the United States immediately take possession and control of the systems of railway transportation, as authorized by act of congress of August 29, 1916, was the leading resolution unanimously adopted at the conference.

The railroad resolution attracted national attention, and is given in full below:

> *Resolved*, That in connection with the movement for the public ownership and operation of those utilities which have been shown by experience to be most efficiently and economically conducted in the public interest by direct public administration, the conference of the Public Ownership League of America calls attention to the great present exigencies of a military and domestic character demanding the immediate exercise of the powers vested in the President of the United States, and urges him:
>
> To take possession and control of the systems of railway transportation, as authorized by the act of congress, of August 29, 1916; and to operate the same so that the necessary materials of war and the domestic necessities of the people may receive the prompt and efficient service which only the unification under government possession and administration of the railway agencies of the country can supply.

Other resolutions adopted favored the government ownership of the coal supply and coal mines; the public ownership of Niagara power development; the extension of the parcels post, and the public ownership under the United States post office department of the telephone and telegraph service.

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION FORMED

A constitution for the non-partisan Public Ownership League of America was submitted to the delegates, and adopted; provisions were undertaken for the raising of a modest sum for going ahead with the educational work needed for the success of the cause; and plans made for the drafting of desirable men as executive committeemen.

Albert M. Todd was elected president for another year, and Charles H. Ingersoll of New York was re-elected treasurer.

A SUGGESTION TO THE COUNCIL

The following is submitted to the officers and council of the National Municipal League by a friend of both the Public Ownership Association and the National Conference on Good City Government:

In the making of the arrangements for the annual meetings of the two organizations in 1918, is it not worth serious consideration that plans be made, if possible, for the two organizations to hold their next annual conferences in the same city, and with one immediately following the other?

EDITORIAL

THE ANNUAL MEETING

The first war time convention of the National Municipal League brought out an overwhelming sentiment that the League's services were more needed now than ever before, and that its resources and organization should be extended to meet the new demands upon it. There was but one feeling, and that was that we could not hope to win the battle for democracy on the larger battle ground if it were to be neglected or overlooked in the cities.

As a step towards putting the League's work upon a more efficient basis, the following resolution was adopted:

> Whereas, in times of national emergencies such as now confront the country it is well to take stock of our social and municipal forces and determine wherein our voluntary associations and activities can be better organized and co-ordinated for more efficient promotion of good government:
>
> *Therefore Be It Resolved*, by the National Municipal League in annual meeting assembled that the president of the League appoint a committee of five (5) members from different cities of the country, to examine into the records of the League, to analyze its contributions and subscription lists, to inquire into its activities, to consider the possibility of increasing its income, expanding its field of effort and perfecting a closer co-ordination of its work with other associations in closely allied fields of effort, and to make a full report of its findings at the next annual meeting.

Meeting with the League were the city managers' association, the civic secretaries' association, the conference for governmental research, and the newly formed association of state municipal leagues. This arrangement is greatly to be desired, but another year steps will have to be taken so that the various programs will be carefully co-ordinated and made to fit into one another more effectively than was the case at Detroit. One of the suggestions advanced was that the mornings be devoted to business and departmental conferences, the afternoons to joint meetings, and the evenings to rallies, one of which would be devoted to the annual addresses of the presidents of the several organizations. Some such arrangement is really necessary to prevent the dissipation of energy and attention through attempting to be in several places at one time.

The plan of having all the sessions in one hotel worked out admirably, facilitating the intermingling of the members which must prove of great benefit. It was unfortunate that more Detroit people did not avail themselves of the opportunity of meeting the leaders in civic work and hearing the series of admirable papers and discussions presented.

One feature of the meetings was the presence of a number of men who sharply challenged the prevailing sentiment in the League, notably in the matter of non-partisanship. In this way a very real discussion of disputed questions was brought about. It is to be hoped that the program committee for the 1918 meeting will arrange for a still further discussion along these lines, although there were some who felt that the League's position might be misunderstood. There is little to be feared in this direction for from the beginning the League has been the open forum where earnest men and women have exchanged views with regard to ways and means as well as principles. It is only in this way that an effective working agreement can be developed.

Another year the program committee should make sure that the addresses and papers are responsive to the titles. In several cases the subjects announced were merely starting points for discussions interesting in themselves, but not pertinent to the questions to be considered. This was notably the case in the discussion of budgets, where there is a marked difference of opinion.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

Separation of State and Local Revenues in the United States. By Mabel Newcomer, Ph.D. Vol. LXXVI, No. 2, of Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. Pp. 195. $1.75.

This monograph covers the historical development of the use of separate sources of revenue by state and locality in the United States as shown in four states where complete separation has been tried: Delaware, New York, Connecticut and Pennsylvania; three states in which a partial separation has been made: New Jersey, Vermont, West Virginia; and California which adopted complete separation in 1910 at one move, in contrast to the gradual development which took place in the other states. There is also a chapter devoted to the movement in the United States as a whole.

Of the four states that have tried complete separation, Delaware has found it successful, but as the author says, this state is so small it can hardly be considered as offering much evidence of the practicability of this scheme of taxation. New York, Connecticut, and Vermont have abandoned it. We are given the impression in the chapter on California that the plan there works admirably, but in the conclusion the author says that it is being maintained with difficulty. In spite of these seeming failures, Miss Newcomer reports a general tendency throughout the United States towards partial separation, that is, states are making greater use of other taxes than the general property tax, as for example, corporation, inheritance, and income taxes.

Advocates of separation offer it as one of the means of progress. They claim (1) it gives home rule, (2) that it is in accord with the natural divisions of governmental activity and follows the principle already laid down in national and state revenues, (3) that it offers improved administration, (4) that it equalizes assessments, (5) that it equalizes the burden between different kinds of property.

Their opponents argue that (1) a unified system is better because most of the progress in taxation in the last few years has come through state tax commissions and separation keeps the localities free from such centralizing agencies; (2) it takes from cities their best sources of revenue, that is, corporation taxes; (3) it leads to wastefulness, (4) it does not give an elastic tax. The first of these objections is the greatest. The author of this book thinks, however, that there is no necessary connection between decentralized administration and separation, and in her concluding chapter even goes so far as to say that administration of state finance has been distinctly centralized by separation. This may be true of those taxes reserved to the state but can hardly be true of those reserved to the locality. Such a conclusion seems scarcely justified in view of the statement made regarding California: "The effect of separation on the centralization of administration has been much the same here as elsewhere. Separation, while bringing intangible property and that tangible property most difficult to assess, viz., the operative property of corporations, under state control, has tended to decentralize the administration of the general property tax."

The book throughout gives one the impression of advocacy of separation yet the fairness of treatment may be well illustrated by the concluding paragraph:

"There are no advantages to be derived from complete separation of sources which cannot be derived in other ways, and there is little likelihood that it will become a permanent feature of any state's system; but as a transitional state in the movement from the general property tax widely applied to classification for taxation it will doubtless play an important part. In the states where it has been introduced thus far it has been a mark of progress."

The work is both factual and interpretative. It is carefully done, and is a real addition to literature on taxation.

Roy G. Blakey.

University of Minnesota.

✢

The Budget. By René Stourm. New York: D. Appleton and Company. Pp. XXVII+619. $3.75 net.

This is one of the publications of the institute for government research at Washington, and is a companion to the volume on "The Financial Administration of Great Britain," issued by the same institute. The latter was a special report by investigators commissioned by the institute. For a general study of the subject, covering the experience of other countries besides England, the institute judiciously availed itself of a standard French work, the seventh edition of which was translated. The task was not easy as M. Stourm writes from the standpoint of French experience and uses terms not always readily intelligible to an American reader. The translator remarks that "the difficulties of rendering official and technical French into the English language, barren of corresponding terms, can be appreciated only by one who has attempted it." These difficulties have been sufficiently overcome to enable the American reader to get an intelligent idea of budget procedure in all the principal countries of the world, albeit some details are so charged with technicality as to be difficult reading. The principles of sound budget procedure are made clear, and the information presented is of the highest value for light and guidance to the United States.

Although M. Stourm views the subject from the standpoint of French experience, it so happens that reform there has had to contend with influences of the same nature as those which disturb American practice, —committee arrogance, "pork-barrel" appropriations, and conflicts between the senate and the house. The American situation is, however, peculiar in that in it the senate has the superior weight, whereas in other countries the superiority rests with the assembly. But this superiority appears to be due rather to the fact that the administration is present in the assembly than to any intrinsic reasons. This is but one among various circumstances that suggest that effective budget reform will involve extensive administrative readjustments. This is distinctly pointed out by Professor Charles A. Beard, who contributes an introduction to this translation which enhances the value of the work.

Henry Jones Ford.

Princeton University.

✢

The Socialism of To-Day. Edited by William English Walling, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Harry W. Laidler, and other members of a committee of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. New York: Henry Holt and Company. Pp. 642.

This volume is designed to be a source-book of the modern Socialist movement throughout the world. Its editors are such as will recommend it to the intelligent reader whether he be or be not a Socialist. By their joint labors these men have brought together a collection of official Socialist documents, unofficial Socialist utterances, and historical memoranda of exceedingly high importance. A full table of contents, frequent cross-references throughout the text, and an adequate index, greatly increase the value of the publication. Its editors have well fulfilled their purpose, for they have indeed produced a book which will lead to a better understanding, and facilitate the scientific study, of the modern Socialist movement.

The material collected is well classified. The first 369 pages, comprising Part I, are devoted to the movement internationally and by nations. Socialism in Germany is given 30 pages, Socialism in the United States 44 pages, and so on. Part II is devoted to "The Socialist parties and social problems." Here the documents and readings are arranged according to subject matter primarily, and the documents within a chapter are seldom drawn from less than two or three nations. Here are taken up, under their proper titles, problems of labor unionism, compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, unemployment, high cost of living, trusts, government ownership, taxation, immigration, proportional representation, and other pressing social, economic, and political questions. The purpose of each chapter is clearly to show where the Socialist parties stand, and to show, if need be, what controversies there may be within the party on questions of principle or expediency. It is in this second part of the book that there appears a chapter on "municipal Socialism" which will be of exceedingly great interest to readers of the Review.

By "municipal Socialism," according to the International Socialist Congress of Paris, 1900, "is not to be understood a special kind of Socialism, but only the application of the general principles of Socialism to a special domain of political activity. The reforms which fall under it are not and cannot be presented as realizing a collectivist society. They are presented, however, as means that the Socialists can and should utilize for preparing and facilitating the coming of that society. The municipality may become an excellent laboratory of decentralized economic life, and at the same time a formidable political fortress for the use of Socialist majorities against the bourgeois majority of the central government as soon as a considerable degree of autonomy is realized" (pp. 532–533).

Municipal Socialism means, then, something more than municipal ownership. For example the French Socialist party's municipal program of 1912 includes, among other "demands," the following: proportional representation, the referendum as applied to city affairs, the right of municipalities to form unions and federations, revision of the laws of eminent domain in order to facilitate measures necessary to the hygiene and sanitation of cities, formal recognition of the right of city laborers to unionize, the eight-hour day for municipal employes, abolition of the octroi, at least on foodstuffs, municipal insurance against fire, and a score more equally interesting. "Communal autonomy" or home rule is the first plank in the Italian Socialist party's municipal program (pp. 536–538, 544).

In Italy the year 1914 was marked by a heated controversy within the party over the question whether local Socialist parties should be permitted to fuse with other parties for purposes of temporary political success. A strong minority insisted upon this right, and seceded from the party rather than yield. In the following summer elections the Socialists united with other radical elements in Naples and Ancona with consequent success in the elections, whereas in Rome, where the Socialist party refused to soil itself by fusion with the bourgeois Democratic *bloc*, the Clerical-Conservative candidates carried the day, while the straight Socialist vote was unusually small. The only possible explanation was that many Socialists had voted secretly for the Democratic group of candidates. Had all the Socialists done so, some Democratic candidates would probably have been elected (pp. 539–547).

These are but specimens of the material in this chapter. Here are to be found also the American Socialist party's 1912 report on commission government, with discussion (pp. 549–557), a tentative draft of a model city charter (pp. 557–559), and a suggested municipal program for the United States (pp. 559–562). Then follow the New York and Milwaukee Socialist parties' municipal programs, and a statement of the results of Socialist administrations in Berkeley, Butte, Schenectady, and Milwaukee (pp. 562–580). The chapter closes with a statement by Mr. Sidney Webb on municipal taxation (pp. 580–581).

How the Socialist party profits by the non-partisan ballot is interestingly attested by two Socialists in the discussion of the report on commission government. In the words of Delegate Wilson of California, "in every city in the state of California where we were conducting a campaign with the non-partisan ballot, the short ballot and the non-partisan ballot . . . [we found] that the only political organization that could hold its strength through the campaign, both primary and final, was the Socialist organization" (p. 556). Delegate Le Suer gave exactly the same testimony for his home town in North Dakota. The convention of 1912 finally voted to leave to the state Socialist parties the difficult question of indorsing or condemning the commission form of government.

These are some of the things to be found in a volume which in its title betrays no interest whatever in municipal government.

William Anderson.
University of Minnesota.

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Outdoor Theatres: The design, construction and use of open-air auditoriums. By Frank A. Waugh. Illustrated. Boston: Richard G. Baxter. Pp. 151. $2.50.

This is the first orderly presentation in book form concerning architectural arrangements for outdoor auditoriums, though there have been many magazine articles, usually discussing some one example of open-air theatres. In the introduction to this pleasing volume, Percy Mackaye writes: "In direct relation to the redeeming of country and industrial districts through constructive leisure is the founding of outdoor theatres for the people." In this paragraph Mr. Mackaye gives us a name for that recreational use of time now coming to be known as essential to the well-rounded productive existence of every worth-while man or woman. "Constructive leisure" is right, as a phrase and as an ideal, if we Americans are to become and remain reasonably efficient.

Some of us have had dreams of a time when there would exist in connection with capitols and city halls, and in juxtaposition to other ceremonial locations, definitely arranged outdoor auditoriums which would not only serve a most excellent purpose in affording opportunities for the presentation of other dramas in the open air than those concerned with baseball and football, but would be used on great occasions instead of the abominable wooden "grand-stands." These are invariably ugly, invariably of wasteful expense, not seldom dangerous to life and limb, and almost always the reason for that wrongful use of our national flag which occurs when it hides raw hemlock or spruce construction.

Professor Waugh tells why the outdoor theatre is worth while, how it may best be used, what are its physical essentials, and where existing examples in the United States may be seen. The illustrations in this important volume include diagrams and details, and really illustrate. As we come to realize better the net civic value of making possible "constructive leisure," and the dignity of doing away with footy grand-stands for inaugurations and similar ceremonials, this pioneer work will be highly valued.

As always, Professor Waugh writes entertainingly and unconventionally. The volume is good to look at, and good to read.

J. Horace McFarland.
Harrisburg, Pa.

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The Natural Style in Landscape Gardening. By Frank A. Waugh. Illustrated. Boston: Richard G. Baxter. Pp. 151. $2.50.

The same author who has presented the present status of the outdoor theatre is responsible for what is actually a companion volume in format and time of publication, though there is no interdependence of the two books. Landscape gardening, or architecture, or engineering —and no one of the three nouns is accurately descriptive when associated with its qualifying adjective—is Professor Waugh's vocation, and the natural form of it is his hobby. He writes entertainingly of it, as indeed he always writes, and in addition, sets forth a logical series of reasons for catholicity in landscape practice. This same catholicity may eventually become "an American style," the establishment of which, in the sense that there is a definite Italian style and a definite Japanese style, Professor Waugh deems doubtful.

The NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW is not the place for an extended discussion of the volume in question. It is a proper place to indicate the real value of Professor Waugh's book to those who have to do not only with home grounds and private estates, but who are concerned in the proper and serviceable development of landscape in municipal and state parks. It is safe to say that the candid man who has read this volume will not contentedly submit to any extension of "carpet" bedding, of abnormal displays of stone dogs and wriggling carved vines in marble, in public parks, such as we occasionally see. Nor would any thoughtful reader of Professor Waugh feel satisfied that it is proper to spend money for the rearing in greenhouses maintained with the money of the public, of chrysanthemums wonderfully tied out so as to resemble nothing ever conceived by a sane imagination, of vines twisted into the shapes of stars and balls and anchors—all of which were to be seen during the autumn of 1917 in one of the parks of Buffalo.

Professor Waugh's treatise is sound, wholesome, constructive; it is good sense in the shape of good reading. It will be of value in any civic library, private or public.

J. H. McF.

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NEW YORK AS AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MUNICIPALITY. Part I. Prior to 1731. By Arthur Everett Peterson, Ph.D. Part II. 1731–1776. By George William Edwards, Ph.D. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. $5.

This admirable volume establishes a precedent which it is devoutly to be hoped will be followed in the older cities of the country. It is a careful, first-hand documentary study, not of the general history of the city which has been well covered in other books, but of its governmental life. So far as we recall there has been no exactly similar work undertaken, at least on so extensive a scale. The Johns Hopkins studies in historical and political science contained several volumes, notably the one on Philadelphia by Messrs. Allinson and Penrose, which in their way were important and significant contributions, but they do not approach in extent, thoroughness and detail the present work which is one of the "Studies in History, Economics and Public Law" edited by the faculty of political science, Columbia University.

Of the many interesting chapters that on "Regulation of Land and Streets" has a special interest in these days of congestion and zoning. The so-called "Duke's plan" shows the congested area of 1664, when the English took possession as the municipality passed its tenth birthday. From this we see that congestion is not exactly new, nor are city plans. There was no such thing as excess condemnation in those days, but there were city lands, the sale of which began as far back as 1686, for this volume goes back to the seventeenth century on the theory that the conditions then were essentially those of the eighteenth century. These city lands were sold on various conditions, appropriate to the time. The street cleaning problem then as now was a pressing one.

An excellent perspective is maintained throughout both parts, both of which abound in documentary evidence and sanely and conservatively expressed views and conclusions. The treatment is topical, including such subjects as the city's relation and control over trade, industry, docks, ferries, police, streets and finances, together with illuminating references to the early economic and political life of the city. The chapters dealing with the political aspects have their value enhanced by comparative references to other Colonial cities, especially Philadelphia, and by a discussion of the influences of religious organizations on the politics and development of the city.

THE CHILDREN'S LIBRARY: A DYNAMIC FACTOR IN EDUCATION. By Sophy H. Powell. With an introduction by John Cotton Dana. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. Pp. 460. $1.75.

This work is of marked value to librarians, teachers and parents—in short, to all who are interested in children. "It is presented in the hope," to quote from the author's preface, "that it will help libarians understand better the modern educational attitude toward children in relation to books, and teachers to appreciate the value of the work which could be done by the public library for the school."

It is a mine of information, well digested, comprehensive, clearly presented, and for years it may well be the starting point for new developments in library work for children. Much library work for children is hysterical, foolish, or faddy, and proceeds from a desire to do something,—a very laudable desire—without any real knowledge of child psychology or the social significance of education and the place of the book in it.

Mrs. Powell discusses the subject in eleven chapters, as follows: The place of books in education, Early libraries for children, The elementary-school library, The high-school library, The library resources of country children, Public library relations with public schools, The public library an integral part of public education, The children's room, The children's librarian and her training, Aids to library work with children, Book selection, Some social aspects of library work with children.

Not the least valuable part of this work is the classified bibliography of 116 pages.

SAMUEL H. RANCK.

Grand Rapids, Mich.

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MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP. By Carl D Thompson. New York: B. W. Huebsch. 1917. 12 mo. Pp. xi–114.

Mr. Thompson is the secretary of the newly organized National Public Ownership League, which held its first public conference in Chicago in November, 1917. His little book is written in a popular style and is intended for propagandist use. He does not confine his attention entirely to franchise utilities, but gives considerable space to public ownership of all sorts of things, such as parks, slaughter houses, land and even schools. The book is very optimistic and uses figures freely. Evidently, Mr. Thompson believes that figures, like the Sabbath, were made for men's use and enjoyment. It would doubtless be easy for a protagonist of private ownership to pick flaws in some of the statements made and the statistics given, but he would have hard work to overcome the sound arguments presented on behalf of municipal ownership. While claiming large financial benefits to the public on behalf of this policy, Mr. Thompson does not overlook the fact that much broader considerations than mere cheapness of service lie at the basis of municipal ownership philosophy. The diffusion as compared with the concentration of wealth, the improvement of labor conditions, the elimination of one of the most powerful motives leading to municipal inefficiency, and other fundamental things are recognized. That public functions should be performed through responsible public agencies, instead of being exploited for private profit, is a truth that is not even yet widely enough appreciated.

DELOS F. WILCOX.

New York City.

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IMPERIAL YEAR BOOK FOR THE DOMINION OF CANADA, 1917–1918. Edited by A. Southall, assisted by C. H. Moody. Ottawa: The Mortimer Company, Ltd. $3.

This year book is described as "essentially a textbook for the Canadian citizen." Replete with statistical and descriptive information concerning various phases of dominion and provincial life in Canada, it is the third of the series. The information concerning the larger cities is full and interesting, but cities as a class are not as adequately treated as it is to be hoped they will be in future volumes. There are several interesting tables dealing with municipal finance, bond sales and assessments. It is interesting to note that these data are included under the head of provinces, which have a large measure of administrative supervision and control over cities. Naturally there is a very considerable amount of information concerning Canada's participation in the war.

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The History of Tammany Hall. By Gustavus Myers. New York: Boni & Liveright, Inc. 105 W. 40th St. $2.50.

Myers' history of this famous, not to say notorious, New York political organization, first published in 1901 has become almost a classic. For years the original edition has been out of print. A new firm of publishers has done a courageous and public-spirited service in bringing out this greatly needed new and revised edition. The author has in this, as in his other books (notably his three-volume "History of Great American Fortunes") done a careful piece of research work and written a telling story of this remarkable body. Its very restraint is one among its many elements of strength and authoritativeness.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

Directory of Social Work for Baltimore and Maryland, together with List of Churches in Baltimore and Vicinity. Prepared under the Supervision of the Baltimore Federated Charities. Fourth Edition. Baltimore, Md. 1917.

The Direct Primary in New Jersey. By Ralph Simpson Botts, Ph.D. New York. 1917. Pp. 349.

Drink and The War. From the Patriotic Point of View. By Marr Murray. London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd. Pp. 156. 1s. net.

The Essentials of American Constitutional Law. By Francis Newton Thorpe, Ph.D., LL.D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Pp. 279. $1.75.

The Food Problem. By Vernon Kellogg and Alonzo E. Taylor. With a preface by Herbert Hoover. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 213. $1.25.

The Foundations of National Prosperity. Studies in the Conservation of Permanent National Resources. By Richard T. Ely, Ralph H. Hess, Charles K. Leith, Thomas Nixon Carver. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 378. $2.

A History of the Australian Ballot System in the United States. By Eldon Cobb Evans. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Pp. 102.

An Historical Introduction to Social Economy. By F. Stuart Chapin, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Sociology and Economics in Smith College. New York: The Century Company. Pp. 316. Illustrated. $2.

A Municipal Experiment, or The Hall of Records Power Plant. By Reginald Pelham Bolton. New York: The Bureau of Public Service Economics, Inc., 55 Liberty Street. Pp. 236.

Postal Savings. An Historical and Critical Study of the Postal Savings Bank System of the United States. By Edwin Walter Kemmerer. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. Pp. 176. $1.25.

Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the International Association of Rotary Clubs, Atlanta, Ga., June 17–21, 1917. International Association of Rotary Clubs, 910 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. $1.50.

State Government in Pennsylvania: A Manual of Practical Citizenship. Philadelphia: The Harper Press. Pp. 272.

State Sanitation. A Review of the Work of the Massachusetts State Board of Health. By George Chandler Whipple. Vol. II. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Pp. 452. $2.50.

Self-Surveys by Colleges and Universities. By William H. Allen. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company. Educational Survey Series. Pp. 394. Illustrated. $3.

Universal Training for Citizenship and Public Service. By William H. Allen, Director, Institute for Public Service. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 281. $1.50.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

County Government in Texas.[1]—To the scanty literature on county government reform, this is a welcome and important contribution. Seventy-five pages are given to a detailed description of the uniform governmental structure which Texas law gives to the counties of that state. The various county officers are described, their powers and duties and their relations to the smaller divisions of government and to the state. A chart of the Texas county exhibits the great and unnecessary complexity of the county organization in contrast with a county-manager plan.

The remaining pages are given to criticism. Here the author has necessarily ignored constitutional restrictions and popular prejudices in his bold projects for reconstruction.

Among the faults of the present system, Dr. James lists rigidity and constitutional interference, misfit uniformity, lack of home rule and lack of power. He suggests removal of the county attorney, judge, county clerk, sheriff, constables and justices of the peace to the control of the state which makes the laws which they are supposed to enforce. For tax officers who collect both state and local taxes, he proposes local appointment and state supervision accompanied by state financial aid. Likewise with health, education and roads.

A commission-manager plan of the usual municipal pattern is proposed with five county commissioners who appoint a manager who in turn appoints and supervises the rest, thus taking numerous officers out of politics and achieving a short ballot. The fee system is condemned. County police are proposed. For subordinate areas abolition is suggested in favor of the local assessment principle, while for major cities the proposal is to let them be counties and assume all county functions.

Except for the debatable proposal as to an extension of the principle of state aid, there is nothing very new or striking in the list of proposed changes, but by the bringing together of all the reforms that are now accepted as orthodox among the handful of students of county government, the author draws an interesting picture of the goal that lies ahead. Far ahead! For the concluding pages are devoted to the constitutional provisions of Texas touching counties and it seems plain that it would require a political earthquake and a constitutional convention to untangle the existing scheme.

Presumably the University could not go muck-raking very vigorously among the Texas counties to collect the kind of evidence that is needed to lift the pamphlet from the academic and legal class and make its proposals a live issue in the state. The chief lack of the volume is the establishment of a popular grievance against the old-fashioned county plan and against the corrupt and petty political rings which it so often shelters. The complaint of this pamphlet that counties are not up to modern standards of simple organization is not in itself enough to prove the urgency of a change. The difficulty of securing satisfactory evidence is largely due to the pall of silence that overlies county government everywhere by reason of the weakness and political control of our rural press. Civic workers realize vaguely that there is a county problem but "revelations" in the newspaper sense are needed to awaken the public.

Meanwhile let's have more good pioneer work like this to build up an orthodoxy of county government reform! So far, happily, everybody in the field agrees. There are hardly enough of us yet to make a quarrel!

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The City-Manager Plan for Chicago.[1]—This sixty-page pamphlet contains the draft of a bill providing for the reorganization of the municipal government of Chicago, along the lines suggested in the model charter of the National Municipal

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[1] University of Texas Bulletin no. 1732, by Herman G. James, J.D., Ph.D. 118 pp. pamphlet.

[1] The Chicago bureau of public efficiency, October, 1917.

League. It is explained in the introduction that this draft act submitted by the Chicago bureau of public efficiency is merely the first step in a larger program, which includes "the unification into one municipal entity of all the local governing agencies within metropolitan Chicago, under a plan of simple, centralized, responsible government." The bureau agrees with those who contend that the present is no time for "mere experiments in social and governmental reconstruction," but contends that the form suggested in the draft bill is so elementary in its machinery, and has proved so workable in different parts of the world, that its adoption cannot be considered experimental.

The draft bill is divided into seven parts. The first contains the amending sections; the second discusses the methods of election, qualifications, tenure of office, duties, etc., of the municipal officers; the third is devoted to the city council; the fourth outlines the election system; the fifth concerns itself with the recall and removal of aldermen; the sixth provides for the redistricting of the city; and the seventh lays down the procedure for the adoption of the act.

The main points are:

1. Reduction of number of aldermen from 70 to 35; one from each ward; term of office 4 years; salary $4,000; and subject to recall.
2. The mayor (who is the city manager) elected by council for indeterminate tenure; subject to removal by council; names heads of departments except comptroller and clerk; and he must be "a citizen of the United States."
3. Veto power of mayor used only to call attention of council to "faulty ordinances"; vote necessary for passage over veto same as that necessary for original passage.
4. Non-partisan election; nomination by petition; candidates' names rotated by series on ballots; and supplementary elections similar to French method.
5. Recall of aldermen on petition of 25 per cent of those voting at last election; cannot take place until alderman has been in office one year; also one year after returned by recall election; alderman returned at recall election receives $500 from city treasury.
6. City to have 35 wards; and to redistrict in 1931 and decennially thereafter.
7. Act to be submitted to popular vote.

It is worth noting that the word "*city manager*" does not appear in the act. The "*mayor*" has all the essential powers of the manager under the commission-manager plan.

H. G. Hodges.[1]

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The Survey of the Minneapolis Teachers' Retirement Fund.—The Minneapolis teachers' retirement fund association, an organization of the 1,600 public school teachers of Minneapolis, is the outgrowth of a voluntary association in 1909 of about 600 Minneapolis teachers in a society in which, three years later, membership was made legally compulsory for all teachers. Upon completing twenty years of service and payment of $400 into the association's retirement fund, a member becomes eligible to retire on an annual pension of $333.33. Those remaining longer in service pay $25 a year during the next ten years and on retirement receive an additional $16.67 allowance for each year of such payment. The maximum pension is $500 a year, payable on retirement after completion of 30 or more years of service and payment of a total sum of $650. The city contributes to the fund annually the proceeds of a one tenth mill property tax, which about equals the teachers' current contributions.

The liberal allowance made after relatively short service has induced most teachers to retire between the ages of 40 and 55 when, the survey states, 90 per cent of them are able to continue teaching. As the organizers failed to provide, either by increased contributions or decreased allowances, for the greater number of years which young pensioners as a class are bound to survive, the annual pension disbursements have, in seven years, overtaken the total annual income of $63,000 and now threaten to dissipate the $350,000 accumulated by the combined contributions of city and teachers during the fund's infancy, when pensioners were few. This condition is the inevitable result of the failure, common to nearly all the numerous teachers' pension systems in this country, to ascertain the cost of providing the benefits desired before deciding on the amount to be charged for them—the same fallacy which has brought so many fraternal insurance organizations to grief.

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[1] Secretary, Cleveland city club.

It now appears from the survey that the liabilities to teachers now eligible for pension and to teachers already pensioned, rated (presumably because of their urgency) as "major liabilities" at $2,795,000 are "so much in excess of all possible assets that there is little necessity for making additional, unnecessary and difficult calculations" of the probably greater liability of the fund on account of prospective pensions for the three fourths of the active teaching force who have taught less than twenty years. Teachers who may retire by paying arrearages add a liability of $230,000.

Confronted with the necessity for increasing the fund income or reducing both present pensions and prospective allowances of present teachers, the survey recommends:

> That annual dues of all teachers be increased to $50, payable throughout service;
>
> That the city be asked to match these contributions;
>
> That the $100 a year, with interest, be credited to an individual account for each teacher;
>
> That full refunds, with interest, be allowed both teacher and city when a teacher leaves the service without pension;
>
> That 55 be the minimum retiring age except for disability and 15 years the minimum period of service required for disability retirement; and
>
> That the annuity allowed be that purchasable on an actuarially-sound basis by the accumulated contributions of $100 a year and interest thereon to the age of actual retirement.

Upon retirement at age 55, a woman teacher would receive, it is stated, as the result of thirty years' contributions of $100, an annuity of $409.61. Upon retiring at age 60, after forty years of contributions at the same rate, an annuity of $795.58 would be paid.

For the sense of security alone which participants in the proposed scheme would have, if no other reason existed, the change from the old plan to that proposed would be well worth while. But there are other inducements. The natural objection to being compelled to save an appreciable sum is overcome by the generous 100 per cent subsidy proposed as the city's share. Service is reasonably prolonged, the cost of service retirement thereby reduced, disability provided for (to be sure in a very limited way), contributions increased to meet fully the reduced cost, instead of ignoring cost entirely as in the past, the possibility of the recurrence of a deficit is eliminated and, so far as the younger teachers are concerned, an avenue of exit from the service is provided which will make it unnecessary, from humanitarian motives, to retain them in the school system when old age shall materially diminish their usefulness, as would be the case were there no retirement system.

No suggestion is offered for reserving out of the fund to the credit of the individual accounts of the teachers now in active service $272,829.68 already contributed by them, nor for making up, in any way, the additional amounts which should have been contributed by, or on behalf of, teachers long in the service in order to assure them a retirement allowance equal to that which will be produced for those just entering the school system. The desirability of proportioning retiring allowances to the salaries to which the teachers have become accustomed is not admitted, it appears, by the teachers, even as concerns those just entering. Nor is any way provided for carrying the existing pension roll of $61,000.

The scheme proposed is a pure savings scheme, to be subsidized by the city dollar for dollar so far as it applies to those who actually retire. It so far reverses the past policy with respect to the fund as to propose the substitution of more than sufficient contributions by the city for current insufficient contributions; *i.e.*, contributions are to be made currently not only on behalf of teachers who will probably remain long enough to earn retirement but on behalf, also, of that large percentage which will assuredly leave the service before becoming eligible for retirement. While these unnecessary contributions will eventually revert to the city, the fact that they are unnecessary, and that correct rates of contribution by the city in any year may be actuarially ascertained with the nicety ordinarily demanded in computation of other municipal sinking fund instalments, makes this feature of the proposed plan worthy of reconsideration and modification.

The survey, notwithstanding indicated defects in detail, presents a mass of useful data collection of which has required much thoughtful and painstaking effort. It will doubtless, like the survey of the old New York city teachers' fund, result in arousing intelligent discussion among teachers which, while involving modification of the proposed plan, will develop necessary realization by the teachers of the fact that because of inroads made by present beneficiaries on moneys not contributed by them, the time is imminent when the fund, as at present constituted, will be unable to pay either standard benefits or those lesser benefits which could have been produced by the current rate of contribution to a system operated on a sound reserve basis.

Ralph L. Van Name.[1]

✣

Municipal Ownership of Public Utilities.—Three interesting pamphlets upon various phases of municipal ownership have recently appeared.[2]

Mr. Wilcox's short article is merely suggestive. He points out five barriers to municipal ownership of public utilities: first, constitutional restrictions and illiberal charters; second, long term franchises, and numerous franchises for the same kind of utility which have been granted under different conditions and which expire at different times, so that a city is not in a position to deal with one of the utilities comprehensively; third, the legal and economic difficulty of financing extensive utilities; fourth, the low salaries paid to technically trained engineers, accountants, and lawyers as compared with salaries paid by a private corporation; and fifth, the lack of a franchise survey to form the basis for a constructive public utility program as a part of the city plan. Mr. Wilcox does not discuss the methods of overcoming the difficulties, except that he suggests a solution of the financial problem by requiring privately-owned utilities to be paid for within a reasonable period of years, and then to become municipal property free from debt.

Mr. Thieme explains that "every attempt to bring about reforms in governmental conditions in city, county, or state, bumps hard against two powerful obstacles"—privately-owned public utilities and liquor. These are the invisible forces which protect the outworn constitution and enact stifling laws. A new constitution with home rule for cities is fought by this invisible government because the city electors are finding it to their advantage to overthrow both if given an opportunity. "Saloon-keepers entered politics to protect themselves from regulation and control. When public utilities took over our political parties, they also annexed the saloon, and while the saloon furnished the votes for public utilities, they in turn furnished campaign money and protection to the saloon, at the same time dividing the control of public office with the brewers and the bosses." Now the public utilities have decided to use the courts. For instance, in 1913 the legislature of Indiana passed twenty-two amendments to the constitution of which one provided that no law for the recall of the judiciary shall ever be passed, and another created a court of twelve members divided into classes of three judges, which provision would have given two judges the power to declare whether a law is unconstitutional. As the due process of law clause of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States practically permits a court to declare unconstitutional any law of which it disapproves, as being unreasonable, the two judges would have had enormous power to protect vested interests. At its next session the legislature was dissuaded from submitting the amendments. As to the saloons, Mr. Thieme says that in one saloon there were found fifteen different printed circulars opposing a constitutional convention.

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[1] Pension examiner, New York city commission on pensions.

[2] Public Utility Advice from the Public Point of View, by Delos F. Wilcox, a reprint from *The American City*; Liquor and Public Utilities in Indiana Politics, by Theodore F. Thieme, Citizens' League of Indiana, Fort Wayne; Municipal Ownership in the United States, by Evans Clark, Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 70, Fifth Avenue, New York.

Mr. Clark shows by means of copious statistics the extent to which municipal ownership has advanced in this country, but that private corporations have retained the cream of the business, except where the public health is concerned. For instance, 30 per cent of all electric light plants were city owned in 1912, but the output of municipal plants per kilowatt hour was only 10,436,276 while that of privately owned plants was 537,526,730. That is, although the number of municipal plants was 30 per cent of the total, their output was only 5 per cent of the total output for the year, because small cities have been compelled to install their plants whereas large cities have not been permitted to do so. The gas, telephone, and street railway systems are very profitable, and these are almost entirely in private hands. But 150 of the 195 cities with populations exceeding 30,000 own their water works, because they do not care to entrust their health to private corporations.

Mr. Clark's tentative hypothesis is: "We, the people of this country, are accustomed to allow a small group of investors to reap huge personal profits from bartering our indispensable public necessities. It is only when our bodily security is threatened that we call a halt. And to this hypothesis there is a significant corollary: when the public need carries with it no large promise of profit, private capital steers clear and public ownership is Hobson's choice."

Although the author is treating the subject of municipal ownership from a socialistic point of view, he is fair throughout, and his arguments are very persuasive.

Frank Abbott Magruder.

✠

"Pay as You Go" Policy Urged for California Schools.—The September, 1917, issue of the *California Taxpayers' Journal* (304 American Bank Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal.) is devoted mainly to a discussion of school bonds in California, for the purpose of calling attention to mounting school expenditures and of checking reckless bond issues for school buildings which become obsolete long before the bonds are paid. In the opinion of the California taxpayers association a "pay as you go" policy should be imposed by law upon all local authorities in respect to school buildings. "It should be borne in mind," the association says, "that a school building is a non-productive investment financially, and that its value rapidly decreases from year to year. The same number of buildings has to be built whether the money is raised by bonds or by taxation only they cost more than twice as much when paid for by forty-year bonds. . . . When a bond issue is deemed absolutely necessary, it should be a short term serial issue. Such an issue is not only the cheapest, but it sells more advantageously, and is apt to be paid off during the usefulness of the improvement; also, during the life of the generation responsible for it. Ten years is long enough for most bonds, and only in extreme cases are districts warranted in borrowing for as long as twenty years."

The argument for increased tax levies versus bonding is presented concretely by comparing the experience of Portland, Oregon, and Oakland, California. The former, although doubling its population every decade since 1860, and requiring on an average 60 new class rooms every year for elementary schools alone, has paid for its school buildings by current taxation. Oakland, on the other hand, in common with other California cities, has built its schools by issuing forty-year bonds and is now finding it increasingly difficult to bear the growing interest charges and finance the new school accommodations required.

The facts here set forth in regard to the school bond question in California could doubtless be duplicated in many rapidly growing cities and should raise the question as to the wisdom of borrowing money to pay for regularly recurring expenditures for non-revenue-producing improvements.

⁂

New Sources of Revenue for Minnesota Municipalities.—The October number of *Minnesota Municipalities* contains a very interesting report made to the league of Minnesota municipalities by the committee on taxation and assessments (p. 156–159). The report points out the need of securing new sources of revenue and discusses in some detail, and with a considerable degree of favorable comment, the topics of special assessments, excess condemnation and special land taxes. It makes no definite recommendations aside from suggesting that these systems be given consideration with the object of ascertaining whether they measure up to the requirements of our American municipal conditions. The subject of taxation, the committee thinks, should be fully discussed at the next meeting of the league and it is particularly urged that all of the important recommendations of the state tax commission be presented to the league for its consideration and action. The establishment of such a practice would go far in the direction of developing the type of co-operation between the state government and the municipalities which has been so highly developed in some of the Canadian provinces.

⁂

Financial Federations.—Several years ago the Cleveland chamber of commerce instituted a movement whereby the charities of that city were brought together into a federation for the purpose of raising by combined effort sufficient funds for their maintenance. This precedent has been followed and there are now fourteen such federations, five have been abandoned, and one is at present inactive. They vary in size from that in Cleveland with a budget of over half a million dollars, to that in Oshkosh, Wis., and Richmond, Ind., where the budgets are $10,000. In the majority of these cities the plan has only been in operation for two or three years, and on account of the shortness of this period there has been a great difference of opinion as to their success, financial, educational and social. A committee of the American Association for Organizing Charity (130 East 22d Street, New York) composed of W. Frank Persons, of the New York charity organization, William H. Baldwin, of the Washington associated charities, Frank R. Johnson, of the Boston associated charities, and Eugene T. Lies, the general superintendent of the Chicago united charities, was appointed to study all the available data for each city in which a financial federation has been tried. They have published their report in a document consisting of 285 pages, and have reached the conclusion that it is unwise for any other city to undertake this experiment until there is more evidence accumulated to show the unquestioned success of the plan. The report is published by the association.

C. R. W.

⁂

Standardization of Salaries and Grades for the City of Akron, Ohio.—One by one the more progressive cities throughout the country are falling in line with the standardization movement. The latest report comes from Akron, Ohio, where the local bureau of municipal research, a citizens' agency, has been conducting a study for about three and one-half months and on November twelfth transmitted to the common council a detailed plan for standardizing salaries and grades in the city service.

The recommendations of the bureau of municipal research, in the main, follow along the lines of the standardization that has been worked out for New York city by the bureau of personal service. A slight departure from the New York model worth noting is the omission in the Akron plan of elaborate definitions of service classes and groups, the specifications being confined entirely to individual positions. The enforcement of the standardization measure, if adopted, will be entrusted to the civil service commission.

The appendix to the report contains a table in which the existing and proposed salary rates for positions in Akron are compared with the lowest, highest and average salary rates for similar positions in fourteen other American cities.

William C. Beyer.

* * *

St. Charles Boys.[1]—This inquiry was made to test the methods at St. Charles according to the percentage of the boys who "made good" and to discover, if possible, ways and means by which training given in the institution might be more effectively conservative. St. Charles is the state reform school for delinquent boys, situated about thirty miles west of Chicago. It receives boys from all over the state, but naturally, a large percentage of them come from Chicago.

The study, which is summarized in nineteen printed pages, deals with a few specific points which are very wisely directed mainly towards the problem of whether or not the training of St. Charles is followed by good behavior. There is no doubt that in a large share of cases this does not obtain. There is no attempt in this study to criticise the work at St. Charles itself, but it offers evidence that one great weakness in the situation is the lack of an adequate staff of qualified visitors for the work which is only begun at St. Charles. Definite recommendations are made for the work of visitors to the homes of boys released and for the adequate supervision and help of the boys.

The tremendous weakness of the situation in Illinois is shown up candidly.

William Healy.

* * *

A New List of Commercial Organizations has been published by the bureau of foreign and domestic commerce of the Department of Commerce. It is a revision of the 1915 list. It is interesting to note that it contains not only all the local commercial organizations but indicates which of them are engaged in civic work. National organizations like the National Municipal League and the American Civic Association are noted.

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[1] A survey made by the bureau of social service, department of public welfare, city of Chicago, by E. E. Eubank, Ph.D.

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Boston Finance Commission. [Report of an examination of the annual reports of Boston, with a view to their standardization, reducing their cost, and including certain items of important information, made at the request of the City Council.] (Boston City Record, Sept. 29, 1917: 882–884.)

Recommends the creation of a board of publication, to consist of three city officials, serving *ex officio*, with ample power to edit, revise, and eliminate data, so that the reports of city departments will be brief and concise.

Columbus, Ohio. Supplement to the City Bulletin: [Containing the] Municipal Manual, 1917. 1917. 184 pp.

A new departure in city reports

Municipal Ownership

See also Street Railways.

Bolton (R. P.). A municipal experiment; or, the Hall of Records power plant. 1917. 236 pp.

Published by the N. Y. Bureau of Public Service Economics.

City Club of Los Angeles (Cal.). Report on government ownership of public utility service undertakings, prepared by the Committee on Municipal Ownership. 1917. 38 pp. tables.

New York City. Chamberlain. Cost of acquisition by the City of New York of all public utilities. Oct. 8, 1917. 4 sheets, typewritten.

Thieme (J. F.). Municipal ownership—The salvation of our cities. (N. J. Municipalities, Oct., Nov., 1917: 13–15; 5, 16, 21.)

Pavements

See also Roads.

Dutton (E. R.). Recent practice in wood block pavements [with discussion]. (Proceedings, Am. Road Builders' Assn., Feb., 1917: 145–162.)

Farrington (W. R.). Bituminous roads and pavements and treatments [with discussion]. (Proceedings, Am. Road Builders' Assn., Feb., 1917: 59–96.)

Periodical Publications

See also Municipal Government.

Civic Federation of Dallas. *The Dallas Survey.* A journal of social work. Issued semi-monthly. vol. i, no. 1, Sept. 1, 1917.

The offices of the Federation are at 1306½ Commerce St., Dallas, Tex.

Social Welfare. Monthly. vol. i, no. 1, Oct., 1917. St. Paul, Minn.

A new periodical issued in the interest of welfare work in St. Paul. It is published at 409 Wilder Bldg., St. Paul, Minn. Subscription $1 per year.

Police

See also Public Health.

Pennsylvania. Department of Labor and Industry. Police cost in Pennsylvania cities of the third class. [1917.] 1 sheet, typewritten.

Robinson (James). [Philadelphia] training school for police. (Proceedings, Internat. Assn. of Chiefs of Police. Je., 1916: 81–84.)

Woods (Arthur). The police department of New York City. (Modern City, Nov., 9–16.)

Ports and Terminal Facilities

Cherington (P. T.). The port of Boston. (Current Affairs, Nov. 26, Dec. 3, 1917: 6, 8; 6, 8, 11.)

The first two instalments of a report prepared by Professor Cherington for the joint sub-committee on Lighterage, of the Boston Chamber of Commerce. Other instalments will follow.

Hoyt (W. H.). Design of docks and wharves. (Canadian Eng., Sept. 27, 1917: 277–280. diagrs.)

New York City. Municipal Reference Library. [List of references on] the West Side Track and Terminal problem. (Notes, Nov. 28, 1917: 97–114.)

Selding, Hermann de. The Port of New York—Present conditions and future needs. A national institution—The necessity for federal aid—Recent improvements—War conditions emphasize the present inadequate facilities. (Real Estate Bul., Oct., 1917: 73–76.)

Public Defender

Embree (W. D.). The New York "public defender." (Jour. of . . . Criminal Law and Criminology, Nov., 1917: 554–563.)

Public Health

See also Charities, Child Welfare, Street Cleaning.

Anon. Periodical examination of health department employes. (Boston Med. and Surg. Jour., Sept. 6, 1917: 340–341.)

"For the past two years every employe of the New York Department of Health has been obliged to meet this requirement of an annual medical examination, in addition to the one received on entrance to the Department service."

Boulnois (H. P.). The effect of the war on municipal engineering and public health. (Surveyor and Mun. and Cy. Eng., Oct. 26, 1917: 363–365.)

Covert (F. A.). Clean-up campaigns in relation to public health. 1917. [4 pp.]

A paper read at the Dominion Conference of the Civic Improvement League of Canada, held in Winnipeg, May 28–29, 1917. The author is chairman of the Clean-up Committee of the City Improvement League of Montreal. His address is 55 St. François Xavier St., Montreal.

Dayton. Division of Health. Typhoid in Dayton, May 1 to September 20, 1917. By A. L. Light, Commissioner of Health. [1917. 10 pp.] Map.

Harris (L. I.). The opportunities which industrial hygiene offers to the general practitioner and to the public health officer. (Medicine and Surgery, Sept., 1917: 686–697.)

Hastings (C. J.). The modern conception of public health administration and its national importance. 1917. 20 pp.

An article by Medical Officer of Health, Toronto, reprinted from the Canadian Medical Association Journal, Aug., 1917.

Hicks (H. M.). Efficiency in public health work. (N. Y. State, Health Dept. Health News, Sept., 1917: 218–224.)

Los Angeles. Board of Education. Health supervision in . . . city schools. Prepared under the direction of the superintendent of schools, by Irving R. Bancroft, Director of School Health Department. June 25, 1917. 46 pp., plates. (Pub. no. 1.)

New York Academy of Medicine. Public Health Committee. Report on the medical organization of the Police Department of New York City. 1917. 30 pp.

Reprinted from the Medical Record, Sept. 29, 1917.

New York City. Department of Health. The health of food handlers. A co-operative study by the Department of Health, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and the American Museum of Safety. Report prepared by Louis I. Harris and Louis I. Dublin. 1917. 24 pp., tables. (Monograph ser. no. 17.)

——. Section of sanitary code and regulations governing the physical examination of food handlers. 1917. 3 pp.

Peck (T. B.). The layworker in public health education. (New York State.

Health Department. Health News, Sept., 1917: 211–218, chart.)

Potter (F. H.). Prevention first. What the Health Department is doing for New York City. (Outlook, Sept. 5, 1917: 17–22. illus.)

Rankin (W. S.). The new public health [with discussion]. (Jour., Am. Med. Assn., Oct. 27, 1917: 1391–1394.)

Sloane (G. F.). Meat and milk inspection with regard to public health. (Jour., Am. Veterinary Med. Assn., Oct., 1917: 63–66.)

Smyth (H. F.) and Miller (T. G.). A hygienic survey of cigar manufacturing in Philadelphia. (Medicine and Surgery, Sept., 1917: 698–718. illus.)

United States. Public Health Service. A program of public health for cities, by W. C. Rucker. 1917. 6 pp. (Reprint no. 392.)

—— ——. State and insular health authorities. 1917. 16 pp. (Reprint no. 405.)

Winslow (C.-E. A.). Safeguarding the health of children. (Pub. Health [London], Sept., 1917: 240–242.)

Read at the annual meeting of the Ontario Health Officers' Assn., Toronto, May, 1917.

Milk Supply

Connecticut. Agricultural College. Studies from the survey on the cost of market milk production, by Karl B. Musser and others. Jy., 1917. 19 pp. tables. (Extension Service bul. no. 7.)

Frost (W. D.). Counting the living bacteria in milk—A practical test. (Jour. of Bacteriology, Sept., 1917: 567–583, chart. tables.)

MacNutt (J. S.). The modern milk problem in sanitation, economics, and agriculture. 1917. 258 pp., plates.

Contents: Why there is a milk problem; The case to-day; The sanitary factors; The economic factors; How to solve the problem.

Massachusetts. Agricultural Experiment Station. The cost of distributing milk in six cities and towns in Massachusetts, by Alexander E. Cance and Richard H. Ferguson. May, 1917. 54 pp., plates. tables. (Bul. no. 173.)

From actual investigation it is shown that the average cost was 2.64 cents per quart in 1914 and 1915. An increase of at least 25 per cent would have to be made now owing to greater cost of labor and of supplies.

Milk Committee of the Oranges (N. J.). Report from Jan. 1, to Dec. 31, 1916. [1917.] 31 pp. diagr., tables.

New York City. Department of Health. Sections of sanitary code and regulations governing the production, transportation, pasteurization, and sale of milk, skimmed milk, cream, condensed or concentrated milk, condensed skimmed milk, and modified milk. 1917. 44 pp.

New York State. Joint Legislative Committee on Dairy Products, Live Stock and Poultry. Preliminary report of the [so-called Wick's] Committee, transmitted to the legislature Feb. 15, 1917. 1917. 892 pp., plates.

Contains a great deal of valuable information as to the Milk Supply of New York City, particularly with reference to sanitary conditions. There are also reports of public accountants concerning costs of operating, manufacturing and delivery of the chief distributing companies.

Ruehle (G. L. A.) and others. The milking machine as a factor in the production of sanitary milk. (Am. Jour. of Pub. Health, Oct., 1917: 840–846. tables.)

United States. Public Health Service. Safe milk; an important food problem, by Ernest A. Sweet. 1917. 24 pp. (Supplement no. 31.)

Public Service

See also Civil Service.

Milwaukee. Board of City Service Commissioners. Classification and standardization of personal service and summary distribution and comparative salaries of offices and positions in the Milwaukee city government, with constructive recommendations and regulations for positive employment administration. Prepared . . . by J. L. Jacobs & Company, Chicago. 1917. 336 pp.

Public Utilities

See also Municipal Ownership.

King (C. L.). Electric rates and their tendencies. (Utilities Mag., Oct., 1917: 7–13. tables.)

Little (A. S. B.). Should gas standards be revised to meet war conditions? (Utilities Mag., Nov., 1917: 3–9.)

Roth (Louis). Regulation of statutory [railroad, gas, electric] rates in New York. (Utilities Mag., Oct., 1917: 3–7.)

——. Effect of regulation on contract obligations. (Utilities Mag., Nov., 1917: 9–13.)

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Keene (A. M.). Purchasing department forms used by a public service corporation—III, IV. (Purchasing Agent, Sept., Oct., 1917: 77–81, 108–111. forms.)

Recreation

See also Housing.

Curtis (H. S.). The play movement and its significance. 1917. 346 pp., plates.

United States. Bureau of the Census. General statistics of cities: 1916, including statistics of parks, playgrounds, museums and art galleries, zoölogical collections, music and entertainments, swimming pools and bathing beaches, and other features of the recreation service. 1917. 88 pp.

Refuse and Garbage Disposal

Baldensperger (H. L.). Dollars in city dumps. The making of money and men through the Chicago salvage system. (Am. City, Oct., 1917: 305–308. illus.)

Bonnet (Frederic, Jr.). How Worcester is helping to conserve the national food supply. Valuable data from one of the largest and oldest municipal piggeries in the United States. (Am. City, Nov., 1917: 395–400. illus. table.)

Hallock (J. C.). Refuse collection and disposal. (N. J. Municipalities, Nov., 1917: 16–21.)

Hering (Rudolph). Contract plans and specifications for obtaining refuse incineration works on the most economical basis. (Mun. Eng., Nov., 1917: 201–203.)

Springfield (Mass.) Bureau of Municipal Research. Garbage disposal. 1917. 69 pp., typewritten.

Contents: Summary; Classes of municipal waste; Requirements of garbage disposal plant for Springfield; Garbage disposal in Springfield in past years; Garbage disposal methods in common use; Dumping, sanitary fills, burial, plowing; Incineration; Reduction; Feeding; Conclusion; Recommendations.

Roads

See also Pavements.

Breed (H. E.). Best practice in concrete road construction [with discussion]. (Proceedings, Am. Road Builders' Assn., Feb., 1917: 94–144.)

Brown (C. C.). Maintenance and repair of improved roads. (Mun. Jour., Nov. 15, 1917: 485–486.)

United States. Department of Agriculture. State highway mileage and expenditures for the calendar year 1916. 1917. 8 pp. (Circular no. 74.)

Schools

See also Education, Municipal Government, Surveys, Vocational Guidance.

Challman (S. A.). The rural school plant for rural teachers and school boards, normal schools, teachers' training classes, rural extension bureaus. 1917. 256 pp. illus. plans.

New York City. Board of Education. Some effects of the duplicate schools. By Joseph S. Taylor, District Supt. of Schools. 1917. 24 pp. tables.

——. Department of Education. Division of Reference and Research. The school assembly. 1917. 107 pp. (Pub. no. 15.)

Oakland, Cal. Department of Public Instruction. The school custodian, his duties and responsibilities; a series of lectures edited by Wilford E. Talbert. June, 1917. 44 pp. illus. (Bd. of Educ. Bul. no. 8.)

Theisen (W. W.). The city superintendent and the board of education. 1917. 137 pp.

United States. Bureau of Education. Bibliography of school lunches, compiled by Lucy Condell. 1917. 25 pp.

—— ——. Current practice in city school administration, by W. S. Deffenbaugh. 1917. 98 pp. tables. (Bul., 1917, no. 8.)

Furnishes data concerning school-board organization, administration, and supervision in cities of more than 25,000 population.

—— ——. Higher technical education in foreign countries, standards and scope, prepared by A. T. Smith, and W. S. Jesien. 1917. 121 pp., plates. (Bul., 1917, no. 11.)

—— ——. School extension statistics, by Clarence Arthur Perry. 1917. 30 pp. tables. (Bul., 1917, no. 30.)

Sewerage and Sewage Disposal

See also Water Works.

Abbott (H. R.). Sewer construction in Chicago. (Mun. Jour., Oct. 11, 1917: 350–354. illus.)

American Public Health Association. Report of Committee on Sewerage and Sewage Disposal [suggesting definitions for the terms used in sewerage and sewage disposal practice, and recommending that in reports, contracts, and agreements, engineers and health officers use these terms with the meanings designated by the Committee]. (Am. Jour. of Pub. Health, Oct., 1917: 847–853.)

Anon. Sewerage system for a small town. Screen, septic tank, coke filter, settling tank and chlorine treatment—pumping from a low district—mixing and distributing concrete at plant—trench excavation by machinery. (Mun. Jour., Nov. 29, 1917: 529–531. illus.)

Brown (Reginald). Sewage and its precipitation: further experiments. (Surveyor and Mun. and Cy. Eng., Oct. 26, 1917: 358–361. tables.)

Kershaw (S. B. de B.). Sewage purification and disposal. 1917. 340 pp. illus. (Cambridge Pub. Health ser.)

Whittemore (I. W.). Sewer drop manholes. (Mun. Engs. Jour., Sept., 1917: 261–276, plates.)

Smoke Abatement

Lonergan (J. M.). Smoke—its cause, effect and remedy. (Mun. Engs. Jour., Oct., 1917. Paper no. 113.)

Smoke Abatement Activities in American Cities. 1. New York, by Joseph M. Lonergan. 2. Pittsburgh, by J. W. Henderson. 3. Cincinnati, by Walter M. Squires. (Heating and Ventilating Mag., Oct., 1917: 27–33. illus.)

State Government and Administration

See also Elections, Home Rule, Statutes.

California. Legislative Counsel Bureau. Constitution of the State of California and summary of amendments. 1917. 376 pp.

Appended are the Magna Charta, Declaration of Rights, Declaration of Independence, Articles of Confederation and Constitution of the U. S.

Indiana University. Bureau of Public Discussion. A new constitution for Indiana: a club study outline and suggestions for study. June, 1917. 11 pp. (Bul. of the Extension Div., ii, no. 10.)

United States. Senate. The statewide initiative and referendum. An article on the present status of the statewide initiative and referendum statutes, what they are, where they are in use, and how they work, by Judson King. 1917. 16 pp. (64. Cong. 2d sess., Sen. doc. no. 736.)

Williams (S. J.). Centralized engineering succeeds in Wisconsin. A dozen scattered state engineering bureaus were consolidated under a state engineer in 1915—Dual control of bureaus practicable. (Eng. News-Record, Oct. 25, 1917: 791–793. illus.)

Statutes, Compilations of

New York State. Statutes. Annotated consolidated laws . . . as amended to Jan. 1, 1918 . . . edited by Clarence F. Birdseye, Robert C. Cumming and Frank B. Gilbert. 2d ed., edited by Robert C. Cumming and F. B. Gilbert. v. 1. 1917.

v. 1. Constitution: Abandonment to County Judges.

United States. Statutes. Important federal laws, compiled by John A. Lapp. 1917. 933 pp.

"The list of acts compiled in this volume indicates the extent to which the federal government has gone in controlling the affairs of men and in providing for the common welfare. The publication of these acts in a single volume will undoubtedly impress thinking citizens with the significance of modern changes in the relations existing between the states and the nation."

Street Cleaning

American Public Health Association. Report of the Committee on Street Cleaning, Sanitary section. (Am. Jour. of Pub. Health, Oct., 1917: 854–867. tables.)

The main object of this investigation is the relation between street cleaning and street waste and the public health.

Street Railways

See also Municipal Ownership.

Blake (H. W.) and Jackson (Walter). Electric railway transportation. 1917. 487 pp. diagrs.

Contents: Organization and definitions; Adjustment of service to traffic; Accelerating traffic movement along the line; Accelerating traffic movement on the car; Car types in relation to traffic; City time-tables—preliminaries; Interurban schedules and dispatching; Fares; Fare collection practices and devices; Public relations; Promotion of passenger traffic; Traffic signs for cars, station and road—information for the public; Competition; Freight and express business; Selection and training of men; Wages and wage agreements; Welfare work; Discipline of trainmen; Forms of extra pay.

Citizens' Research League of Winnipeg. The city's problem of street transportation (preliminary report). [1917.] 7 pp. (Bul. no. 5.)

Mr. R. P. Farley, 47 Aikens Bldg., Winnipeg, is secretary of the League.

Jackson (D. C.) and McGrath (D. J.). Street railway fares; their relation to length of haul and cost of service. Report of investigation carried on in the research division of the electrical engineering department of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1917. 169 pp. diagrs. (Research Div. Bul. no. 14.)

United States. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Street railway employment in the United States. 1917. 1131 pp., tables. (Bul. no. 204.)

——. Special Committee Appointed to Investigate Railway Conditions [in the District of Columbia]. (Senate.) Street railway conditions in the District of Columbia. 1917. 57 pp. (65. Cong. 1. sess., Sen. rept. no. 176.)

All members of the committee seem to be convinced that the most practicable solution of the labor problem is to be found in government ownership.

Surveys

See also Periodical Publications.

Decker (D. O.) and Harrison (S. M.). City and county administration in Springfield, Illinois. A survey by the Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation. 1917. 158 pp. illus. (Part 9, Springfield Survey.)

Lawrence Social Survey Committee, Lawrence, Kan. Lawrence social survey. Report of F. W. Blackman, Director and E. W. Burgess, Field Surveyor. 1917. 122 pp.

Smith (H. L.). A survey of a public school system. 1917. 304 pp. diagrs. (Columbia Univ. Contribs. to Educ., Teachers' Coll. Ser.)

Van Sickle (J. H.). Educational survey of the public schools of Brookline, Mass. 1917. 436 pp. tables. diagrs.

Published by the School Committee.

Taxation and Finance

See also Charities.

Anon. Taxation and revenue systems of state and local governments. Arkansas. (Modern City, Nov., 1917: 17–20.)

The third in a series of articles. Alabama was discussed in the Sept. issue and Arizona in Oct.

Idaho State Tax Association. Proceedings of the first annual conference, Dec. 27–28, 1915. [1917.] 125 pp.

New York City. Department of Finance. Comparative summary statements of the expenses of various departments of the City of New York for the years 1914, 1915 and 1916; prepared from the expense ledger reports transmitted by said departments. [By the] Bureau of Municipal Investigation and Statistics. William A. Prendergast, Comptroller. Aug., 1917. (Supplement, City Record, Sept. 1, 1917. 57 pp.)

United States. Bureau of the Census. Financial statistics of cities having a population of over 30,000, 1916. 1917. 375 pp. diagrs.

——. Financial statistics of states, 1916. 1917. 127 pp. tables.

Presents statistics of (1) the total and per capita receipts of states from revenues, and from the principal classes thereof; (2) the total and per capita payments of states for expenses, interest and outlays, and for each of the principal classes of expenses and outlays; (3) the total value of state properties; (4) the total and per capita indebtedness of states; and (5) the total and per capita assessed valuation of property subject to taxation.

Budget System

Chicago. Sanitary District. Report on a definite budget plan for the Sanitary District of Chicago, prepared at the request of the Board of Trustees of the Sanitary District of Chicago, by J. L. Jacobs & Company. 1917. 36 pp. tables.

—— ——. Budgetary codes of the Sanitary District of Chicago, prepared by J. L. Jacobs & Company. 1917. 83 pp.

I. Departmental code.

II. Classification of budgetary expenditure accounts.

III. Alphabetical finding list for commodities, services and other objects of expenditure.

IV. Classification of budgetary revenue accounts.

Collins (C. W.). The national budget system. 1917. 151 pp.

Contents: Introduction; Preparation of the budget; Ratification of the budget; Execution, audit and control of the budget; Features of the budget system; Preparation of financial measures in the United States; Ratification of financial measures by Congress; Spending, audit and control in the United States; Criticisms of the American system; The budget system for the United States; Constitutional and legal questions involved; Recent developments toward a national budget system.

Darby (W. R.). New Jersey's municipal budget act. (N. J. Municipalities, Oct., 1917: 5, 24–28.)

The author is State Commissioner of Municipal Accounts.

Tenement Houses

Abbott (W. H.). Conditions leading up to the tenement law. Early history of the multi-family house construction—some of the abuses which were later corrected. (Record and Guide, Sept. 29, 1917: 391. illus.)

Traffic

See also Street Railways.

Anon. Traffic congestion in cities. Extensive proposals at Manchester [England]. (Mun. Jour. [London], Aug. 31, 1917: 837–838.)

Cockerlyne (E. W.). The effect of modern traffic upon urban roads and tramway tracks. [Parts 1–2.] (Surveyor and Mun. and Cy. Eng., Sept. 28, Oct. 5, 1917: 275–276; 297–298.)

Goodsell (D. B.). Traffic census; its application to the design of roadways, selection of pavements and traffic regulations [with discussion]. (Proceedings, Am. Road Builders' Assn., Feb., 1917: 261–270.)

Manchester (Eng.). Traffic Congestion Special Committee. Traffic congestion [report]. August 8, 1917. 39 pp., maps, diagrs.

Ventilation

Winslow (C.-E. A.). The effect of atmospheric conditions upon fatigue and efficiency. (Am. Jour. of Pub. Health, Oct., 1917: 827–834. tables.)

Vital Statistics

Guilfoy (W. H.). Vital statistics and co-operation with statistical officers. (Albany Med. Annals, Sept., 1917: 418–425.)

Printed also as New York City, Department of Health, Reprint series no. 61.

Sobel (Jacob). Mortality among negro babies in New York City. (Modern City, Oct., 1917: 15–16, 38, 41, 43, 47.)

Vocational Guidance and Education

Anon. The development of vocational schools. (Am. Architect, Sept. 19, 1917: 209–210.)

The September issue of The American Architect is devoted to the various and complex questions of design, plan and equipment of vocational high schools.

——. Vocational education and employment of the handicapped, with special reference to crippled soldiers. [An annotated list of references.] (Monthly Rev. of the U. S. Bur. of Labor Stat., Sept., 1917: 599–624.)

Brewer (J. M.) and Kelly (Roy W.). A selected critical bibliography of vocational guidance. 1917. 76 pp. (Harvard Buls. in Educ.)

United States. Bureau of Education. Demand for vocational education in the countries at war, by Anna T. Smith. 1917. 16 pp. (Bul., 1917, no. 36.)

Water Distribution

Anon. The cost of laying water mains. Detailed figures of costs in Saginaw and Chicago—Pipe, lead and other materials—Labor, cartage and other costs. (Mun. Jour., Oct. 4, 1917: 328–330. tables.)

Killam (S. E.). Meters cut waste in metropolitan water district [Boston]. (Eng. News-Record, Sept. 20, 1917: 541–542. table.)

State Bureau of Municipal Information of the New York State Conference of Mayors and Other City Officials. Water rates in New York State cities. Revised to Sept. 1, 1917. 1917. 37 pp., typewritten. (Rept. no. 19.)

Water Purification

See also Baths.

Johnson (G. A.). Rapid sand filtration [with discussion]. (Jour., N. E. Water Works Assn., Sept., 1917: 390–473.)

Savage (W. G.). The emergency purification of drinking water supplies. Part 4. (Pub. Health, Sept., 1917: 235–239.)

Water Supply

O'Shaughnessy (M. M.). The Hetch Hetchy water supply project [with discussion]. (Trans., Commonwealth Club of Cal., Oct., 1917: 344–386.)

Catskill Aqueduct

Catskill Aqueduct Celebration: a souvenir edition of the Municipal Engineers Journal. Oct., 1917. 182 pp. illus.

Contents: New York's Catskill Mountain water supply. A general description of the dams, tunnels, and methods of construction, pp. 15–75; Statistical items of interest, pp. 77–83; Distribution of Catskill water in the city, pp. 91–100; Commissioners and engineers: portraits and biographical sketches, pp. 102–162; Catskill Aqueduct Association: list of members, pp. 163–172; Contracts and contractors, pp. 173–182.

Price of souvenir edition, 50 cents; obtainable from Geo. A. Taber, Secretary, 13 Park Row.

New York City. Department of Health. Water supply and public health. A brief sketch specially prepared for the Mayor's Catskill Aqueduct Celebration Committee, by Charles Bolduan, Director, Bureau of Public Health Education. 1917. 8 pp., maps, charts.

——. Mayor's Catskill Aqueduct Celebration Committee. The Catskill Aqueduct and earlier water supplies of the City of New York, with elementary chapters on the source and uses of water and the building of aqueducts, and an outline for an allegorical pageant. 1917. 132 pp. illus.

Contents: Introduction; The uses and source of water; Aqueducts and why they are built; Manhattan's primitive water supply; Early pipe line projects; The Croton aqueduct; Other borough water supplies; The Catskill Aqueduct; A pageant of water; The Mayor's Catskill Aqueduct Celebration Committee.

—— ——. A brief sketch of the municipal water supply system of the City of New York. Specially prepared for the Mayor's Catskill Aqueduct Celebration Committee by the Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity, William Williams, Commissioner. 1917. 27 pp., plates.

Secretary of the Committee, Edward Hagaman Hall, 154 Nassau St.

Water Works

Barker (C. L.). A metropolitan water and sewerage project for six Canadian municipalities. (Am. City, Nov., 1917: 444–448. map.)

Laidlaw (Robert). A brief description of the new water works [at Cincinnati]. 1917. 20 pp.

The author is general superintendent of the plant.

Ledoux (J. W.). Purposes should govern water-works valuations. Original cost, reproduction cost less depreciation and market value are all thought to have their applications. (Eng. News-Record, Oct. 4, 1917: 633–636. tables.)

Widows' Pensions

Bureau of Municipal Research, New York. Widows' pension legislation. May, 1917. 125 pp. (Mun. Research no. 85.)

Chapter 5, "A year of widows' pensions in New York State," briefly reviews the results accomplished by the Child Welfare Board of New York City.

Zoning

Cheney (C. H.). Procedure for zoning or districting of cities. 1917. (Bul. no. 2, Calif. Conf. on City Planning.)

Copies may be obtained from the office of the Conference, Crocker Bldg., San Francisco. Price 50 cents.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Cincinnati Adopts a Home Rule Charter.[1]—Cincinnati adopted a home rule charter at the general election Tuesday, November 6. By doing so, it is the last big city in the state to take advantage of the home rule amendment provision of the state constitution whereby cities may adopt special charters to suit their local needs.

Inasmuch as Cincinnati had defeated the proposed charter submitted two years ago, primarily because of the many innovations involved in it, such as the non-partisan ballot, and small council provisions, the charter commission this year did not draw up a complete new charter but simply provided for such amendments as it thought the citizens wanted, and in other respects adopted the general laws of Ohio. The Ohio municipal code, together with a few amendments, is therefore the substance of the new home rule charter for Cincinnati. Due to the fact that any new and untried provisions would be certain to invite a great deal of opposition, the commission endeavored to frame one that would satisfy the views of most of the citizens; afterward, if new propositions seemed likely to meet with the approval of the electorate, these could be voted on at special elections. The overwhelming success of the charter provision at the polls shows that the commission, in this regard, had done a wise thing.

One of the significant amendments was the creation of a city planning commission with very extensive powers. Nearly three and one-half pages out of a total of fourteen, are devoted to details in respect to this commission. Another amendment changed the term of mayor, president of council, councilmen, and auditor to four years instead of two.

One of the few additional offices created was that of street railway commissioner. If the supreme court should hold the rapid transit law unconstitutional, and many are frank to say that there is great danger of this, the director will be paid his $7,500 a year but will have nothing to do.

The treasurer and city solicitor are to be appointed by the mayor instead of being elected as heretofore. To this extent the short ballot feature is introduced in the charter.

Considerable discussion was involved in the question as to the method of appointment of the Southern railroad trustees. At present these are appointed by the superior court and many felt that a judicial body should not have the power of appointment for remunerative offices. However, fearing that a change in the method of appointment of the Southern railroad trustees might invite very formidable opposition, the commission allowed this question to remain as it is at present. The method of electing twenty-six councilmen by wards and six at large, was maintained, as it is under the Ohio municipal code.

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Commission Government Ratified in Portland, Oregon.[2]—Two charters presented to the voters of Portland under the initiative process at the election of June 4, 1917, were voted down by decisive majorities. Both were plans for a return to the mayor and council government very similar to the type abandoned when the commission form was adopted in 1913. Neither charter contained new nor progressive features. Both provided for a poorly paid ward council to be chosen from eleven districts, a mayor and an elective auditor. The Shepherd or "long" charter provided in addition for the election of the city attorney, municipal judge and treasurer. It also gave the mayor the veto, while the other gave the mayor only administrative power. Both charters replaced the preferential voting scheme with the non-partisan primary, double-election procedure. The Shepherd charter, a complete revision of the present city governing document, appeared in a 105-page pamphlet. It made many minor changes of a non-contentious nature in administrative provisions. The "short" charter was merely a group of amendments to the present charter, replacing the commission-council with elected and appointed executives and a ward council.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. vi, p. 720.

[2] See National Municipal Review, vol. vi, p. 624.

The protest against the present city government began two years ago when a group of citizens, organized as the North Portland commercial club, disagreed with the city commission on the engineering features of a trunk sewer project in their district. Under the leadership of George Shepherd, a councilman and prominent political figure in the old régime, a charter was submitted to the city commission for reference to the people at the general election in 1915. The request was denied. At this year's election the longer charter was practically the same document as that of 1915, but was brought before the people by initiative petition.

Another group representing the disaffected elements of one kind or another, including residents of a few outlying districts who considered themselves unfairly discriminated against under a commission-council elected at large, organized a charter revision league and after trying in vain to unite forces with the Shepherd-Killingsworth group drew up another document identical in the general form proposed except as mentioned above, calculated to have a superior popular appeal because of its brevity. Despite violent disagreements during the early campaign the two groups finally urged the voters to ratify both plans in order that confusion in choosing between them might not lead to the separation of voting strength.

During the whole campaign no new arguments were produced. The anti-commission forces relied on familiar criticisms: the increasing tax rate and saving of salaries under the council form, the danger of uniting the spending and appropriating functions in one body, and the need of a representative council. Commission government was anathematized by such catch phrases as "autocratic, bureaucratic, imperialistic, despotic, un-American," etc.

The forces for commission government exerted themselves only through regular channels. The leading newspapers went on record as opposed to both schemes and a series of illuminating articles appeared in some of their columns showing the fallacy of assuming extravagance from an increase in tax rate. Civic organizations such as the chamber of commerce, city club and professional and business men's luncheon clubs recorded themselves as opposed to the change.

Both charters were defeated by a vote of more than two to one. During the whole campaign the charter issue received less attention than three or four other initiative measures, a fact which resulted in a smaller number of total votes than some much less important issues. The election seemed to indicate that the people of Portland have no desire to return to the old councilmanic form. It is perhaps a wholesome endorsement of the present scheme to have a majority of over 17,000 on its side as against the few hundred by which it was adopted four years ago.

R. D. Leigh.

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The City-Manager Plan in Clarksburg, West Virginia.—An aggressive campaign for commission government and a Greater Clarksburg was won by a majority of over 2,000—considerably more than the most sanguine hopes of its supporters. In the words of an active worker:

"This puts Clarksburg on the map in the 35,000 population class. The Rotary club, after a year's work, in one day transformed Clarksburg from the less than 10,000 town class into a city of the above population—a revolution which the people of Clarksburg have been wanting and waiting for for the last twenty years, but until Rotary was organized a little over a year ago, had no man, or set of men or organization that could take hold of the situation and put it through.

"The outside world thinks of these mountain towns as being in the back woods, but Clarksburg is the heart of West Virginia's greatest industries, coal, oil and gas, which we have seen drained from us without the great exploiting companies returning anything in proportion to the towns they are so draining. We hope to see them make such return under the new charter.

"Clarksburg is one of the oldest towns in West Virginia—not a boom town, though the developments of the last twenty years have brought new life to her. Nor does the new charter take in a lot of vacant territory. It brings into Clarksburg four suburban municipalities, all contiguous, and some intervening sections, rather solidly built up, as the contour of the country permits, making a total area of about six square milcs. Nor does it take in 'the whole country' as is done in some annexations. Four of the big plants, and surrounding settlements, viz., Philips tin plate plant, McNicoll pottery, Pittsburgh plate glass plant and Owens bottle company, each round the million mark, are still on the outside, and should be annexed soon."

Robert R. Wilson, formerly a member of the city club of Cincinnati and the first president of the Rotary club of Clarksburg, was in charge of the campaign.

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Manager Charter for Auburn, Maine.—The voters of Auburn, Maine, on September 10, 1917, by a majority of 413 out of a total vote of 1, 489, adopted a "manager" charter. Auburn is the farthest eastern city, the first New England city, and the second New England municipality (the town of Norwood, Mass., is the first) to adopt the "manager" form of government.

Compared with the average city under the mayor-council system, Auburn had been fairly well governed. For ten years, however, there had been a growing dissatisfaction among the leading citizens with the inability of the government to produce results in terms of better services. In 1909, and again in 1913, as a result of the desire for a simpler and more efficient government, a committec of citizens secured from the state legislature special acts submitting to the voters of Auburn a commission charter. The charter, in both instances, was decisively defeated. The defeat in each case was due in part to the unwillingness of the "foreign" ward to give up ward representation and submit to a government of five commissioners representing the native New Englanders of the other four wards, and in part to the apathy of the citizens in general.

The movement for charter reform, however, was only delayed by the two defeats. The Auburn board of trade, in 1915, took up the movement, when, in its November meeting, "The City-Manager Form" was the subject of the address and discussion of the evening. By January, 1917, charter reform had won so many converts among the members of the board of trade that a committee of nine was appointed to draw up a charter. The committee was made up of the leading business and professional men of Auburn. Democrats, old line Republicans and progressive Republicans were represented.

The committee had but five weeks to complete its work, for city charters in Maine are granted by special acts of the legislature, and the time limit set by the 1917 session for the introduction of special acts was February 9. The committee retained Professor Orren C. Hormell, professor of government and director of the bureau of municipal research at Bowdoin College, to prepare a tentative draft. The draft prepared by him followed the main lines of the typical "manager" charters. However, in several points it was modified to meet the local conditions in Auburn. For example, ward representation was retained, for without it the charter would have been doomed to certain defeat.

The Abandonment of Commission Government in Lynn, Massachusetts.—The Lynn voters found that as commission government was applied there it was not a success. As a correspondent wrote: "Had there been a spirit of unity in the governing board there would have been no disposition by the electorate to have changed. In Lynn each commissioner was elected as a specific department head, and the legislative feature was entirely forgotten. As a result, no matter how one of the commissioners conducted his department the rest dared not risk criticising, for fear their own toes might be trodden on. The consequence was we had five little mayors; each commissioner went ahead with his own plans, and taxes rose to $23 per thousand, notwithstanding $15,000,000 increase in valuation, and over $1,000,000 increase in the bonded debt. In my opinion, had the five commissioners collectively chosen the various subordinates there would have been a freedom to criticise, and the five could have secured far better results. As it was one commissioner was at the head of the fire and police departments, one handled the finance, one streets, one water and one public property, and it isn't natural for men to allow much criticism without retaliating. If citizens felt aggrieved at some action; or lack of action, by one of the commissioners and took complaint to the others they were informed that the matter was outside their jurisdiction—that they could not interfere with another commissioner's department.

"The personnel of our government for the seven years Lynn was under commission was excellent. The human equation prevented better results, for men are naturally tenacious of their prerogatives. The man chosen mayor divided his responsibility with his four colleagues, yet stood to receive the greater public criticism, for it is natural to find fault with the ostensible head of the government.

"In the new government of mayor and eleven councillors the mayor is given almost as much power as a city manager, and a firm man will cut many dollars from the tax rate, assume responsibilities which have been divided heretofore, correct abuses which have been tolerated and show to the citizens that the instrument of government is a factor for good."

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Abandonment of Commission Government in Appleton, Wisconsin.—Appleton, Wisconsin, has voted to abandon the commission form of government. The movement to this end was the result of a change in the administration. The new mayor was elected last April and one of his first acts was to reorganize the police department in an effort to secure a full enforcement of the law, particularly the liquor laws. He brought in a chief of police from outside the city, which stirred up a great furore, particularly on the part of the liquor interests, the petition for revocation being filed by them. The majority in its favor was 582 votes.

A correspondent under date of November 2 writes:

"To most of the people from whom I have received information on this subject this outcome came as a surprise. I am advised from all sources that the campaign was one of the most bitter ones ever held in this state, many issues being introduced to confuse the main purpose of the election. Personalities were indulged in to a shocking degree; outside speakers were brought in on both sides; and the pre-election campaigning was very bitter. As near as I can find out the final election hinged more upon the wet and dry issue than upon the plan, which, of course, was perfectly natural, the petition for the recall arising as it did out of the appointment of a new chief of police and the institution of a strict enforcement of the liquor laws.

"This is the first city to abandon the commission form of government in this state, although a number of cities have voted against adopting the plan."

The vote becomes effective at the expiration of the present fiscal year, April, 1918.

⁂

Marquette, Michigan. — Commission government was introduced in Marquette in the fall of 1913 and at the election held four years later (November, 1917) everyone of the commission was re-elected, showing a marked degree of satisfaction with the new system of government. The commission has worked so well together that it has not been necessary so far for the mayor to cast a tie vote on any question.

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Norfolk has adopted a modern city-manager charter based on the model city charter of the National Municipal League. It received a vote of three to one at the special election on November 20.[1]

⁂

Progress of Preferential Voting.—Santa Monica, which should have been included in our list of January, 1917,[2] should be added, and also Newark and Gloucester.

Newark is interesting not only as the largest city of New Jersey but also as voting to adopt commission government, including the preferential ballot, after having had a chance to observe the working of these two institutions in thirty-two other New Jersey cities.

Gloucester is interesting because it is one of the instances like that of Colorado Springs, in which the preferential ballot was introduced by direct popular vote into a commission-governed city which had not previously had it in force. Both in Gloucester and Newark the vote was far from close. In Newark the vote was 19,069 to 6,053 and in Gloucester 1,304 to 528. At the first election in Newark under the new system there were eighty candidates and five men to be elected.

An item in the November issue (page 728) needs a word of comment. A Houston correspondent makes the astonishing statement that the aim of the preferential ballot is that "of forcing a majority election on the first choice"; it misleadingly adds, "It has never been successful in this"; and also that Pastoriza asked his constituents to cast "single-shot" votes, as if that were in some way inconsistent with the spirit of the preferential ballot, in the introduction of which he had been a leader.

If your correspondent looked into the matter further, he would find that the aim of the preferential ballot in Houston is not what he supposes; its aim is to protect the majority against the dangers of a split ticket, and to secure a majority election on some terms either on "first choice" or "second choice," or all choices combined, if there is any candidate in nomination who can command that degree of support. Frequently there is no such candidate, and there is no possibility of a majority election on any terms; no system of voting can, in any but an artificial sense, make a majority support where none exists. All it can do is to discover if such support exists—and if so, who has it—if not, who comes nearest to having it in a full and free expression of preference. This it has done in Houston. It may be asserted accordingly that the preferential ballot has always been successful in doing what it is planned to do, in Houston as elsewhere.

Mr. Pastoriza might very appropriately ask (and did ask) his supporters to cast "single-shot" votes for him in the preferential system. If for special local reasons, as in his case, one candidate seems to his supporters incomparably superior to all the others (and if he is to be defeated there is little choice between his leading opponents), it is entirely correct and in harmony with the purpose of the preferential system for the supporters of such a candidate to concentrate on him and on him alone. Such a candidate may also appropriately, as Mr. Pastoriza did, ask for second and other choice votes from those whose first choice, for some personal or other not deep-set reason, was for someone else. Ring candidates understand this perfectly well, but it is a procedure which will of course not win unless the candidate is actually or more nearly than any of the rest, the bona fide majority candidate. This is less likely to be true of what is ordinarily called a ring candidate than of a man whose place in public esteem was well earned and assured, as was the case of Mr. Pastoriza.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 723.

[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 107.

Lewis Jerome Johnson.

⁂

Proportional Representation.—In October the city of *Boulder, Colorado,* adopted a new charter drawn on the Ashtabula plan—the manager plan with proportional representation—by a vote of about five to one. The first election under the new charter was held on December 11. Before that election, we are informed, mock elections were conducted to give practice in counting the ballots to those who were to serve in counting the official ballots. This note must go to the printer before news of the results of the election has been received.

Kalamazoo, Michigan, is to vote in February on the adoption of a new charter drawn on the manager plan with proportional representation. Those who are interested in the newer developments in charter making will do well to give this charter special attention. It is now in print and can doubtless be secured on application to the charter commission of Kalamazoo.[1]

C. G. Hoag.

⁂

Massachusetts Constitutional Amendments.—Three amendments to the constitution were submitted by the constitutional convention: legalizing absentee voting and the sale by the city of necessities to consumers, and a third forbidding the payment of public funds to institutions not under public control. All three were adopted, only the latter receiving any serious opposition.

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Trial of Los Angeles County Supervisors.—The trials of two of the members of the Los Angeles county board of supervisors under charges of mismanagement of county funds, as noted in The National Municipal Review for September,[2] have been concluded. The result was a verdict of guilty in the case of Supervisor R. H. Norton, and acquittal of all of the charges against Supervisor John J. Hamilton. The third member of the board, Supervisor F. M. Woodley, has not yet been tried, nor has the county treasurer, John H. Hunt, or the auditor, Walter A. Lewis.

As a result of the verdict Supervisor Norton was automatically removed from office, the governor, in whom the right of filling the position lies, having not yet acted to appoint the successor. The counts on which Supervisor Norton was found guilty were:

Allowing unlawful claims to the extent of $5,553.53.
The authorization of the illegal purchase of school bonds to the extent of $600,000.
Paying claims aggregating $1,400,000 out of general county funds, without sufficient funds in the county treasury to liquidate the claims.
Attempting to levy a three-cent tax to meet the deficit of $239,000.
Illegally paying claims incurred for materials in the previous year.

The defendant was acquitted on the charges of illegally collecting mileage fees and of failing to supervise the official conduct of the county auditor and the county treasurer. In his charge to the jury the presiding judge made clear that no moral blame was attached to the supervisor, and the jury in their findings concurred in this attitude.

With respect to Supervisor Hamilton who, as a former member of the commission of the city of Des Moines and an author of works on city manager and other governmental problems has become well-known, it was shown that he did not participate in the illegal actions taken by Supervisor Norton, and it was further shown that the deficit which exists in the county funds was largely, if not wholly, an inheritance from a previous board. Supervisor Hamilton has resumed his duties, and in a public statement explained his intention of securing greater publicity in advance of the passage of the budget, of carrying on the budget-making through the year, and of endeavoring to secure a high-class and experienced accountant.

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[1] An account of the second public proportional election ever held in America, the election of the Council of *Ashtabula, Ohio,* on November 6, will be found elsewhere in this issue.

[2] Vol. vi, p. 617.

to be placed in charge of the auditor's office.

The result of the trials to date and the removal of one of the members of the board of supervisors has undoubtedly acted to bring home to the public officials in a new light their responsibility for the management of the public funds. It has frequently seemed to be the understanding of officials that all that was required of them was honesty and good intentions, but by showing that in addition to these qualities attention to the actual conditions and a business-like conduct of the public office was requisite, the matter has undoubtedly operated to the great benefit of not only Los Angeles county but to all governmental agencies in California.

Seward C. Simons.[1]

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Los Angeles' Efficiency Bureau.—On December 4, the city council, by unanimous vote of those members present (seven out of nine) passed an ordinance repealing those which established the efficiency department, of which Dr. Jesse D. Burks is director.

That the deal was planned when Mr. Burks was absent upon an eastern trip and when two staunch friends of efficiency (Messrs. Conwell and Criswell) were absent from the council; that furthermore the regular rule requiring ordinances to wait over one week after introduction was suspended, only add proof to the evident fact that the move is actuated not by economy but by antagonism to the very principle for which the efficiency commission stands.

The municipal league feels that the situation is one of real crisis to Los Angeles. The mayor has as yet not indicated whether he will veto the ordinance or permit it to become a law. If it is passed over his veto, there will be unquestionably a referendum against its going into effect, in regard to the outcome of which I feel no doubt.

Seward C. Simons.

Police Situation in New Orleans.—Three important events have materially affected the police situation in New Orleans this year. First, the resignation of Harold W. Newman, commissioner of public safety, June 19. Second, the murder of James W. Reynolds, police superintendent, August 2. Third, the closing of the "restricted district" for immoral houses, in compliance with the request of the U. S. government through the secretary of the navy, November 13.

Commissioner Newman's resignation was the direct outcome of efforts he had made to enforce the Sunday law, hitherto honored by what the administration organ neatly phrased "unobtrusive non-observance." One of the "shirt-front" commissioners who went into office under the commission-government law in 1912, and re-elected in 1916, he was sensitive enough to be goaded into aggressive action under the demands of the citizens' league, an organization of reformers, clergymen, and women led by William M. Railey and Miss Jean Gordon, after the revelations of the *New Orleans American.* This newspaper, owned by a race-track gambler who had some unsatisfactory dealings with the city hall politicians, showed up certain weak points in the administration in facts afterward proved in a libel suit against the paper which was decided in its favor. In a campaign of vigorous law enforcement, scores of violators of the state Sunday law were arrested in May and June, and the hoary pretense that "the law couldn't be enforced in New Orleans" was disproved. It was enforced so well that the brewers protested against the use of non-uniformed police; and when the mayor upheld them, Newman resigned. Sam Stone, Jr., was elected in his place. The law continues to be enforced as far as appearances go, but one hears that drinks may be obtained in hotels, clubs, and at the back doors of saloons any Sunday.

Superintendent Reynolds was murdered by a gigantic policeman, Terence Mullen, who had been suspended from the force because mentally unbalanced. Though three other men were in the superintendent's office when Mullen attacked him, two of them police officers, and one specially assigned to watch the crazy man and protect the superintendent, Mullen escaped from the building after killing the chief, and was not arrested till he reached the street. Meantime in the fusillade of wild shots, his cousin, Garry Mullen, was killed while hurrying to the defense of the superintendent. The inquiry held by the mayor and the police board failed to fix responsibility for either fatality. Men implicated by their own confession and the testimony of others were allowed to retire from active duty or to resign, and later were given good positions, in the employ of the municipal port commission or in that of private business enterprises. Thomas J. Mooney, superintendent of the Illinois Central railroad, sought the position of police superintendent, and was appointed. He has introduced many "business efficiency" methods, cleaned up the stations, and personally made raids when he found his men derelict. In several cases, friction between the new chief and the politicians has been reported, and men punished have been reinstated. The general impression is that Mr. Mooney is trying to make a good record under political handicaps; he hopes to be the next mayor.

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[1] Secretary, the municipal league of Los Angeles.

But the third event, the closing of the legalized district for prostitution, under federal pressure, complicates the situation. If the new ordinance is rigidly enforced, as the mayor has declared it shall be, political forces hitherto powerful will receive a staggering blow; if it is not, the federal government will, it is predicted, demand a reckoning. Thus the police are between the devil of vice-controlled politics and the deep blue of the star-spangled banner.

The citizens' league has taken an active part in bringing to the attention of the federal authorities the conditions hitherto existing here, with regard to the menace of venereal temptations to which the soldiers and sailors stationed here were exposed. Its president (whose son, Hilton H. Railey, has done conspicuous work along the same line in Philadelphia, New York, and on the Pacific coast since he left New Orleans on the demise of the *New Orleans American*) has kept in close touch with the Fosdick commission, and has frequently defied the city authorities to disprove the facts gathered by the league in regard to flagrant law violations.

✣

Denver Smashes Coal Famine.—Denver is the first American municipality to enter the coal business as a producing wholesaler. When it became apparent during the summer months that wartime prices could be expected on coal this winter Mayor Robert W. Speer, with the broad vision that has characterized his several terms as chief executive of Denver, contracted with owners of three coal mines in the lignite fields of Colorado to take their output and sell to Denver's citizens of moderate means. In effect Denver's coal venture is municipal ownership without the outlay of any money for permanent investment or overhead charges. The success of the venture has been so pronounced that the practicability of municipal ownership of coal mines has been demonstrated, and the future may see the American municipality add this service to its duties. Moreover, it is saving between $17,000 and $18,000 a year through the coal furnished to city buildings. The saving amounts to more than $1 a ton on every ton used by the city.

The city contracted for the output of the mines, leased three splendidly equipped and located yards and arranged for delivery by contract. The price of $4.15 a ton to the consumer is for the coal, delivered in his bin. The very poor classes are provided for through branch offices established in the municipal lodging house and the municipal bath house. Here the consumer may buy 50 pounds for 10 cents or 100 pounds for 20 cents. If he sought similar service from the private dealer he would pay at the rate of $10 a ton for it. There is no formality connected with the ordering of the coal further than the payment of cash for it. The consumer pays his money at city hall and receives a receipt.

Coal operators, after preliminary bluster about the danger of municipal ownership of coal mines, quickly withdrew objections when Mayor Speer told them bluntly: "If I lose my job for this, the working people of Denver are going to receive coal at a fair price this winter." Later the operators offered to sell the city 50,000 tons of coal at the same terms given by the owners of the city's mines, provided the city ran short during cold weather.

The city is receiving from its mines about 1,000 tons of coal a day. This constitutes a very important factor in the total coal consumption of the city. Owing to the fact that the venture was experimental no attempt was made to furnish the entire domestic consumption, the wealthy class of citizens being warned to put in its coal early as the people of moderate means would have first call upon the city service.

Many other cities have made inquiries as to the Denver plan. The power to act was conferred upon the mayor by an ordinance passed by the council, and its extent is almost without limit. This was possible because of the enormous power placed in the hands of the mayor by the new Denver charter, adopted in May, 1916.[1]

E. C. McMechen.

II. POLITICS[2]

The Boston City Election.—The operation of the non-partisan election system in Boston has always been watched with interest. The result this year is particularly significant.

Mayor Curley was "made and elected" in 1913 by Martin Lomasney, the Democratic chief of the city. In 1915 at the so-called "recall election," Lomasney threw his strength against Curley, and would have defeated him but for the clause of the charter requiring a majority of the registered voters to remove the mayor at the mid-term election. In 1915 the Republicans gerrymandered Lomasney's ward to break his power, but failed utterly. The "sociological method" of the old leader was more than able to cope with the situation, as has been seen at the elections since that time.

In the recent December election Martin Lomasney was again the deciding factor. Three candidates were in the field against the Curley machine. It was evident that Curley would win through the division of his enemies unless some coalition could be brought about, or unless a concerted effort were made to elect one man. No coalition materialized. But the concerted effort was secured by Martin Lomasney. The day before the election the metropolitan press printed in the place generally reserved for the President of the United States Mr. Lomasney's appeal to the voters to support Andrew J. Peters. Without this he could not have been elected.

Thus the non-partisan system elected a mayor nominated and financed by the Republicans and finally carried "over the top" by the regular Boston Democratic machine. The bi-partisan political obligations of Mr. Peters make it probable that he will be a strictly non-partisan mayor.

The non-partisan system has made it easy for Mr. Lomasney to keep his cards under the table till the last minute and then insure his being a deciding factor and on the winning side.

◆

The Recent Election in Louisville, Kentucky.—The Republican ticket headed by George Weissinger Smith for mayor was elected by a majority of about two thousand. The claim is made that had all the votes cast for the ticket been counted the majority would have been considerably larger. The political situation locally has been in the hands of a few men who have dominated the situation, rotated a few men for the various offices from year to year, and the charge is freely made that at various times the results were obtained for their nominees by buying registration certificates, in some instances taking them away from negroes, and in falsifying the returns. At any rate this conviction in the minds of a great many people, irrespective of party, had gained such credence that there was a revolt from the Democratic ticket, though in the registration the Democrats had the advantage in numbers.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. v, p. 671.

[2] Unless otherwise indicated, the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff. See also article, page 36.

The Republicans nominated a good ticket, had a good organization and demonstrated that they were not going to be cheated out of the election. There were evidences of fraud in the registration and the claim was made that efforts would be made to commit fraud at the election. The county judge appointed deputies to serve at the election. This was held to be illegal, and the county judge then named probation officers to serve as deputies. This action was also challenged and the court of appeals sustained the objection. Fortunately the election passed off with only a few minor difficulties.

The result evidently was a great surprise to the Democrats for it is claimed they thought they had provided for any contingency. The new mayor is a lawyer of standing at the bar, a man of fine character, firm and honest, and promises to make good the position he took before the people during the campaign. He has always been prominently identified with all the movements, political and otherwise, looking to the upbuilding of the community and is respected by citizens of all parties. His appointments to the board of safety and board of public works, the most important positions to be filled by him, have been men of character and ability. He is getting the best advice possible from those he knows to be interested in the welfare of the city before making any appointments and went into office absolutely free to do as he thinks best along these lines.

Frank N. Hartwell.

Newark's First Commission Election.—The commission election was contested by eighty candidates. Most of these entered the lists as non-partisans at large. The Republican, Democratic and Socialist party machines all entered bracketed groups of five candidates and made aggressive campaigns along traditional lines. Three of the five chosen went before the people as independents and non-partisans. Two of the five regular Democratic candidates were also elected, but they were successful more because of their good public record and personal popularity than their party affiliation. The Republican machine in this normally Republican city received an awful blow, and the Socialists, although they received an unusually heavy vote, attributable to pacifistic or pro-German sentiment, fell far below the leading candidates, receiving less than one third of the vote cast for the top man and polling less than one eighth of the vote cast, which was about 43,000. There were minor groups in brackets and preferences were expressed by civic organizations and the press for various aspirants, in most instances confined to those who were in opposition to the partisan candidates.

The successful aspirants are all present or former public officials and about fifty of the defeated candidates either hold or have held office. The winners were: Board of Works Commissioner Charles P. Gillen, independent Democrat, 17,161; Mayor Thomas L. Raymond, independent Republican, 16,832; Police Commissioner William J. Brennan, independent Democrat and Labor Unionist, 15,775; City Clerk Alexander Archibald, organization Democrat, 13,499; former Sheriff John Monahan, organization Democrat, 12,389. John A. Matthews, independent Democrat, ran Monahan closely and a recount has been granted as between them. Monahan will take his seat in the city commission and will participate in its organization next Tuesday.

While the commission will start out divided politically, there seems to be fair basis for a belief that there will be an absence of partisanship on political lines in its deliberations and policies and that the spirit of commission government will be carried out. All the elected men have publicly declared they will have nothing to do with combination of a political or any other sort within the commission and there is a disposition on the part of the people generally to take them at their word. It is pretty certain, however, that in the beginning the appointments at the disposal of the commission will be made on a political basis with the plums going for the most part to Democrats and divided among Independents and machine followers. There are some indications of a tendency to listen to some degree to the counsel of James R. Nugent, the Democratic machine leader. He swung the party organization to the side of commission government in the election that decided upon its adoption. It is possible he may have some influence with respect to the shaping of public policies. This is not necessarily an altogether discouraging outlook as Nugent is intensely in love with his city and enthusiastic for its future development. If estranged from politics in city matters he could be a wise and useful adviser but there is apparently little prospect that he could dominate the commission.

Woman's Suffrage and Prohibition.—The suffrage amendment in New York state was carried by 95,000 majority. In Greater New York the vote was 334,011 in favor, and 241,316 against. Buffalo gave 4,000, and the other large cities with the exception of Rochester gave substantial majorities. In the state outside of the cities, the majority was considerably less than 2,500. New York is the twelfth state to grant women full suffrage.

Ohio defeated limited woman's suffrage by 136,000, and prohibition by about 1,000. Lakewood, a suburb of Cleveland, adopted woman's suffrage under the home rule provisions of the constitution.

A prohibition amendment was adopted in New Mexico by a majority of approximately 5,000.

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The Philadelphia City Club at a special meeting resolved that the club take a more positive part than heretofore in questions affecting the government of Philadelphia, and resolved that it should actively oppose through appropriate committees legislation affecting the city whether in the legislature or in the city councils.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

Segregation Ordinances.—In *Buchanan* v. *Warley*,[1] the supreme court of the United States has recently held to be in violation of the 14th amendment an ordinance of the city of Louisville, Kentucky, which made it unlawful for any colored person to occupy as a residence or maintain as a place of public assembly any house in a block where the greater number of houses were occupied as residences or places of public assembly by white persons or for any white person to occupy as a residence or maintain as a place of public assembly any house in a block where the greater number of houses were occupied as residences or places of public assembly by colored persons. Hence it afforded no ground for the refusal by a colored man to perform his contract to purchase property from a white man in one of the prohibited neighborhoods. Among other things Mr. Justice Day said:

"The case presented does not deal with an attempt to prohibit the amalgamation of the races. The right which the ordinance annulled was the civil right of a white man to dispose of his property if he saw fit to do so to a person of color and of a colored person to make such disposition to a white person.

"It is urged that this proposed segregation will promote the public peace by preventing race conflicts. Desirable as this is, and important as is the preservation of the public peace, this aim cannot be accomplished by laws or ordinances which deny rights created or protected by the federal constitution.

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[1] October Term, 1917, No. 33.

"It is said that such acquisitions by colored persons depreciate property owned in the neighborhood by white persons. But property may be acquired by undesirable white neighbors or put to disagreeable though lawful uses with like results.

"We think this attempt to prevent the alienation of the property in question to a person of color was not a legitimate exercise of the police power of the state, and is in direct violation of the fundamental law enacted in the 14th amendment of the constitution preventing state interference with property rights except by due process of law."

This decision will have the effect of upsetting a similar ordinance in Atlanta, Georgia, which was approved recently by the supreme court of Georgia in *Harden* v. *City of Atlanta.*[1]

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Reinstatement of Employe.—In *People ex rel Jacobs* v. *Coffin,*[2] the Illinois supreme court recently decided that the petitioner was illegally removed from the position of expert on system and organization on the staff of the Chicago civil service commission. The commission is declared to be part of the city government and not an independent corporation. In this case we find an employe, not claiming to be an officer, ordered reinstated. The court said on this point:

"An employment by a municipal corporation, in the absence of statutory or charter provisions, need not necessarily be by a formal ordinance, by-law or resolution. It may be by contract, express or implied. The allegations of the petition only warrant the conclusion that the place of expert on system and organization therein referred to is an employment or position. A position, which is in the nature of a permanent employment, may, in the absence of statutory or charter provisions, be created without the requirement of a formal ordinance, by-law or resolution. There is no statute in this state that prescribes the manner or method of creating a position or an employment by a city. Said appropriation ordinances in each instance amounted to direct authority by the city council of the city of Chicago to the civil service commissioners to examine, certify, classify and have employed, in accordance with the civil service law, an employe for said position or employment. The acts of the city of Chicago in repeatedly passing appropriation ordinances for the salary of the place in question, and the action of the civil service commissioners in certifying appellee for appointment to said place, and his appointment and acceptance thereof in pursuance of the civil service law, show clearly a legal employment or appointment of appellee to the position aforesaid, and the allegations in the petition are ample to charge the existence of said position and the employment thereto by the city of Chicago."

⁂

Municipal Woman Suffrage.—In *State ex rel Taylor* v. *French*[3] the supreme court of Ohio decided that by article XVIII of the state constitution, any municipality can frame and adopt a charter and exercise all powers of local self government, subject to the limitations expressed in the article and that a provision in the charter giving women the vote for all municipal elective officers and to be appointed or elected to and hold any municipal office provided for in such charter is valid.

The court said: "It would seem by analogy therefore that if the legislature was vested with power to confer the right to vote upon women for school directors, because that is not an office created by the constitution, and because the general assembly had been given power to provide for the maintenance of common schools, *a fortiori* the charter of a city, by which a part of the sovereign governmental power may be exercised under the sanction of the constitution itself, which conferred upon women the right to vote for municipal elective officers and to be elected to and hold a municipal office, not created by the constitution, but by the charter itself, is valid."

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[1] 93 S. E. 401.

[2] Docket No. 11, 264, Agenda 28, February, 1917.

[3] 117 N. E. 173.

✣

Municipal Liability for Nuisance.—Collection of garbage is a governmental duty for which a municipal corporation is not rendered liable by its employes' negligence, provided no nuisance is committed. But where a garbage dump, upon which large quantities of material were burned during a high wind, constituted a nuisance, the municipality was liable where fire communicated itself to the plaintiff's property in the case of *City of Nashville* v. *Mason.*[1]

✣

Municipal Liability for Negligence.—Where a city constructed an auditorium which it rented for various kinds of entertainment and during a celebration by a private organization, the approach to the auditorium collapsed with resulting injuries, the city was held liable to the same degree as if the building had been owned by a private owner, in *Chafor* v. *City of Long Beach* (*Cal.*).[2]

✣

Salary of Mayor.—The city of Cambridge, Mass., adopted a new charter providing that the mayor should not be paid over $5,000 per year. An old ordinance prescribed his salary at $3,500. After election the city council established the salary at $5,000. It was held in *Rockwood* v. *Cambridge*[3] that while prior ordinances were continued in force, so as to provide a working basis under the new charter, the council was authorized on the adoption of the new charter to pass an ordinance fixing the mayor's salary and hence such ordinance was not void but the mayor was entitled to collect the amount provided for with interest for the delay.

ROBERT EMMET TRACY.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

American Civic Association.—The thirteenth annual convention held at St. Louis, October 22–24, marked a departure from the regular practice of that organization of meeting at its headquarters city of Washington. Even had it desired to meet there it would hardly have been possible because of the war time condition, but the invitations from St. Louis had been so urgent that an early decision had been reached to meet there and to carry a message of civic inspiration to the west. It was a war time civic convention and in full harmony with the statement of President Wilson that "war must not destroy civic efficiency."

The convention was introduced to St. Louis in an effective way. Sunday, October 21, the day prior to the opening of the convention, had been declared civic Sunday and many of the churches announced sermons on the general subject of "Civic Advance in War Times." The plan proved a complete success and through it many people were given a message of inspiration and the convention itself a support on the part of churchgoing people that was invaluable.

The keynote of the convention was sounded by President J. Horace McFarland who took for his subject "A New Call to the Colors," in which he emphasized the responsibility that rests upon those Americans who are not to go to the trenches in France in maintaining the principles of true democracy. The test of democracy, Mr. McFarland said, rested equally with the soldiers who had responded to the call to the colors and those at home whose duty was clear and sharp to participate as they had never before participated in all affairs of public interest, in their towns, the states and the nation.

Monday afternoon was devoted to "Industrial Housing," with notable addresses by Dr. John Nolen, on "Economic Problems of Industrial Housing"; Miss Marguerite Walker Jordan, on "Men and Bricks in the Making"; Major W. H. Starrett, U. S. Reserve Corps, on "The

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[1] 192 S. W. 915.

[2] 163 Pac. 670.

[3] 117 Atl. 312.

Building of the Army Cantonments," who attended on the special authorization of the secretary of war.

A session that proved of particular interest and that had been asked for by communities adjacent to St. Louis, was that devoted to the "Problems of the Smaller Cities," with George B. Dealey, general manager of the Dallas *News*, presiding. There is no more enthusiastic civic worker than Mr. Dealey and under his leadership fine discussions followed the principal addresses of the morning.

In the annual business session Secretary Watrous detailed the work of the association during the year and reported that the war had not militated against a fine spirit of civic activity. He urged the importance of a sustained movement for the physical benefit of the cities and expressed it as his belief that the workers who had been efficient and who, because of that efficiency had been called upon to do important work for the government in the prosecution of the war, would continue to do double service in order that there might be no cessation in civic advance. The officers of last year were re-elected.

RICHARD B. WATROUS.

⁂

Richmond Survey.—A survey of Richmond, Virginia, has been made by the New York bureau of municipal research. Holding that the mayor is little more than a figurehead, the bureau recommends a series of charter changes designed to centralize in the mayor both authority and responsibility for the management of the administrative departments. It also recommends the reduction of the city council to nine members, and the abolition of the board of aldermen, the administrative board, the offices of city sergeant, coroner, building inspector and board of fire commissioners, the affairs of these several boards to be merged into operative bureaus. The survey also recommends that city employes be appointed as a result of competitive civil service examinations, and a referendum clause be inserted to enable the people to have a direct voice in the city government.

Special Libraries—The November issue of this publication appears under the editorship of Ralph L. Power, of the Boston University college of business administration, who succeeds John A. Lapp of Indianapolis in that position, Mr. Lapp becoming vice-president of the Special Libraries Association.

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Captain E. O. Heinrich (B.S. California, 1908), the leading expert on questioned documents in the Pacific Northwest, has been appointed chief of police in Alameda, Cal. Captain Heinrich during the past summer gave instruction in the University of California summer school on the application of the laboratory to the detection of crime. At the same time he was lecturing to the police school maintained by Chief Volmer of Berkeley on judicial photography. He is a student of criminology and a leading expert on hand-writing, typewriter identification and all phases of questioned documents work. Captain Heinrich is also at work on a monograph on forgery to be published under the auspices of the American Institute for Criminal Law and Criminology.

J. B. KAISER.

⁂

Louis F. Budenz, acting secretary of the civic league of St. Louis since the resignation of Roger N. Baldwin, has been chosen as permanent secretary. Previous to his connection with the civic league, Mr. Budenz was secretary of the Missouri state committee for social legislation and at one time had been associate editor of *The Carpenter*, the official organ of the united brotherhood of carpenters and joiners. Frank P. Crunden, a well-known business man of St. Louis, active for many years in civic work, was elected president of the league.

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Roger N. Baldwin, formerly secretary of the St. Louis civic league, is now secretary of the National Civil Liberties Bureau (70 Fifth Avenue, New York), which has for its object "the maintenance in war time of the rights of free press, free speech, peaceful assembly, and freedom from unlawful search and seizure."

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John A. Lapp, director of the bureau of legislative information of Indiana for the past nine years, will assume the directorship of the state investigation in Ohio of sickness insurance, sickness prevention and old age pensions. This investigation was authorized by the last session of the legislature and an appropriation of $25,000 was given for the purpose.

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Charles Kettleborough, who has been statistician for the Indiana bureau of legislative information, will assume charge of the bureau upon the retirement of Mr. Lapp January 1. The bureau has been enlarged by the addition of the state bureau of statistics through the executive action of Governor James P. Goodrich.

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C. J. Decker, a member of the Akron bureau of municipal research, has resigned to take an executive position in the Toronto bureau under Dr. Brittain.

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Don E. Mowry, a member of the National Municipal League, has become general secretary of the Madison association of commerce.

⁂

J. Lionberger Davis, president of the St. Louis chamber of commerce and a member of the National Municipal League, has been appointed assistant to A. Mitchell Palmer, the conservator of alien property.

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Alfred Bettman, a member of the council of the National Municipal League and formerly city solicitor of Cincinnati, has been appointed special assistant to the attorney-general of the United States in an emergency division of the department created to administer the war statutes.

John M. Guild has resigned as secretary of the Greater Dayton association to become secretary of the Kansas City chamber of commerce.

⁂

Jesse M. Switzer, by virtue of having received the highest number of votes of the six candidates for city commissioner in Dayton, becomes the mayor. Mr. Switzer is well known throughout the country for his intelligent advocacy of the city-manager form of government, having spoken on the subject before many Rotary clubs and other commercial, social and political organizations.[1]

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Carl B. Lohmann, a graduate of the Pennsylvania State College who afterwards took the course in city and town planning at Harvard, has been appointed town planning adviser of the Pennsylvania bureau of municipalities.

⁂

Robert S. Binkerd, formerly secretary of the New York city club, is now the secretary of the railway executive advisory committee, of which Frank Trumbull is chairman.

⁂

Richard B. Watrous has resigned as secretary of the American Civic Association to become the Washington representative of the Nestle Food Company, which is doing a large business supplying the needs of the Allies. His resignation took effect on December 15.

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C. M. Osborn, who for ten years has been city engineer of Lorain, has been appointed city manager of East Cleveland, Ohio.

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Kenyon Riddle, of Abilene, Kansas, formerly city manager of that place, has been appointed city manager of Xenia, Ohio.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 679.

TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

HELD AT

DETROIT, MICH., NOVEMBER 21, 22, 23, 1917

Wednesday Afternoon Session

Wednesday, November 21, 1917, 3 p.m.

Hon. William Dudley Foulke, Richmond, Ind., in the chair.

Chairman Foulke introduced Mayor Oscar B. Marx of Detroit, who delivered the following address of welcome.

You have chosen a particularly opportune time for your conference in this city. We are sorely in need of your counsel and most eager to receive it. We are about to engage in the task of revising a charter which has been our rulebook since the days of horse-cars and toll-gates. Consequently, I am most pleased to welcome you and to obtain from you the assistance which I know you are well equipped to supply.

Since your arrival, I presume you have learned that the people of Detroit prepared for your advent a few weeks ago. They didn't exactly "kill the fatted calf" but they did sign the death warrant for an aldermanic body that was waxing larger and more inefficient each year, in addition to declaring by an overwhelming vote, for the abolition of wellnigh impossible methods of transacting public business, through a revision of the city charter.

Detroit, like other large American cities, was slow to adopt progressive legislation which would enable it to govern itself more efficiently. In fact, all of its reforms were postponed until the last few years but the city's record during that period has been an encouraging one and I think that an inquiry will convince you that not only is Detroit awakened to-day but that its spirit—civic, national and moral, is as wholesome as that of any large city in the United States.

Since November of 1913, Detroit has provided for civil service regulations in municipal departments, created an election commission which did away with numerous election abuses and abolished a board of estimates which was both unwieldy and inefficient, substituting for it a board of five members controlled by the mayor. A ward-chosen board of education has been replaced by a non-partisan selected-at-large body of seven members. An amendment was adopted making the mayor in reality the general manager of the city, by giving him power to remove at will, all appointive city officials except members of the civil service commission. Recently, in addition to providing for charter revision, the voters expressed their approval of a plan to do away with the forty-two man ward-elected council in favor of a small non-partisan body elected at large.

You will observe that while we were tardy in starting our program for practical government, progress has been steady and genuine.

Needless to say, these reforms were not obtained without a contest. As has been the experience in other cities, stubborn resistance was offered, but through the efforts of the press, the Detroit citizens' league and the Detroit bureau of governmental research and other organizations, the voter has been enlightened to such an extent that he was not deceived by the numerous false arguments that were used in an effort to obstruct progressive legislation.

In a recent election, we had the encouraging spectacle of a united press cooperating with the citizens' league, the bureau of municipal research with citizens who had the good of Detroit at heart and with those city officials of like mind.

Because of the activities connected with the war, it was impossible to begin the campaign of education until two weeks before the election. When it was started, however, the newspapers generously gave valuable space for the presentation of facts concerning the issues to be voted on. The support of patriotic and public-spirited citizens was enlisted in an advertising campaign which was conducted by the Adcraft club of this city. While the vote was small, much smaller than it should have been, in a city of nearly a million inhabitants, the small council and charter revision propositions were adopted by a vote of nearly four to one.

I have made mention of these facts simply because I want you to feel that you are laboring in a responsive field. From the experience which we have had with the Detroit bureau of governmental research, we know that your visit will be of real value to Detroit and we hope that it may not be without profit to you.

In revising our charter we do not expect to get all of the needed reforms immediately. The commission which has been selected is composed of level-headed, practical men and they are going to be on their guard lest too many radical changes should prevent the charter from receiving ratification in spring.

The great majority of our people wish Detroit to advance in municipal government as it has industrially. We want to see a manifestation of civic spirit similar to that which has caused it to be a leader in patriotic endeavor—the first city in the United States to over-subscribe its liberty loan and Red Cross quotas.

The President, Lawson Purdy, Esq., of New York, then delivered his annual address on "Municipal Pensions."[1]

The secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Esq., Philadelphia, then read his annual address entitled "American Cities During War Times."[2]

At the request of Chairman Foulke, President Purdy took the chair.

Mr. Foulke: Hitherto it has been the policy of the League to act rather as a clearing house for different municipal ideas than as a propagandist body but of late years we have agreed so fully upon many of the measures which have been considered by us, for instance the city-manager plan, civil service reform, the short ballot, that it was deemed desirable this morning in the meeting of the council of the League, that something further should be done and that the question as to matters in which we are practically unanimous we should act further as a propagandist body and endeavor to promote the principles we advocate.

Hitherto the ideas, the judgment and views of the members of the League have been so diverse upon the subject of woman suffrage that we have not taken any distinct action in respect to it, but it seems to me that the time has now come when it becomes necessary for the League to act in regard to that as in regard to some other matters, and I believe that our views are at least accumulating in such a shape that they will become practically unanimous before very long, if they are not now.

Therefore, I move the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the National Municipal League that the time has now come to call upon the women of the country for their aid in carrying on the reforms of municipal administration which the country needs and that for this purpose municipal suffrage for women is highly desirable and necessary. (Applause.)

It has not been the custom of the League to pass resolutions and it's not my purpose to project this resolution and ask for its immediate consideration, but I do move that it be referred to the council of the League, which will meet tomorrow, probably, to consider this question and to pass upon it and to determine in what manner the League should act in the premises and to report their conclusions at some subsequent meeting.

I move the reference of this resolution

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. vii, p. 14.

[2] See National Municipal Review, vol. vii, p. 1.

to the council of the League, which motion was seconded and carried.[3]

The President: The next item of business is the report of the committee on state municipal leagues, which will be presented by Homer Talbot, Lawrence, Kansas.

Report of the Committee on State Municipal Leagues

Your committee on state municipal Leagues submits two reports.

(1) First will be read that prepared by W. P. Capes, secretary of the New York conference of mayors and other city officials and chairman of the committee:

> Your committee on state municipal leagues is unanimous on two points, namely: (1) That only one worth while suggestion can be made by it at this time; and (2) That a special effort should be made by the National Municipal League to have a national conference of secretaries of state leagues in connection with its annual meeting in 1918.
>
> Such a conference, we believe, should bring about a closer affiliation of state organizations in order that they may participate actively and unitedly in the solution of national problems affecting all municipalities, establish a more direct interchange of ideas and act jointly in defence whenever the necessity arises.
>
> We recommend that either our successors or the secretary of the National Municipal League, or both, be directed to correspond with the president of each state organization and urge that at its next annual meeting his league make provision to pay the expenses of its secretary to an annual conference to be held in 1918 in connection with the meeting of the National Municipal League.

(2) The tentative report just presented not meeting with the entire approval of all of the members of the committee—in that it was thought inadvisable to delay longer in the movement for the call of a conference on state municipal leagues—the matter was taken up through correspondence with the secretaries of a number of such organizations.

In harmony with the responses received, favoring the calling of a meeting of executive officers of state municipal organizations and others interested in the work of such associations, and the holding of such a conference in connection with the sessions of the National Municipal League this year, action has been taken accordingly.

Two conference sessions have been held—one or both being participated in by representatives of the leagues of municipalities of New Jersey, North Carolina, Minnesota, Texas, Wisconsin and Kansas, and by a city manager from Virginia, a Kentucky city executive and a city engineer of a Michigan municipality—and a temporary organization of state municipal leagues has been effected. The name of the newly established association is "The Conference on State Leagues of Municipalities."

The following subjects, among others, have been discussed at our meetings:

The need for better co-operation between state leagues of municipalities, and methods for obtaining it; relations of state leagues to the National Municipal League; budgets of state municipal organizations; activities and services of state leagues; relations to other organizations and institutions; associate members, and state municipal league conventions and publications. We also held a post-mortem over certain state leagues of municipalities, and a consultation over the condition of others. We, however, are glad indeed to report the finding of good conditions in a considerable number of state leagues; with excellent outlook for real and continued progress and service on behalf of the people of the cities and towns of the states.

We also report that at our conference to be held tomorrow morning we expect to take up the subject of war services of state leagues of municipalities, and a further discussion relating to other activities of state municipal organizations.

A conference of state leagues of municipalities has been organized with Homer Talbot, Lawrence, Kansas, chairman; Dr. John A. Fairlie, secretary of the Illinois municipal league, vice-chairman, and Claude H. Anderson, of the New Jersey league, secretary. The names of the trustees will be made known upon their acceptance.

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[3] The Council of the League at its meeting on November 22 requested one of its members, Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane, of Kalamazoo, Mich., to prepare a formal careful statement on the subject for later publication.

May we add that we appreciate very sincerely the opportunity afforded us by the National Municipal League and Mr. Woodruff, its secretary, for the calling of this conference on state municipal leagues in connection with the meeting of the national organizations interested in better city government; and may we further add that in our arranging our own program for our sessions at next year's meeting of the National Municipal League, we should be glad indeed if you would consider the possibilities for good results to be gained through the holding of one joint session of your organization with the conference on state leagues of municipalities?

Homer Talbot,
Member of Committee.

Mr. Talbot: There are three other matters I wish to refer to. The first is that Mr. Paxton was asked to prepare a paper and report on the activities of state municipal leagues, which will be referred to the editor of the National Municipal Review for publication therein. The second is that arrangements have been made for preparing an exhibit showing the work of state leagues of municipalities to be shown at the next meeting. The third is that a committee has been appointed to confer and co-operate with the union of Canadian municipalities in order that we may work more closely with our friends and allies on the other side of the boundary line. (Applause.)

The President: The next report will be on "The City Manager as a Profession," by Henry M. Waite.

Dr. Henry M. Waite, city manager of Dayton, presented the report of the committee:

1. Commissions have made a city manager profession by showing a willingness to go outside of their own communities for city managers.

2. That the city managers are receiving invitations to other towns and there now have been seven cases of transfer, showing that the tendency is to recognize the existence of professional experience.

3. City managers recognize that a career lies before them in this field and are seriously building up their experience to make it a life career.

The profession can be said, therefore, to have come into existence with every indication of continuance. It is interesting to note from the registration at the city managers' convention this year that out of 25 about 95 per cent are engineers indicating that commissioners turn to the municipal engineer for managers.

1. Small cities (under 20,000) pop.): Preferably engineer. Executive ability is first essential.

2. Larger cities (20,000–200,000 pop.): Executive ability first essential. Engineering less essential.

3. Large cities (over 200,000 pop.): Executive ability prime essential.

Your committee believes that city manager qualifications may be from present experience, classified as follows:

Training City Managers

Experience shows that actual experience is considered as most valuable equipment.

Education.—The attempt to lay out courses by universities for training city managers is handicapped by the fact that a major requirement is native executive ability which cannot be taught. A university cannot train a man to be an ordinary business executive.

It cannot propose a man to step into the management of a city.

It can train him to step into the management of a village. The attempt to lay out a course reveals the fact that the entire field cannot be covered by thoroughness in every branch that confronts a manager.

It is essential, therefore, that rather than give a man a smattering of all the many subjects, that he be thoroughly trained along some one or two lines such as engineering or accounting or whatever may be his natural bent, the balance of his time in college being devoted to obtaining a general knowledge of the other fields.

We believe the National Municipal

League could fill a useful function by maintaining a roster of city managers with their experience as well as a roster of competent men who are desirous of entering this field.

Henry M. Waite, *Chairman.*

The Secretary: I should like to ask, in the event of the recommendation of the committee carrying, that there be established in the offices of the National Municipal League a list of eligible men, how that eligibility should be determined. It is a rather important matter. I don't think any one man should be given that authority. It ought to be committee action if it is done, because the determination of a man's eligibility for being a city manager is no easy task, especially in the absence of any great number of standards in the matter.

Dr. Waite: The idea of the committee was simply to be of assistance to communities looking for city managers. Undoubtedly the roster which we would make of existing city managers would be of a great help. We do not believe it is necessary or advisable for the League necessarily to recommend, but to be able to give communities desiring city managers such information as the League is able to compile.

I think it would be folly for the League to say to any community that any particular man which might be on our list would be competent; what they desire is to obtain a list of men who are available and then let them get in communication with those applicants.

The Secretary: Would there be any objection on the part of the committee to have that list put out by the League but only after the recommendation of the majority of this committee?

Dr. Waite: I can very easily see that if you wait for the committee to pass upon them they would not be any more able to pass upon them than any other individual and it isn't the idea of this committee that we are recommending or that the League would recommend any particular individual. I don't think that it should be the League's position to recommend but to simply give to people desiring the information the list which you may have.

The President: The next report is the model public library section, Samuel H. Ranck, librarian, Grand Rapids.

Mr. Ranck: This is a report of five persons, members of the American Library Association, who were asked to draft a library section of the proposed model city charter for the city-manager form of government. I might say that about two years before this committee was named, the American Library Association appointed a special committee to draft a report on the relations of the library to the municipality, and that that report, after publication of about a year and general discussion, was formally adopted by the association as the expression of the opinion of the association of what should be the relation between the library and the municipality.

The points in that report are embodied in this report which I am about to read and I might say that two of the members of this committee which drew this report for the National Municipal League were members of the other committee of the American Library Association that drew up that formal report. The chairman of that first committee was Dr. Bostwick of St. Louis, the librarian of the public library, who is a member of this committee, and I also was a member of that committee.

Committee on Model Library Section

Your committee appointed to draft the library section of the proposed model city charter submits the following as its report:

Before giving the draft of the proposed section we wish to record our conviction (which is also the conviction of the American Library Association as expressed by the unanimous adoption of the report of its special committee on the relation between the library and the municipality) that education is a matter of state concern rather than merely of local concern, and therefore, so far as possible, the state should provide by general laws for the education of all the people of the state;

and furthermore, that the public library should everywhere be regarded as a most important part of the educational machinery of the state.

Where there is no suitable state law providing for the organization and administration of a public library, it is appropriate for the city itself to provide for such organization and maintenance under general home rule provisions, by including in the city charter such library provision. It is for such cities especially, therefore, that the following draft is submitted:

Draft of the Library Section of the Proposed Model City Charter

SECTION 1. The city commission (or the mayor and common council) shall have power to establish a public library and shall appoint a board of five persons (to which board women shall be eligible) to administer the public library so established, or to administer an existing public library of the city. Each member of such library board shall serve, without compensation, for a term of five years, one retiring each year, after having determined by lot on first appointment which shall serve for one, two, three, four, and five years respectively. A member of this board may be removed by the city commission for neglect of duty or conduct detrimental to the best interests of the library after charges have been preferred in writing and the member has been given the opportunity of defense. Vacancies for the unexpired term of any members shall be filled by the city commission.

SECTION 2. This board shall be known as the board of library commissioners (or directors or trustees) of the city of———. The board shall have the powers of a public corporation and shall have full control over the maintenance and operation of the public library of the city of ———within the limitations of this charter and the general laws of the state. It shall adopt rules, stating the general terms on which the library may be used by the public, and shall have power to enforce the same. The board may receive gifts and bequests, acquire and transfer property, real and personal, act as trustee for the same, sue and be sued. It shall manage all libraries owned by the city and may contract with other public bodies, within and without the city, to render library service.

SECTION 3. Annually in the levying of taxes for municipal purposes the city commission shall levy not less than ——— mills on each dollar of the assessed valuation of the city, for the support and development of the public library.

SECTION 4. All moneys collected for the use of the library, whether by taxation or otherwise, shall be in the custody of the city treasurer and shall be paid out by him on vouchers duly attested by the library board and audited by the proper city authorities.

In the case of a gift offered to the library on conditions involving the performance of certain acts annually, the board shall refer to the city commission the matter of such gift and its conditions, which shall be confirmed by the city commission by ordinance in the form of a contract, before the same shall become operative.

SECTION 5. The library board shall appoint and promote all employes of the library for merit only, and the board shall adopt and use such measures as will in its best judgment conduce to this end. It shall have full power to dismiss any employes for stated cause, after such employe has been given the opportunity of a hearing.

SECTION 6. The library shall submit to the city commission an annual report of its work in detail, together with its receipts and expenditures, within thirty (30) days after the close of the fiscal year.

(Signed) SAMUEL H. RANCK
Librarian, Grand Rapids (Michigan) Public Library, Chairman.

J. C. DANA
Librarian, Free Public Library, Newark, N. J.

DREW B. HALL
Late Librarian, Public Library, Somerville, Mass., U. S. R., Q. M. C.

HARRISON W. CRAVER
Director of the Library of the United Engineering Societies, New York City.

ARTHUR E. BOSTWICK
Librarian, Public Library, St. Louis, Mo.

By way of supplement to the foregoing permit me to state with reference to the membership of the committee that I believe that it is fairly representative of public libraries in America to-day. John Cottan Dana's work as Librarian at Newark is widely known. He was formerly a president of the American Library Association. Drew B. Hall at the time of his appointment to this committee was librarian at Somerville, Mass. He is now in the United States Army. Harrison W. Craver was formerly a vice-president of the American Library Association and for a number of years was librarian of the Carnegie library at Pittsburgh. He is now librarian of the United Engineering Societies, of New York city. Dr. Arthur E. Bostwick, before becoming librarian of the St. Louis public library, organized the Brooklyn public library, and for a number of years was head of the circulation department of the New York public library. He has served as president of the American Library Association.

In working out this report the committee has sought the opinions of fellow librarians in all parts of the country, and submitted a draft of the report at the meeting of the American Library Association at Louisville last June. So far as the knowledge of the committee goes it meets with the unanimous approval of the library profession of the country, and it has been formally endorsed by the *Library Journal*, whose editor Mr. R. R. Bowker is well known to many of the members of the League. Many other authorities on public libraries have expressed their approval of it.

Samuel H. Ranck,
Chairman.

June 28, 1917.

Mr. Childs: I'd like to ask the last speaker a little about that report. It seems to me that on behalf of a certain group of municipal employes that report has laid out a particular featherbed for that particular group, something which protects them from politics, to be sure, protects them from a manager who has an economical streak, protects them from various kinds of assault by the creation of a five-year overlapping board which is a term longer than that of the commissioners themselves and perhaps longer than the life of the manager in office, and in general sets up around the life of the library peculiar and particular defenses.

There is also a definite, permanent annual appropriation or mill tax set aside for their use. Now of course we couldn't contemplate in a charter the extension of that principle to many classes of municipal employees; we couldn't set it up for other departments. Otherwise, we'd soon find our budget-making control had passed out of the hands of the representative body.

In theory the thing seems wrong; in practice it may be necessary. I should like to know what is the particular situation which makes it necessary for this class of public servants to have the peculiar protection and isolation which is set up in this report.

Mr. Ranck: You refer first to the mill tax. It has been the experience of librarians that a number of libraries have grossly suffered through a new administration coming in altogether out of sympathy, perhaps; or which for the sake of economy the library has been cut ruthlessly, with the result that it has required a number of years for it to come back to its former condition. That happened in Pittsburgh and it happened in Cleveland some years ago that a number of branches had to be closed, and it is the opinion of librarians that a minimum should be placed so that that sort of thing will not be likely to occur again. A number of cities have settled it in this way: Overlapping boards do give a continuing policy. Library work, to be effectively and economcally administered, ought to be planned ahead for a series of years and where the board and the budget are unknown from year to year that cannot be done effectively. That is the experience of libraries in that particular case.

Mayor Barber, *of Joliet:* Wherein does the department of the library require other or different protection on the budget question from any other department in the city administration. You are trying in this plan, as I see it, to lay out a program and make it effective, running through a term of years and you are tying down your city administration to provide the necessary funds to make that effective. We do not in other departments; why should the library have a precedence over any other department?

Mr. Ranck: The library is primarily educational work and it has been the experience of the library, to go back historically, that lack of an appropriation is very detrimental. The libraries of this country are a newer institution than the schools, are not so well established as the schools and it is the first institution to suffer when it comes to cutting funds.

In Michigan I might say that the mill tax is quite common. For instance, in Grand Rapids it is four-tenths of a mill on the assessed valuation as a minimum. It can be more than that. In Canadian cities it is five-tenths of a mill and in a great many state laws there is a mill tax.

Mr. Barber: The only thing I criticise at all is the remark that was the thought for creating for your library provision under city government a condition which may not obtain in the other divisions and that you have, as Mr. Childs remarked, got a feather bed proposition. Don't misunderstand me! I was for twenty-two years on a library board myself and know something about the game.

Mr. Ranck: Let me give another illustration: The war is hitting the libraries very hard. The War Department is calling for about seven thousand classifiers and head-liners for its work and they are largely coming out of the library. I was talking to the librarian of Chillicothe, O., last Saturday where we had a conference on war work for the soldiers and he said his organization was going to pieces on account of the fact that he can't get the trained people in his city to keep up his organization. The library is going to pieces and the law doesn't permit them to bring in people from the outside.

E. L. Bennett, *of Minneapolis:* We have an instance in St. Paul where the library is not protected by this featherbed provision. The library and the city schools are under the overlordship of the commissioner of education. We have neither library nor school boards in St. Paul—just the commissioner who is on a par with the other six commissioners and the mayor.

Recently St. Paul opened a beautiful library building. They haven't very many books in it yet, and due to the war and other circumstances St. Paul didn't want to spend money for providing administrative quarters for a lot of things. The commissioner of education had a brilliant notion about the same time that the commissioner of public safety did. The commissioner of education concluded to move his administrative offices into the new library and he was going to let the commissioner of public safety put a fire company in one corner of the basement or some structure to be attached thereto.

I don't believe that any of us would agree that it would have been wise if those projects had been put over. As a matter of fact, they weren't, but it was because the St. Paul association and the citizens who had been instrumental in getting the library and had contributed a large part of the funds protested so vigorously that the administration was constrained to back down.

Mr. Childs: It seems to me that the place to provide for the continuity is in the commission-manager plan. I can see that such a provision as this, where a city is subject to the varying policy that follows upon a change of mayor, might be desirable enough to warrant its introduction. I can see the same thing as to the old commission plan, but in the commission-manager plan we are supposed to get a certain amount of continuity in the commission and I think that is the place to find it—in the representative body that is elected to determine which of the things that the city is to keep going in the same old way and which are the things that ought to be changed.

I am as yet unconvinced of the desirability of incorporating this provision in our model charter.

I know of a city where every department is in the hands of just such a commission as is here proposed for the library but it is not a good form of government and it is not a good principle of government.

MISS MCCORMICK, *of Cleveland:* It seems to me that the education of the citizenship lies at the very foundation of the successful operation of our form of government. I think it is very much more important that the entire citizenship should be educated than that the fire department should be successfully conducted, and I do believe that more careful safeguards should be thrown around the educational department, including the library which is distinctly an educational institution, both supplementing the schools and affording the only opportunity for continued education after the school years.

MR. BENNETT, *Minneapolis:* In addition to the features which have been mentioned wherein the library differs from a fire department, in that it is an educational institution and that the whole state has an interest in it which appears to me is almost enough to overrule Mr. Childs' objection, there is the circumstance that very often we find the citizens at large contributing to the erection of a library building or to the establishment of it, as in St. Paul a very great part of the fund for building that building was raised upon the distinct understanding that it should be expended for library purposes and that a good library should be maintained regardless of party politics.

The report was then referred to the council which has provided for its reference to a special committee (consisting of such members of the committee on municipal program as would be willing to serve) created to consider this and sundry other propositions including amendments in the proportional representation sections of the appendix, and such other changes as might be suggested during the year.

Adjournment.

WEDNESDAY EVENING SESSION

Hotel Statler, Wednesday, November 21, 1917, 8.15 p.m.

Addresses on "Feeding Our Cities in War Time" were delivered by the Hon. Everett Colby, Orange, N. J., of the Food Administration, and Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane, of Kalamazoo, Mich., head of the Woman's Council of National Defense in Michigan, before a large audience of the Detroit board of commerce in the latter's auditorium. Preceding the larger meeting Mrs. Crane spoke on "The Housewife and the Marketing Problem" at a group meeting, at which session the addresses of President Marcus M. Marks of the Borough of Manhattan on "Wholesale and Retail Markets," and of Clarence S. Kates of Philadelphia on "Agents for Better Local Distribution of Food" were presented.[1]

THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

Hotel Statler, Thursday, November 22, 1917, 9.30 a.m.

Vice-President J. Horace McFarland took the chair, President Purdy having been called away by official duties in New York.

The first item of business was the presentation of the report of George Burnham, Jr., treasurer, for the six months ending September 30, 1917, which was read by Ferdinand H. Graser.

TREASURER'S REPORT

FOR 6 MONTHS, ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1917

RECEIPTS

Dues	$4,502.65
REVIEW subscriptions	145.00
Contributions	1,998.00
REVIEW sales	178.60
Sales sundry publications	179.35
N. M. L. series	77.40
Miscellaneous:	
Loans	2,650.00
Advertising	15.00

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[1] The editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW is planning to publish these papers in a future number.

Furniture sold	$25.00
Royalties	161.07
Special funds:	
REVIEW fund	315.00
Intercollegiate division	6.00
Baldwin prize	100.00
Total receipts	$10,353.07
Balance, March 31, 1917	459.91
	$10,812.98

DISBURSEMENTS

Committee expenses	$119.85
General	233.32
News clippings	45.00
Postage	441.56
Printing and stationery	212.88
Rent	431.67
REVIEW publications	1,987.35
Salaries and clerical	4,627.41
Travelling	115.85
N. M. L. series	1.42
Miscellaneous:	
Voucher account	1,472.14
Furniture	60.00
Dues	20.00
Royalties	74.88
Special funds:	
Intercollegiate division	85.52
Portland inv.	600.00
Baldwin prize	100.00
Total disbursements	$10,628.85
Balance, September 30, 1917	184.13
	$10,812.98

The next business in order was the report of the nominating committee, which was presented by Camillus G. Kidder, Esq., of Orange, N. J.

MR. KIDDER: The nominating committee reports after numerous meetings and careful deliberation the following nominations:

President—Lawson Purdy, New York.

Vice-Presidents—
- John Stewart Bryan, Richmond, Va.
- Richard S. Childs, New York.
- *Katherine Bement Davis, New York.
- Frank J. Goodnow, Johns Hopkins University.
- Meyer Lissner, Los Angeles, Cal.
- A. Lawrence Lowell, Harvard University.
- George McAneny, New York.
- Oliver McClintock, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- J. Horace McFarland, Harrisburg, Pa.
- *Charles E. Merriam, Chicago.
- Robert Treat Paine, Boston.
- L. S. Lowe, Philadelphia.
- Charles Richardson, Philadelphia.
- Dudley Tibbits, Troy, N. Y.

Secretary—Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia.

Treasurer—George Burnham, Jr., Philadelphia.

Council—
- Charles W. Andrews, Syracuse, N. Y.
- M. N. Baker, Montclair, N. J.
- W. P. Bancroft, Wilmington, Del.
- *Sir Adam Beck, Toronto, Canada.
- Alfred Bettman, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore, Md.
- John A. Butler, Milwaukee, Wis.
- Harvey Stuart Chase, Boston.
- *Caroline Bartlett Crane, Kalamazoo, Mich.
- Dwight F. Davis, St. Louis, Mo.
- George B. Dealey, Dallas, Texas.
- Albert DeSilver, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Rev. William G. Eliot, Jr., Portland, Ore.
- *Mayo Fesler, Cleveland, Ohio.†
- William Dudley Foulke, Richmond, Ind.
- C. J. France, Seattle, Wash.
- Clarence L. Harper, Philadelphia.
- Albert Bushnell Hart, Cambridge, Mass.
- Augustus Raymond Hatton, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Raymond V. Ingersoll, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Camillus G. Kidder, New York.
- Sam A. Lewisohn, New York.
- W. D. Lighthall, Montreal, Canada.
- *Pliny W. Marsh, Detroit, Mich.
- William Bennett Munro, Cambridge, Mass.
- Truman H. Newberry, Detroit, Mich.
- *J. W. S. Peters, Kansas City, Mo.
- Bessie Leach Priddy, Ypsilanti, Mich.

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*New nominations.

*New nominations.

†See page 121.

Council—

*Edward K. Putnam, Davenport, Iowa.
Thomas H. Reed, San Jose, Cal.
Francis B. Sayre, Cambridge, Mass.
Mary K. Simkhovitch, New York.
Howard Strong, Minneapolis, Minn.
*Theodore F. Thieme, Fort Wayne, Ind.
*L. D. Upson, Detroit, Mich.
Henry M. Waite, Dayton, Ohio.
A. Leo Weil, Pittsburgh, Pa.
*Lionel Weil, Goldsboro, N. C.
James H. Wolfe, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Submitted by the Committee:
Richard S. Childs,
Albert De Roode,
John Ihlder,
Delos F. Wilcox,
Camillus G. Kidder, *Chairman.*

The Chairman: You have heard the report of the nominating committee. What is your pleasure?

In the absence of any other names a motion was made and carried that the secretary cast a unanimous vote for the nominations for officers and council. The secretary reported that he had cast such a ballot for the list as nominated by the committee.

The Secretary: I desire to say at this time that during the past year we lost two of our active members by death, both of them men who for many years had been actively identified with us—Hon. George W. Guthrie, a vice-president of the League and one of its earliest and most effective supporters; the other our dear friend F. S. Spence, of Toronto. The council, at its April meeting, took appropriate action upon both of these deaths and the minutes which were adopted have been forwarded to their respective families and made a part of the records of the League.

I think it would be appropriate at this time to report what was undertaken at the council's meeting yesterday at what was one of the most interesting and suggestive meetings of the council in the history of the League. The question of the League's activities in this period of war and national stress was discussed in detail and with great care. There was a unanimous sentiment that the work of the League should be continued unabated, that now more than ever it was necessary that our municipal governments should be set in order and kept in order, that the machinery of government should be improved to the greatest possible extent and that the expenditures of money should be upon a basis of the community's usefulness rather than that of any personal, factional or party privilege.

Among the questions discussed—it is true at no very great length, because there seemed to be no differing opinion—was that the National Municipal Review should be continued. The spirit that manifested itself in the council was a very marked one and fully justified what the secretary, in his annual review yesterday, referred to with regard to the steadfastness of civic organizations at this time.

There has been no apparent let-up anywhere in the United States upon the part of those organizations, national, state and local, which for the last decade or two have been contributing so largely to the development of a sound municipal opinion and to the movement for improved municipal conditions. That a meeting should be held at this time under all the extraordinary circumstances that are surrounding the country and manifest a spirit of this kind is certainly most significant and indicates the determination—one might almost say *grim* determination—of the men and women who have made the municipal movement in this country what it is.

The Chairman: The chair very heartily seconds what the secretary has said concerning the discussion of the suggestion that the National Municipal League should stop the publication of the National Municipal Review. It seems to have been invisible in the council. It did not require any argument or any other than the statement to draw out a unanimous disposition to keep right on.

It does seem as if there had been a misconception with respect to how a nation might fight a war. I believe that some of us, at least this particular one of us who is speaking at this moment, thought at the first that the only way to fight a war was for all of the nation not actually engaged in wearing khaki and carrying guns to sit on the fence and watch them go by. Some of us, at least, waked up to the fact that if we did that the fence wouldn't hold us and the men who were marching by would soon starve.

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*New nominations.

From that comes the reaction that if there is to be a successful prosecution of this war it will have to be fought out in the very heart of the United States and nowhere else. If Germany is to be beaten, she is going to be beaten where troops of the enemy will never touch her—she will be beaten at home. If the United States, then, will win, it will win by the utmost possible developed efficiency in the handling of the inner work of the people.

I have been talking this morning to Mrs. Crane who last night addressed a sort of adventitiously controlled meeting in the board of commerce, and she has given of her tremendous energies toward organizing this state of Michigan on the inner firing line. I feel that it is absolutely no more than the sheerest and most definite patriotism and self-sacrifice for those of us who are devoted to bringing about and maintaining better conditions in our home towns to keep at it.

Most of you have observed, I have no doubt, that the federal government, without any definite action in that direction, has seemed to throw the control of its fighting forces into the selection, either by conscription or voluntary enlistment of the men who are to fight. It uniforms them, trains them, arms them, moves them about, shelters them and fits them. It stops there. If those men are hurt the federal government does not take care of them, and during the very important period of their existence prior to the opportunity to be hurt and during the time when they are on the firing line but not actually in service, the federal government does absolutely nothing for them but feed them.

The function of recreation which affects so immensely the morale and fighting efficiency of the army, the federal government was not prepared to cope with. That function has now been turned over very definitely, but unofficially, to the Y. M. C. A. and it thus comes about that the fighting of this war is in the hands of the federal government, of the Y. M. C. A., and of the Red Cross.

Now it has been brought forth also that the proportions of these things need to be understood. Of every hundred men who go over the top, according to recent statistics, two are killed and three are wounded. Ninety-five come back to go again. After they have gone over the top, they are given a period of rest back of the lines. Because no attention has been paid by the armies of England and Canada to the care of that time back of the trenches, 25 per cent, two hundred and fifty thousand out of a million, were incapacitated for duty, and after the consideration of the function of recreation began, that inefficiency was reduced to 8 per cent, or eighty thousand out of a million.

It is well that we take these facts unto our minds because they relate absolutely to the conduct of our home communities and therein lies a part of the work of this great organization and every other organization which wants to see the war succeed. We've got to keep the home communities clean and well governed. We've got to get a hundred cents or a hundred and one cents if we can manage it, for every dollar we spend out of the public funds.

I believe every one of us is promoting the business of fighting in the most efficient way if he is trying to make his own home town a better place to live in and work in and a richer place in which the government may find more money to sustain the war.

Mr. Fesler: In conformity with the remarks made by the chairman and secretary, I should like to offer a resolution:

Whereas, In times of national emergencies such as now confronts the country it is well to take stock of our social and municipal forces and determine wherein our voluntary associations and activities can be better organized and co-ordinated for more efficient promotion of the government, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the National Municipal League in annual meeting assembled, That the president of the League appoint a committee of five members from different cities of the country to examine into the records of the League, to analyze its contributions and subscription list, to inquire into its activities, to consider the possibility of increasing its income, extending its field of effort and perfecting a closer co-ordination of its work with other associations in closely allied fields of effort and to make a full report of its findings at the next annual meeting. Be it further

Resolved, That the council of the National Municipal League be requested to provide out of the funds of the League a sum necessary to meet the expenses incurred by the committee in connection with its investigations.

The motion as seconded was carried.

Mr. Winship: I think the secretary struck the keynote of the members of this organization. I believe there is a tremendous possibility for increasing the work and effectiveness of the National Municipal League. I think this resolution as offered by Mr. Fesler might be beneficial and of very far-reaching effects. I think that out of this great body of men the yearly attendance is unnecessarily small. It seems to me that with this great array of names nominated for next year, ten of the names only being new ones, that we should have by some effort or other a larger attendance at these meetings, that there should be a greater effort made to have the co-operation of everyone in these meetings. I trust you will recall the remarks of the secretary.

The Secretary: In these days of multiplied demands upon all patriotically inclined citizens, the financial situation is going to be one of great difficulty. For a number of years past the multiplicity of organizations which seems to be inevitable has made the raising of adequate sums of money a matter of the greatest difficulty to those who have been charged with that function.

Yesterday, at the meeting of the council, the opinion was expressed very strongly that it was necessary to do a great deal more propaganda work than had been done in the past. That can only be done by materially increasing the forces at the command of the League and that increase in the force can only come as the result of increased financial support, so I trust that either as a part of this motion or as a supplement to it, some action will be taken looking towards the reinforcing of the hands of those who have borne the burden during the past generation so that this financial problem, which is a serious one and which is increasingly serious, shall have the support of new blood.

So far as the matter of attendance is concerned, that, too, ought to have attention and attention in a very definite way. Very few people realize how large the administrative work of the National Municipal League has become. It is in touch through its officers not only with every part of the United States and with all the various localities that are interested, but carries on the National Municipal Review which itself is a burden of considerable proportions.

It has to do with the arrangement of the work and the carrying forward of the work of the various committees, both the administrative committees and sundry other committees that are appointed from time to time to consider and report upon various special problems and various special features of the work.

That work, notwithstanding the war and all its distractions, has increased. Just how many per cent, of course, it is not possible offhand to state, but it has considerably and materially increased and bids fair to increase in the coming months and for that reason I hope that steps may be taken to bring to the League not only larger financial support but the support of a larger number of men and women.

The council which you have just elected is a representative body, a portion of which actively participates in the various meetings of the council that are held from time to time and others co-operate in their respective localities.

Heretofore, practically all of the work of raising money has been carried on by the executive officers, which does not harmonize with the views held for instance in the civic secretaries committee, that those who are responsible for the execution ought not also to have the burden of raising the means.

It is a serious and difficult problem which ought to be handled separately and I feel that we have been handicapped very seriously in the past, that there has been no adequate provision for raising the very much larger sums of money that are needed.

Harvey S. Chase: At the meeting of the council yesterday the discussion was started but very quickly concluded in regard to whether it would be advisable to omit the National Municipal Review during the period of the war. Opinion in the council seemed to be very strongly in favor of continuing it. The cost of the Review is one of the elements, the very serious elements, in keeping our financial situation where it is in running us into deficits as we do run into each year, and it seemed to me at that time and it seems so still, that that question of a discontinuance of the Review for the period of the war is one that we ought to consider very seriously.

The Review last year cost us, according to the statements of the treasurer, for six months, nineteen hundred and eighty-seven dollars. We had contributions to the League of just about that amount—nineteen hundred and ninety-eight dollars—so that practically all of the contributions to the League during that six months went to make up the deficit or cost in the Review publication.

Now, if we are going into this propaganda matter outside and if we need additional money which we are going to find exceedingly hard to get—most of us on the council have been through an attempt to increase the contributions, and increase the dues—that question of the value of the Review during the war period is one that seems to me ought to be thoroughly discussed in this meeting.

Mr. Fesler: It has been suggested that possibly that resolution covered the question of raising of funds. My point in offering that resolution was not to take care of the funds particularly. I am in full accord with the suggestions made by the secretary and others that that ought to be done but it ought to be done by an entirely different committee. This is a survey committee, not a finance committee.

The Chairman: I wish to interject just a word of my own in respect to the National Municipal Review. If there is any action to be taken concerning that periodical, I should hope it would be in the change of its name rather than its character or its existence. It does not happen to be a review, nor a digest; it is a bible of civic advance. To cut it off now would be very much like taking away from the army in France, its general orders, very much like taking away from it the news of what the enemy is doing.

The National Municipal Review, misnamed as it is, expresses bi-monthly as the circumstances now provide, a statement of what is doing and what ought to be done. It is, to my mind, very unique and unreplacable and I should rather favor, if I were dealing with the subject from the standpoint of the National Municipal League, a concerted and vigorous effort to double its circulation so that it might be more useful and also relatively cheaper.

I sincerely trust no action will be taken to cut off one of the sources of the great advantages of the National Municipal League by diminishing the vigor and success of its greatest work outside its findings. Compared with the usual annual report it is one of the most efficient means for gathering dues that has ever been prepared; the National Municipal Review is alive.

Professor Munro: I want to express my hearty concurrence with the remarks made by you a moment ago, Mr. Chairman. It seems to me that it is absolutely essential that the publication of the Review should go on. Those of us who have been members of the League for a good many years will recall that prior to the establishment of the Review it was customary to publish a volume of proceedings every year. It was thought advisable that the movements which we put forward under our propaganda should go to the readers more often and more directly than was possible with the proceedings.

Accordingly, instead of issuing one

volume of proceedings a year, we undertook to issue what was virtually our volume of proceedings in four parts, calling it the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. Some time later the change was made whereby the REVIEW was issued every two months. Speaking for men who are interested in the academic side of municipal government, I think I can say the REVIEW has been an unqualified success. It is the only thing we have as the vehicle of sound instruction in current municipal affairs. All the other periodicals are being maintained—in some cases being cut down in size, in some cases issued not so frequently.

It may be necessary in the case of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW to go back to the quarterly issue; it may be necessary to undertake a new campaign for new subscribers, but I think the matter of giving it up temporarily should not be considered at all. Most of you know, for example, that when you break a file of a periodical, you destroy its value almost beyond repair. Every institution that has a file from the stock of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW wants to keep it complete. I, for one, am willing to take my hand in raising money for it. I will do my share. Others, I think, are willing to do likewise. Let's keep the REVIEW, deficit or no deficit.

MR. CHASE: In looking over the treasurer's report we see on the receipt side: "Receipts from loans, $2,650.00." Apparently there are no payments on the loan during the period, therefore we have borrowed $2,650.00 and we have reduced our cash balance by nearly $300.00.

I am as much in favor of the REVIEW as anyone can be and if we can find gentlemen like Mr. Munro and others to furnish the money to carry it on, everything is to be said in its favor but I do not think that we face our financial situation the way we ought to. We ought to have it very clearly before us just what that situation is.

THE SECRETARY: So that this body may have before it a fairly complete picture, please bear in mind that this is a six months' report issued just before a large batch of bills for annual dues went out. The League, in other words, is very much like many cities. There are periods in its year's history when the funds come in in considerable quantities and there are other periods when they come in in very small quantities and a certain portion of that loan item is to cover the period between the lean and the comparatively fat periods—but still we are short.

The government has found it necessary at this time to call in additional outside forces to an extent never heretofore done and it looks as if the time had come when organizations like the National Municipal League would have to do the same thing, and I do hope that this resolution of Mr. Fesler's which has just been adopted will be followed up by one which I feel is equally important, for if this particular committee authorized here should find it desirable (as I feel sure it will) that there should be an increase in the activities of the League and therefore an increase in the finances, it will be up to somebody to secure those additional finances.

The League from the beginning has depended upon the small contributions of a considerable number rather than the largesse of a few. To-day there is no man and no institution or foundation contributing in any considerable sum to the League. That is in a way a wholly desirable condition, because it makes the League an entirely free and independent agency. It adds, however, very materially to the difficulty of managing the League because it means that there must be a very great effort put forth to keep up and increase the membership, to take up and care for the run of resignations which come in every year and which may be accentuated this year because of war conditions and to take up the loss from death.

PROF. A. R. HATTON: I do not want this question of the relationship of the REVIEW and the finances of the League to pass without saying a word about it. The suggestion that in order to meet the present stringency the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW be abandoned, even the suggestion, although it may not be taken very seriously, impresses me as very much like the sort of things that cities sometimes do when they find it necessary to retrench.

They immediately lop off the largest sum that can be easily cut away without any consideration as to its importance. Now businesses are finding it necessary to retrench during the war period, but I have never heard of any business that in order to retrench, abandoned the manufacture of its most important product.

If the National Municipal League, in order to meet the situation which may confront it, should discontinue the REVIEW, it would be exactly similar to a business attempting to retrench by stopping the manufacture of its most salable and most important product. I think it is important that this League make a survey of its financial condition and resources and particularly the sources of future income, but certainly in regard to retrenching I am satisfied that a good many other members can be found to be of the opinion as I that some other method of retrenching can be found than discontinuing the REVIEW. We'd just about go out of business altogether.

THE CHAIRMAN: Some years ago during a financial stringency the men who advised with John Wanamaker of Philadelphia told him the dreadful tale of the falling off of their sales and they suggested that there must be retrenchment, to which he agreed. It was then suggested that the retrenchment begin in the advertising appropriation to which he responded that it should be from that day doubled. Soon the difficulty disappeared.

In the last financial panic, so I learn from the advertising manager of the Victor Talking Machine Company, a similar suggestion was made to Mr. Johnson. He also took similar action only instead of doubling it he trebled it. His financial stringency also disappeared.

To stop the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW would be somewhat akin to cutting off the means whereby the National Municipal League is known and kept in the minds of its friends.

The chair also feels that this discussion, in the absence of a motion, is out of order.

MR. CHASE: I move that a special financial committee be appointed to discuss the financial condition of the League and report at the next meeting of the League.

THE SECRETARY: May I ask to what extent that differs from Mr. Fesler's carefully worded resolution which is "to inquire into the activities and consider the possibility of increasing the income, extending the field of effort, etc."? I'd like to ask Mr. Fesler if his resolution was not intended to cover this point.

MR. CHASE: If that includes a study of the past and present financial situation of the League, I will be satisfied with it.

MR. FESLER: I didn't so intend. This is to be a survey, not a consideration of the pressing financial condition of the League. I think a special committee, if you are going to have a committee, should take up that question.

PROFESSOR HATTON: I wonder if we are not talking at cross purposes. I supposed, in voting on this resolution of Mr. Fesler, we did contemplate an inquiry into the financial history of the League and perhaps suggestions of ways to finance ourselves for the future. I didn't understand, however, that it is incumbent upon this committee to enter upon any work of raising funds to meet the immediate needs. I think that would be a mistake.

MR. FESLER: I think that is the right interpretation.

PROFESSOR HATTON: You left the impression right now that you didn't intend the committee to inquire into future finances. That raises the question as to whether someone wants to make a motion to start some work for the immediate meeting of the needs of the League.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair will read the resolution in order that you may determine what you have done and reconsider it if you are dissatisfied. (The chair reads resolution.) That is what you have done, gentlemen. What do you now wish to do?

PROFESSOR MUNRO: Is it necessary to have any such motion? The council, I take it, has full power to appoint any such committee. Why should it not appoint a committee to raise money if money is needed rather than have it done in the general meeting of the League?

Mr. Fesler: I think Professor Munro's point is well taken. Your constitution provides that the executive committee shall take care of the appointments of all committees. It is a question that can be handled much better in the quiet counsels of the council than in the general meetings of the League.

The Secretary: Why wouldn't it be wise, then, instead of postponing the report of this particular committee here until a year hence, to have this committee if it can be gotten together, present its report to the council so that the council can, when it comes to consider the question of finances, know what the recommendations of this particular committee are? This practically postpones it for a year because it says "and make a full report of its findings at the next annual meeting." May I suggest that it be authorized to report to the council if it can so that the council will have the information upon which to pass a larger appeal for financial support? This resolution would carry the matter over until next year—a year hence.

Professor Hatton: It strikes me it would be utterly impossible for any committee to carry through any work there laid down in a short period. That resolution contemplates a rather long and unquestionably thorough investigation and I don't see how such a committee, no matter how actively they would work, could report within six months. That is a big job to undertake and if anyone suggested that particular committee be saddled with the problem of the immediate finances of the League, I should object, myself, because it would detract from the main work that it was intended to do.

On the other hand, I am thoroughly in harmony with the idea of having some committee deal at once with the immediate financial problems of the League, whether that committee be appointed by the council or suggested at this meeting—I don't care. I think Mr. Munro's suggestion that the council do it is proper.

Dr. Wilcox: Is it a fact or is it not that some special effort must be made to meet the League's financial needs for the balance of this year?

The Secretary: Yes.

Dr. Wilcox: Then it seems to me that without conflicting with either Mr. Fesler's resolution or the action taken by the council, a committee could be appointed either by the council or the president for the purpose of raising sufficient funds to meet the immediate financial needs. I agree with what has been said that this committee authorized by Mr. Fesler's resolution ought not to be saddled with the actual work of raising money, especially it ought not to be saddled with the work of raising money for immediate purposes. I understand it was for a general survey of the League's activities and the plans for the future which could be presented to the League a year from now and would be very difficult to complete before that time.

Professor Munro: I would like to say if it would help to clear up the matter—as a member at the meeting this afternoon I would be very glad to make a motion that the council appoint a finance committee to take care of that.

The Chairman: We will now welcome the report of the chairman of the executive committee.

M. N. Baker: It is always interesting, I think, to the members of the League to know something about the progress of the National Municipal League Series. Statement under date of November 17 shows total sales of the various books in the series which amount to about fifteen thousand volumes, which seems to be very gratifying indeed and is an evidence that one of the lines of activity of the League seems to be highly creditable to the organization and helpful to municipal government generally. Two new manuscripts are in the hands of publishers, one on "Expert City Government" and the other "Our New Municipal Program," the latter having been delayed by the illness of one of the members who was to contribute a portion of it.

The various committee reports have

been read so it is unnecessary to go over them. Perhaps just a word might be said in regard to the feeling of the executive committee as has been brought out from time to time in the discussions relating to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. All members of the committee, I am sure I can say with certainty, feel as has already been echoed here on the floor by several, that the REVIEW is one of the very most essential parts of the work of the League. Instead of discontinuing it or cutting down in size, materially, speaking now from my own viewpoint, I should say we should make a drive for publishing the REVIEW oftener and make it a more efficient organ of municipal government in this country.

It was with some such idea in view that we changed the frequency of publication so that it is now issued once in two months instead of once in three months. In order to be the effective force that it ought to be and that the country needs, the REVIEW should be published at least monthly. I look forward confidently to the time when we can establish a weekly review. Then we can discuss current questions, take up editorial attitudes and really contribute towards shaping the opinion of the country in regard to questions of municipal government.

MR. CHILDS: While I was asleep this morning the committee on nominations turned in its report, I take it, and the report itself was drawn up while I was asleep in New York some time ago. I want to reopen that just a moment to suggest that the name of Mayo Fesler ought to be on the new council and to move that his name be added. He is one of the most active members we have and I don't know why it has not been there. I think it ought to be and I think we all agree it ought to be there.

MR. FESLER: You already have one representative from Cleveland who makes as much noise as necessary—Mr. Hatton.

The motion was put and carried.

THE SECRETARY: I have a telegram from our very dear friend—I was going to say "old" friend—Lieutenant Shaw, dated Norfolk, November 21.

"Voters approved new charter for Norfolk yesterday by over two thousand majority, the vote being nearly three to one in its favor."

That was a city-manager charter modeled perhaps more definitely upon the League's Model City Charter than any other instrument that has thus far been adopted. (Applause.)

Adjournment.

The business meeting having adjourned, the general session was convened, with Vice-President J. Horace McFarland in the chair.

Dr. Delos F. Wilcox presented a report from the committee on franchises entitled "Recent Developments in the Public Utilities Field," which will be published in a future issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

Then followed a discussion of "Executive or Legislative Budgets," Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland of Boston maintaining that the executive should frame the budget, and Dr. Edward A. Fitzpatrick of Madison, Wisconsin, that the legislature should frame the budget. This discussion which was participated in by Harvey S. Chase, Boston, R. P. Farley, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Prof. Augustus Raymond Hatton, Cleveland, Dr. Jesse D. Burks, Los Angeles, and J. Herman Knisely of Harrisburg, Pa., will be summarized for a future number of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

Hotel Statler, Thursday, November 22, 1917, 3.30 p.m.

Vice-President Richard S. Childs, New York, in the chair.

This session was devoted to a consideration of the consolidation of city and county and consisted of the following papers: "How Baltimore Succeeds without County Government," S. S. Field, city solicitor of Baltimore; "The Consolidated City and County of Denver," by Prof. William B. Guthrie of the College of the City of New York; "Consolidation Problems in California," by George B. Sikes, and "Urban-Rural Consolidation in Europe," by Professor William Anderson, of the University of Minnesota.[1]

The question of county government was considered further at an informal conference held in the evening, the general results of which are to be embodied in a statement by the recently formed committee on county government.

JOHN F. PUTMAN, *Milwaukee:* I have been asked to present this resolution for the consideration of the meeting:

> WHEREAS, the United States is now engaged in a war to make the world safe for democracy, and
>
> WHEREAS, it is the primary purpose of the organizations here assembled in conference to advance democratic government to its highest possible state of efficiency by improving governmental organizations and methods through research and co-operation with public officials; now, therefore, be it
>
> *Resolved*, that the executive secretary of this conference be instructed to offer to the proper federal authorities the co-operation and services of the organizations here assembled for any special service which in the opinion of the federal authorities they may be peculiarly qualified to perform.

I may say that the occasion of this is to call the federal authorities' attention to the fact that our organizations represent men who have had experience and are qualified through that experience to work with and secure the co-operation of public officials.

THE CHAIRMAN: By the executive secretary of this conference do you mean the secretary of the National Municipal League?

MR. PUTMAN: Yes. I understand this is to be presented to the city managers and also to the conference of governmental research agencies.

THE CHAIRMAN: This might more properly have come before the business session of our League this morning when we were organized for discussion of business, but the chair offers no objection to the consideration of the measure at this time. What is your pleasure?

PROFESSOR HATTON: I believe its adoption has been moved. I second the motion.

DR. WILCOX: What does that resolution mean? Does it mean these organizations are practically to offer their services to the federal government with the idea of suspending the work that they are now doing and devoting all their energies to any particular function which the government may think we might perform in connection with the war? If so, this meeting would certainly have no authority to pass such a resolution for the National Municipal League, I should think.

THE CHAIRMAN: Of course a meeting like this that is assembled for the discussion of papers has no authority to bind the League to a policy when the members of the convention are not aware that business is to be transacted at this place and hour.

MR. RANCK: I move that that matter be referred to the council of the League.

MR. FESLER: I hope that resolution will not prevail, but that the original resolution will—not that the order of business shall not come before the council but it is so entirely appropriate a resolution that it seems to me that we might set aside the usual method of procedure and adopt it. Dr. Wilcox's suggestion that it might take us out of our regular line of work I don't believe is a correct interpretation. The idea is not that we suspend our activities but that we are willing to do everything we can in the present situation. I hope the resolution will be adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

Adjourned.

THURSDAY EVENING SESSION

Hotel Statler, Thursday, November 22, 1917, 8 p.m.

COUNTY GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

An informal conference of the committee was held at Detroit on Thursday evening, November 22. This conference was attended not only by committeemen, but by members of the League who were interested in the subject. Various phases of the situation were discussed as brought up by those present, and by letters of those who were not able to attend. It was brought out that considerable intensive study had been done in Westchester county, New York, Cumberland county, Maryland, and Frederick county, Virginia. It was decided that Mr. Otho G. Cartwright, who presided over the meeting, and Mr. Richard S. Childs should be requested to prepare a draft of a statement to be sent to all members of the committee, setting forth the points to be considered, this statement to outline the situation as it existed in most of the counties of the country, and to suggest a constructive program for the relief of present conditions.

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[1] It is the hope and desire of the editor to publish several of these papers in an early issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

The committee consists of: Prof. Charles A. Beard, New York; Prof. Edward C. Branson, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Franklin N. Brewer, Philadelphia; John E. Brindley, Ames, Iowa; Harold S. Buttenheim, New York; Otho G. Cartwright, White Plains, N. Y.; Fred W. Catlett, Seattle, Wash.; Richard S. Childs, New York; Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane, Kalamazoo, Mich.; George H. Dunlop, Los Angeles, Cal.; Hon. William Dudley Foulke, Richmond, Ind.; H. S. Gilbertson, New York; LeRoy Hodges, Richmond, Va.; Hon. Morton D. Hull, Chicago; Prof. Herman G. James, University of Texas; Prof. Chester Lloyd Jones, Madison, Wis.; Dr. Clyde L. King, University of Pennsylvania; Percy V. Long, San Francisco, Cal.; Prof. Howard L. McBain, Columbia University; Albert McC. Matthewson, New Haven, Conn.; Prof. Charles E. Merriam, University of Chicago; Prof. Samuel P. Orth, Ithaca, N. Y.; Hon. Arthur N. Pierson, Westfield, N. J.; Lawson Purdy, New York City; Mark L. Requa, Oakland, Cal.; Herbert R. Sands, New York; Dr. Isaac Sharpless, Haverford, Pa.; Seward C. Simons, Los Angeles, Cal.; George C. Sikes, Chicago; Elvin Swarthout, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Prof. Frank A. Updyke, Hanover, N. H.; Dr. Joseph H. Willetts, Delaware county, Pa.; Hon. Lewis R. Works, Los Angeles, Cal.; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia; John W. Ziegler, Ridley Park, Pa.

FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

Hotel Statler, Friday, November 23, 1917, 10 a.m.

W. D. Lighthall, K.C., in the chair.

The first subject for discussion at this session was "Training City Managers." It was introduced by Gaylord C. Cummin, city manager of Grand Rapids. He was followed by Dr. William H. Allen, director of the Institute for Public Service, New York, who spoke on "Getting Trained Men into Public Service," and following this was a paper by Richard H. Dana, Esq., Cambridge, Mass., president of the National Civil Service Reform League on "Effects of War on a Trained Public Service." [1]

The remainder of the session was devoted to a consideration of "War Time Experiences of English and Canadian Cities," the presiding officer Mr. Lighthall making some introductory remarks.[2] He was followed by Sir George Gibbons of London, Ontario, and Mrs. H. B. Plumptre of Toronto, the secretary of the Canadian Red Cross Society.[3] The paper of Mayor Church of Toronto was presented by title.[4]

LUNCHEON CONFERENCE

Hotel Statler, Wednesday, November 21, 1917

A joint luncheon was held with the city managers' association to consider the question "Will the City-Manager Form of Government Fit All Cities: Large Cities—Machine Controlled Cities," with President Purdy in the chair. The speakers were Richard S. Childs, secretary of the National Short Ballot Organization and vice-president of the National Municipal League, who presented the questions for discussion; Gaylord C. Cummin, city manager of Grand Rapids, Michigan; George B. Harris, chairman of the

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[1] The editor hopes to be able to publish this discussion in a future issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 19.

[3] The editor hopes to be able to publish the addresses of Sir George Gibbons and Mrs. Plumptre in a future issue.

[4] See vol. vii, p. 23.

Republican county committee of Cuyahoga county, Cleveland; Ossian E. Carr, city manager of Niagara Falls; Dr. Henry M. Waite, city manager of Dayton, and William E. Boynton, recently elected by proportional representation as one of the commissioners of Ashtabula, Ohio. As a part of the discussion an interesting letter from George W. Knox, sometimes known as the father of the city-manager form of government in Niagara Falls, was read. An article embodying the discussion will be prepared for a future issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

LUNCHEON CONFERENCE

Hotel Statler, Thursday, November 22, 1917, 12.15 p.m.

This luncheon was presided over by Judge William F. Connolly of Detroit, and the subject for discussion was "Non-partisan City Government." After some preliminary remarks the presiding officer introduced Richard S. Childs, who introduced the subject. Among the other speakers were Lamar T. Beman, of the department of public welfare, Cleveland; Samuel Baker, city clerk of London, Ontario; Dr. Jesse D. Burks of the Los Angeles bureau of efficiency; Albert Smith Faught, of Philadelphia, and Pliny W. Marsh of Detroit. The chairman also read an interesting letter on the subject of non-partnership in Seattle from C. J. France, Esq., of that city. An article based upon the discussion will appear in a future issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

LUNCHEON CONFERENCE

Hotel Statler, Friday, November 23, 1917, 12.15 p.m.

This luncheon was presided over by Professor Augustus Raymond Hatton, of Western Reserve University, and discussed the question of "Selling Good Government to the People," F. P. Gruenberg reading a paper on this subject by J. Horace McFarland who was called away from the convention a day earlier than he expected. This was followed by Dr. D. Frank Garland, director of public welfare, Dayton, Ohio, who spoke on "Humanizing Welfare Reports." The subject then being thrown open for discussion, brief addresses were made by the chairman, Dr. Jesse D. Burks of Los Angeles; S. S. Field, Esq., Baltimore; R. P. Farley, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Edward T. Paxton, University of Texas; Dr. W. H. Allen, New York City; J. Herman Knisely, Harrisburg.

OLIVER MCCLINTOCK, *Pittsburgh:* The National Municipal League held its ninth annual conference in Detroit in 1903. I recognize, besides our worthy Secretary Woodruff, J. Horace McFarland, of Harrisburg; Dr. John A. Fairlie, of the University of Michigan, and Harvey S. Chase of Boston, now present, as having attended that meeting. These veterans in the cause of good city government must be greatly impressed by Detroit's phenomenal growth in population, manufactures and physical development during the comparatively brief period of fourteen years that has elapsed.

From time immemorial this city has always been Detroit, so named from the French word "détroit"—a strait, and we now appropriately speak of her as "The Queen City of the Straits."

In 1679, the intrepid La Salle set up here the French tricolor in the name of Louis the Great, King of France and Navarre, and in token of the French possession.

Later still, in 1702, Antoine Cadillac, at the head of fifty soldiers, fifty artisans, some priests and friendly Indians, marched into the settlement and formally founded Detroit as the leading town of the New France.

In 1760, the capitulation to the British, by the French, of Quebec and Montreal, was followed by the surrender of Canada and all of its dependencies, which included New France and Detroit.

This transfer of sovereignty served to foment discontent and hatred of the English among the Indian tribes of the north. Detroit was then the home of Pontiac, the powerful, but treacherous chief of the Ottawas, and the war-chief of the Confederacy of the Six Nations. They were unsuccessfully united in the widely extended Pontiac Conspiracy, whose purpose was to drive out all white races from the country of the Great Lakes, and to maintain it under Indian domination.

The success of the Revolutionary War, for independence from Great Britain, again changed the nationality of Detroit, and it became the leading settlement in the North West Territory, created by Act of Congress in 1787.

These succeeding sovereignties are symbolically represented on the metal pendant of the beautiful badge provided for the members of the League by the Detroit reception committee. On it are quartered the lilies of France, the lion of Great Britain, and the stars and stripes of the United States.

In 1805, Detroit was utterly consumed by fire, all landmarks being effaced. But this great calamity proved a blessing in disguise in the light of subsequent events. The distressing predicament of the population was solved by an Act of Congress authorizing a "governors and judges commission" to clear up the situation. They employed and collaborated with the noted French engineer, Major L'Enfant (who also made the plan adopted by Congress for the capital city of Washington), in making a new plan for Detroit. Under it, each inhabitant was allotted a town lot. In 1815 Detroit received its charter as a city.

This brief outline of the historical contrasts in Detroit's history may serve to emphasize and make more striking the amazing growth and progress of Detroit during the succeeding one hundred years of its life as an American city.

Its wide streets and avenues, its boulevards without street cars, its public squares and parks, and its provision for a large future development, evince the same remarkable vision and artistic skill, which the great city-planner, L'Enfant, displayed in his plan for the nation's capital city, the most beautiful in the world.

There is in fact a striking similarity in his plans for the two cities, and both are recognized as classic models by modern city planners. Combined with the good fortune of an admirable city plan, the far-sighted and progressive public spirit of its citizens have undoubtedly contributed towards Detroit's remarkable growth in population, manufactures and commerce, and towards the fundamentals of progressive city government and good living conditions, which are necessary to produce a prosperous,.contented and happy people.

I offer for adoption by the League, the following resolutions;

Resolved: That the hearty thanks of the National Municipal League and its affiliated organizations, namely: the city managers' association; the civic secretaries association; the association of governmental research agencies; the inter-collegiate civic association and the American Political Science Association, assembled in this twenty-fifth annual conference, be extended to our hospitable hosts, namely:

His Honor, Mayor Oscar B. Marx; the newspapers of Detroit; the bureau of governmental research; the board of commerce; the Detroit real estate board and the Detroit citizens' league, for their generous and sympathetic hospitality, during our conference.

We would make individual and special mention of the indefatigable labors of the Detroit reception committee and Dr. Lent D. Upson, its secretary, in providing for the comfort and enjoyment of the members of the League and its affiliated organizations.

We have come hither from the cities of the east; the south; the Pacific coast; the great middle west, and Canada, to contribute from our political knowledge and experiences to the common forum of discussion we have this week set up in Detroit.

We deeply regret that the end of this delightful and instructive meeting has come, and that we must say goodbye to each other and to our hospitable hosts, the people of Detroit. We return to our respective home cities, with fresh inspiration, a broader vision and renewed zeal in behalf of good city government. We earnestly hope that our conference will not be without profit to the people of Detroit, and help towards the solution of the great crisis now pending in its political history, involving the adoption of a new city charter.

The City Managers' Association

The fourth annual meeting of the city managers' association was held in conjunction with the National Municipal League at Detroit, November 19, 20 and 21. There was one joint session with the National Municipal League at luncheon on Wednesday (*q. v.*) and a roll call and several round tables. Among the subjects discussed were "Ann Arbor's Paving Experience," "City Planning for Small Cities," "Practical Problems in Administration," "Now that We Have the City-Manager Plan, What Are We Going to Do With It."

The address of President O. E. Carr will be found on page 45 of this issue of the National Municipal Review.[1]

Gaylord C. Cummin, city manager of Grand Rapids, Mich., was elected president, and Harrison Gray Otis, city manager of Beaufort, S. C., was elected secretary-treasurer of the association for the ensuing year. The latter in a communication to the city managers of the country said:

> In addition to the proceedings of the fourth annual convention of the association, held in Detroit last month, we hope to publish the gist of good things turned loose in the research bureau conference, on accounting, budget making and kindred subjects. Most of all, and here is where you enter, we want a brief, pointed "achievement report" from every manager in the country, only 50 to 100 words, hitting the highest spots of your city's problems and progress under the new plan, since its adoption. Also, we want the correct name and salary of each manager, the name and present population of your city and the date the new plan went into effect. Every manager is a member of the association, active or prospective. Active members' dues are $5, payable now. Prospective members may become active by payment of the $5 fee for the current year. The immediate co-operation of all managers is asked, to make this report a success.

Conference of Governmental Research Agencies

Representatives of nineteen governmental research agencies of the United States and Canada participated in the meeting of those agencies which was held at the Hotel Statler at Detroit, November 20, 21, and 22, at the time of the meeting of the National Municipal League. While the discussions were interesting, they were not of as much importance as attaches to the fact that the meeting resulted in a permanent organization under the name "Governmental Research Conference." The conference adopted a definite program for co-operative work, and elected officers to carry out this program.

Such a conference is the natural outgrowth of a number of conferences of the staff members of research organizations which have been held in conjunction with the annual meetings of the National Municipal League. Since the beginning of organized citizen effort to establish effective city government, there have been informal exchanges of experiences between such citizen organizations. Such exchanges by correspondence, supplemented even by occasional meetings of limited groups, could only be incomplete and unsatisfactory. Therefore, a number of directors and staff members of bureaus of municipal research, meeting in Dayton in 1915, suggested the value of a national organization of research agencies and authorized the calling of a conference of such organizations in Springfield, Mass., in 1917. At this latter meeting the association of governmental research agencies was organized, but membership was limited to organizations supported by the voluntary contributions of citizens.

The organizers of the movement appreciated that the restricted membership would limit the usefulness of such an organization, and for that reason created only a temporary organization, elected temporary officers and authorized a committee to draft a plan which would insure practical co-operation among all research groups in the country. This practical plan was presented in detail to the conference meeting with the National Municipal League and the city managers' association in Detroit in November, 1917.

This adopted plan of organization calls for memberships by individuals rather than by associations and leaves the exact character of that membership to be determined by an executive committee. However, it was the sense of the representatives present that the conference on governmental research should include representatives from citizen research agencies, university research bureaus, civic divisions of commercial organizations, municipal efficiency bureaus and individuals, including city officers, who have an interest in the administrative problems of government.

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[1] We are planning to publish in the March issue a summary of the discussion of the city managers at the various sessions of the League and City Managers' Association.

In this connection it should be borne in mind that in the past decade the emphasis upon improved government has swung from improving fundamental organization to consideration of the problems of administrative methods. In this, field experience is limited and questions are new and recurring. Budget making, municipal accounting, cost accounting, purchasing, reporting, and recording as applied to all of the departments, are sciences which are only being gradually developed through the exchanges of experiences of every group which is engaged in these fields of research. Therefore it is felt that a successful organization must be constituted of every individual who has either specific or general experiences and ideas to contribute.

The plan of operation of this conference as approved at the Detroit meeting provides for the following:

1. The establishment of an executive committee, a part of whom shall not be professionally interested in the work, which committee shall have the general direction of the organization.

2. This executive committee shall create qualifications for membership, determine dues, and extend invitations to qualified individuals for membership in the conference.

3. The executive committee shall determine whether the work to be done by the conference is of such a nature that it shall be supported entirely by membership subscriptions of individuals, or whether it shall be of such a national character that voluntary contributions from interested citizens may be solicited.

4. There shall be arranged a number of conferences dealing with administrative subjects in government, at the head of each to be a chairman. The membership of such conferences shall be made up of persons interested in particular subjects, and the chairmen are responsible for arranging an interchange of experiences and ideas among members of each conference, and shall call meetings of such conferences at their discretion.

5. At the annual conference of the whole organization to be held each year in conjunction with the National Municipal League, the group conferences shall meet.

6. There shall be published in either a mimeographed or printed form a periodical briefing the experiences of organizations with different administrative problems in government, indicating reports which have been completed by the several organizations, and enumerating work which is under way. In addition, there shall be such personal notes as will serve to keep all the members in touch with the activities of other members of the conference.

7. There shall be established a library where it shall be practically mandatory for members of the conference to deposit all reports not strictly confidential, dealing with their work, in such numbers that they may be borrowed under established regulations by other members of the conference. Incidentally, such a library is the only method by which all the members may be made able to secure reports which are usually in typewritten or mimeographed form and are issued in limited numbers.

8. There shall be arranged a general clearing-house at which the qualifications of each member of the conference shall be retained, with the conditions under which their services may be temporarily secured, in order that interested organizations may have available the services of specialists outside of their own staffs.

9. In its discretion the executive committee shall arrange for the publication of such reports and studies as are of a general character and would be of interest not only to the conference, but to citizens and officials outside of the conference.

10. The executive committee shall use its best efforts to stimulate an interest on the part of citizens and officials in effective city government, and shall co-operate with individuals and groups in the establishment of public efficiency bureaus, research organizations in connection with universities, citizens' leagues, bureaus of governmental research, etc. In this connection it is desirable that a number of capable men be designated who may be secured by interested citizens for speeches upon these and kindred subjects.

The officers elected are: president, Otto Kirchner, president, Detroit bureau of governmental research; vice-president, Bruce Cornwall, chairman, board of trustees, San Francisco bureau of governmental research; secretary and treasurer, Leroy E. Snyder, director, Rochester bureau of municipal research. The executive committee comprises these three officers and R. P. Farley, secretary, citizens' research league of Winnipeg, and Frank L. Olson, director, Minneapolis bureau of municipal research.

All of the officers of the organization have expressed a very keen interest in the conference, largely because it has possibilities of important constructive results in municipal government, and since its establishment has been a matter of natural rather than stimulated growth. Given a commensurate interest on the part of persons interested in effective city government, the conference is sure of a large measure of success.

Otto Kirchner.

The Detroit program consisted principally of discussions upon topics of technical interest, including bureau relationships, the effects of changing bureau personnel, improvements in budget procedure, municipal surveys, and municipal accounting procedure. The consensus of opinion of those at the conference was that an attempt should be made next year to provide for the discussion of technical subjects by the working conference groups now in process of organization, but that these discussions should be supplemented by general meetings of an inspirational character. In the promotion of such meetings, of more general than special interest, the executive committee will probably co-operate with the National Municipal League and the other associations meeting at the same time.

At the last meeting of the conference, a spirited discussion was had over a publication of one member of the conference in which caustic comment was made upon the work of another member. The discussion ended in the adoption of the following resolution:

> It is the sense of this conference that it is contrary to the ethics and the ideals of the governmental research movement, and injurious to the cause which we serve, for a member of this body to issue any statement attacking the integrity or casting aspersions upon the motives of any organization which is represented by a member in good standing of this body, without giving the facts upon which such statement is based.

There seems to be good reason for believing that the Detroit meeting will be the last at which controversial matter will be discussed by the governmental research agencies at the expense of discussions of constructive programs in which all agencies may unite. The conference developed an unmistakable desire on the part of a large majority of the men in the movement to go forward, united on measures of common helpfulness and value, and this is the big outstanding fact of the Detroit meeting. The executive committee represents all shades of opinion in the body, and is a unit in desiring to serve the common good, in order that the conference may become a powerful agent for genuine service in the United States and Canada. Much stress was laid upon the idealism which should be the motive force of the movement, and it is believed this spirit will dominate future work of the conference, rather than any narrow mechanistic interpretation of the functions of governmental research agencies.

Leroy Edwin Snyder.

Civic Secretaries' Conference

The attendance of the civic secretaries at the annual meeting held this year in Detroit, November 22 and 23, was not so large as in previous years. This was due, as the advance letters indicated, to the exceptionally heavy demands on the time of the members doing civic work in all parts of the country.

The open session, given over to the business of the organization, was held on Thursday morning, November 22, in the Statler Hotel. The secretary's report showed a membership of fifty-four, six having been added and two dropped during the year. New clubs being formed throughout the country have been invited to join as rapidly as their names have been reported. Letters urging the exchange of bulletins and printed matter were sent from time to time to the members, this exchange being one of the organization's most valuable features. The treasurer's report showed a balance on hand of $103.82.

It was decided that next year's meeting would be called to meet one or two days prior to the sessions of the National Municipal League so not to conflict as so many of the secretaries desire to attend the meetings of both.

The name of the organization was changed from the Civic Secretaries Committee to the Civic Secretaries Association, the feeling of those present being that this name would better express the meaning of the organization and simplify the work of the membership committee in securing new members.

A booklet was authorized to set forth the work of several of the civic organizations using the material in the article published in the November number of *The American City*, with some changes to be made by a special committee appointed by the president.

An evening dinner session was held in the Hotel Statler. Short talks were made by Richard S. Childs, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Prof. A. R. Hatton and W. J. Donald. All of the speakers brought out the need of the unremitting work of our organizations to keep people interested in civic betterment, as such problems do not cease while the minds of so many are turned to the war. Discussion followed by the members present of many of the matters of membership, speakers, dues, etc., of vital interest to all secretaries.

The nominating committee appointed at the morning session reported the following for the ensuing term: President, Addison L. Winship, Boston; treasurer, H. Marie Dermitt, Pittsburgh; secretary W. Frank Gentry, Kansas City; and they were duly elected.

W. Frank Gentry,
Secretary.

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Ordinarily the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW should be in the hands of members and subscribers within a week of the first day of the months of publication, to wit, January, March, May, July, September, and November. The extraordinary conditions of the last six months, however, have resulted in numerous delays. If the magazine is not received by the 15th of the month of issue, the Editor will be greatly obliged if a postal to that effect is sent to his office, 703 North American Building, Philadelphia.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS OF 1917

BY PAUL H. DOUGLAS

Reed College, Portland, Ore.

PERHAPS the most remarkable feature of the municipal elections of last November was the large vote polled by the Socialist party. Hitherto American socialism had found a strong foothold in but a few municipalities. Schnectady, Hamilton, Ohio, Milwaukee, and recently Minneapolis, were the only cities where the Socialist vote could be said to be of serious importance. Indeed, contrary to general opinion, the greatest relative strength of the Socialist party has been in agrarian and mining states rather than in urban and manufacturing states. Oklahoma, Nevada, Idaho, Montana, and Washington have been the strongholds of the party while New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Massachusetts have been in the lower half.[1] The municipal elections of 1917 show a remarkable gain in the urban districts of the east and middle west. This gain is all the more remarkable when we consider that the Socialist vote for President declined from approximately 900,000 in 1912 to 590,000 in 1916, a loss of about 45 per cent.

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[1] The relative ranking of the states as regards the Socialist strength in the presidential elections of 1916, together with the percentage of the total vote polled by the Socialist electors in each state, is as follows: Oklahoma, 15.6, Nevada, 13.1, Florida, 6.6, Wisconsin, 6.2, Idaho, 6.0, Washington, 5.9, Arizona, 5.5, Montana, 5.4, Texas, 5.1, North Dakota, 4.9, Minnesota, 4.8, California, 4.3, Arkansas, 4.2, Kansas, 3.9, Oregon, 3.7, Colorado, 3.4, Indiana, 3.4, Ohio, 3.4, Pennsylvania, 3.3, Utah, 3.1, New Mexico, 3.0, South Dakota, 2.9, Illinois, 2.8, New York, 2.6, Wyoming, 2.6, Michigan, 2.5, Nebraska, 2.5, Connecticut, 2.4, Rhode Island, 2.2, Iowa, 2.1, Massachusetts, 2.1, New Jersey, 2.1, West Virginia, 2.1, Missouri, 1.9, Mississippi, 1.7, Maine, 1.6, Alabama, 1.5, New Hampshire, 1.5, Vermont, 1.2, Maryland, 1.0. The Socialist vote was less than 1 per cent in Delaware, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and North Carolina. The order which the states occupied as regards the percentage of Socialist votes cast was approximately the same in 1912.

Since the discussion of war policies played such a large part in all these municipal elections, it is worth while to determine just what the declared purpose of the Socialist party has been towards the war and its prosecution. The Socialist party from 1914 on had opposed entrance by the United States into the war. An emergency convention, meeting in April, after war had actually been declared protested against the declaration and pledged the party to "continuous, active, and public opposition to the war through demonstrations, mass petitions, and all other means within our power."[2] This was followed on June 10 by a proclamation of the executive committee asking for a referendum on conscription and a clear statement of the country's war aims and purposes. During the summer and fall the People's Council and the Socialist party co-operated in the campaign for a statement of our war aims and for a peace by negotiation.

The attitude of the party was strongly opposed by a group of the "intellectuals." Charles Edward Russell, A. M. Simons, John Spargo, J. G. Phelps-Stokes and others either withdrew or were expelled. The rank and file of the membership, however, increased.

CITY ELECTIONS WAGED ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES.[3]

Since it was an odd year the municipal elections, with the exception of a few state elections, were the only ones held. They presented the unique spectacle of city elections waged not only on local but on international issues.

It was soon discovered that the Socialist party would command more support than ever before. Consequently the old parties attacked the Socialists on the issue of patriotism, labelling them almost universally as traitors. The Socialists were charged with seeking to bring about a separate peace with Germany. This they denied, asserting that like the Russians they stood for a general and not a separate peace. The campaign for and against socialism was then waged both on the question of the socialization of industry and on the question of the war.

It is the purpose of this article to study the Socialist vote in the various municipal elections and to interpret the results which the election statistics show.

I. NEW YORK CITY

Morris Hillquit, the Socialist mayoralty candidate, pledged himself to continue the efficiency methods of Mayor Mitchel and to extend the educational facilities of the city. He strongly urged municipal ownership of public utilities and a general peace. A feature of the campaign played up by Hillquit's opponents was his refusal to subscribe to liberty bonds. His opponents charged him with being unpatriotic and accused him of obstructing the progress of the war.

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[2] See *The American Socialists and the War* edited by Alexander Trachtenberg, p. 42.

[3] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 42.

When the votes were counted it was found that Hillquit had polled 90,000 more votes than Bennet, the Republican candidate, and was within a few thousand of Mitchel's total.[4] The great increase in the Socialist vote over the last election is seen by the following table:

	Socialist Vote	Total Mayoralty Vote	Per Cent Socialist of Total
1913........	32,057	624,157	5.1
1917........	145,895	671,334	21.7

The relative increase in strength was approximately 425 per cent. Nor was the Socialist strength confined to the vote for mayor. That cast for the other candidates was nearly as large. The Socialist candidate for controller and president of the board of aldermen polled 19.6 per cent and 19.4 per cent respectively of the total civilian vote, while Mr. Block polled 19.2 per cent of the city's vote in the election of attorney-general for the state. The Socialists, moreover, elected ten assemblymen—a gain of eight—six aldermen when they had never before elected one, and a municipal court judge for the first time, in the person of Jacob Panken, a well-known labor attorney.

The vote by boroughs for mayor was interesting:

Borough	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per Cent Socialist of Total
Manhattan.........	51,185	244,605	20.9
Bronx..............	30,347	96,716	31.5
Brooklyn...........	49,434	246,124	20.1
Queens.............	13,445	68,585	19.6
Richmond..........	1,484	15,287	9.7

The figures in the last table show an even distribution of strength in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Queens, a comparatively small vote in little Richmond[5] and a truly extraordinary vote in the Bronx. The Brownsville district in Brooklyn and the East Side in Manhattan were Socialist strongholds. The high percentage in the Bronx is explained by the presence of a large immigrant and poverty-stricken population. Richmond, a borough inhabited by the middle class, would naturally be the least affected by Socialism.

THE SOLDIER VOTE IN NEW YORK CITY

Because of the war, many thousand voters were compelled to cast their ballots in camp. These votes were not counted until December 18.

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[4] This includes the soldier as well as the civilian vote.

[5] The Socialist vote in Richmond was a big increase, however, over that of 1913.

A comparison of the soldier vote for mayor with that of the civilian population follows:

	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per cent Socialist of Total
Civilian vote.........	142,178	642,445	22.1
Soldier vote..........	3,717	28,889	12.9

These figures prove that the strength of the Socialist party was only 60 per cent as great among the soldiers as among the civilian population. The soldiers' vote indeed deprived the Socialists of an assembly seat they would otherwise have possessed and broke an aldermanic tie against them. It should not be overlooked, however, that even in the army the party polled nearly three times as great a percentage of the vote as was cast in the entire city in 1913. On the other hand, 66.39 per cent of the soldiers voted for woman suffrage while only 58.4 per cent of the civilian population favored extending the ballot to women.

The different attitude of the soldiers from that of the civilian population on these two questions may be due either to the fact that they *were* soldiers or to the fact that they were of a younger age group than the population as a whole. It is probable that the first factor was the chief cause for the less support given Hillquit and that the latter was the main reason for the greater support given woman suffrage.

II. OTHER EASTERN CITIES

In Schenectady, New York, on the other hand, the Socialist vote fell off. Weakened by factional quarrels and the withdrawal of former Mayor Lunn from the party, the vote polled was only 3,257, or 23.0 per cent of the 14,131 votes cast at the election.[6]

Though polling a rather large vote in the Massachusetts gubernatorial election the Socialists failed to make a showing in the Boston mayoralty elections which were held in December. James O'Neal could secure only 345 of the 87,600 votes cast.

In other eastern cities, however, the Socialists had better success. The following table shows a 475 per cent increase in the Socialist vote in Syracuse, New York, since the last municipal election.

	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per Cent Socialist of Total
Last municipal election...	709	30,831	2.3
1917 municipal election...	3,476	32,227	10.8

In the Newark, New Jersey, 1917 municipal elections, the Socialists polled 12 per cent of the 43,000 votes cast,—a noticeable increase over their former record. In Rochester, New York, they secured over 8,000 votes though the election was lost. Rahway, New Jersey, showed a large poll, while Allentown, Pennsylvania, elected a Socialist member of the city council with a vote of over 4,000.

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[6] In 1915 the Socialist vote was 6,069 out of a total of 15,429, or 39.3 per cent of the whole. An extended account of Mayor Lunn's administration in Schenectady was published in the Albany *Knickerbocker Press* of December 30, 1917.

In Buffalo, New York, where the so-called "non-partisan primary" is used, all but the two candidates receiving the highest vote at that time are eliminated from the final ballot. Though the Socialist candidate did not qualify in the October primaries, he polled a very large vote, failing of second place by only a few hundred ballots. The vote in the 1917 primaries is compared below with that of the last general election.

	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per Cent Socialist of Total
Last election..........	10,906	78,723	13.9
1917 primaries.........	14,328	56,510	25.4

This shows an increase in the Socialist vote of approximately 85 per cent.[7]

In Reading, Pennsylvania, the Republicans and Democrats joined forces and ran a joint ticket against the four Socialist candidates for councilman. The vote for the highest candidate on each side follows:

	Vote	Per Cent of Total
McConnell, non-partisan..	10,403	67.4
Strump, Socialist........	5,031	32.6

III. CHICAGO

The election in Chicago was not for mayor, but for county judges. Here the Republicans and Democrats combined against the Socialists. Since there were eight judges to be elected each of the old parties nominated four candidates. The election of these judges was in itself of little significance, but the campaign was one of the bitterest ever waged in Chicago. The Socialists were charged with being pro-German and were labelled as traitors. The daily press published lurid cartoons representing them as minions of the Kaiser and every effort was made to inflame the popular mind against them. The Socialist candidates urged that the national government take steps to effect a general peace, protesting against the suppression of many newspapers by Postmaster General Burleson and the action of Governor Lowden in attempting to prohibit a meeting of the people's council in Chicago.

Though early press reports were circulated to show that the Socialists had been "snowed under" and "disastrously defeated," the election returns point to an impressive gain over the last election:

	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per Cent Socialist of Total
Mayoralty election (1915)..	24,452	679,025	3.6
Judicial election (1917)....	72,504	214,557[8]	33.8

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[7] The Socialist candidates for city court judge polled approximately 16 per cent of the vote. A Socialist supervisor was nearly elected from the nineteenth ward.

[8] Women cannot vote for the judiciary in Illinois. Had they voted in this election the relative strength of the Socialist vote would probably have been lessened, for a smaller percentage of women vote the Socialist ticket than men.

Thus the relative strength of the party increased over ninefold. Indeed, in five wards, the Socialists polled a majority of the votes cast.

IV. OHIO CITIES[9]

In Cleveland, where the preferential voting plan is in operation, the Socialist candidate for mayor was C. E. Ruthenberg, who had been arrested earlier in the summer on the charge of inciting others to resist the the draft. In spite of this fact the election returns showed an increase in the Socialist strength of nearly 350 per cent over the last municipal election:

	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per Cent Socialist of Total
1915 municipal election. . .	6,014	105,939	5.7
1917 municipal election. . .	21,378	110,674	19.3

The Socialist mayoralty candidate in 1915 polled approximately 4,700 second-choice votes, while in 1917 4,625 second-choice votes were secured.[10] The movement towards the Socialist party was, then, a sudden shift of political allegiance rather than the result of a gradual drift. Incidental results were the election of two Socialist councilmen, and of one Socialist to the board of education.

Cincinnati showed a Socialist gain over the last election of approximately 400 per cent.

	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per Cent Socialist of Total
Municipal election (1915) . .	2,716	95,127	2.9
Municipal election (1917) . .	11,197	94,153	11.9

In Toledo, where the municipal elections are non-partisan, the three highest candidates in the primaries are selected as the candidates for the election proper. In 1915 the Socialist candidate, though polling about 2,800 votes, did not qualify. In 1917 the Socialist candidate ran third in the primaries. The candidate who ran second died between the primaries and the regular election. Since no provision existed in the city charter to meet the emergency, there were only two candidates for mayor: Haworth, the Socialist and Schreiber, the non-Socialist. Scott Nearing, late dean of Toledo University, threw his influence in behalf of the Socialist ticket, while Charles Edward Russell visited the city to attack the party which he had left but a few months before. The result follows:

	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per Cent Socialist of Total
1917 Election.	14,903	42,786	34.8

Three members of the Toledo city council were also elected by the Socialists.

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[9] See National Municipal Review, vol. vii, p. 39.—Editor.

[10] The Socialists secured 17 per cent of the total number of second-choice votes cast.

Dayton, the home of the commission-manager plan, witnessed one of the bitterest political contests in the country.[11] In the primary election of August 19, 1917, the three Socialist and the three citizens' candidates for commissioner qualified. The Socialist vote at the primaries indeed equalled the combined citizens' and Democratic votes. A vigorous campaign was immediately organized against the Socialists. Governor James M. Cox, the Democratic leader, helped to direct the campaign of the citizens' committee which issued literature illustrated by two cuts, one of a red flag, labelled "The Flag of Danger," and the other, the American flag, labelled, "The Flag of Democracy." The whole was headed by the caption, "Under which Flag do You Want to Live?" The Socialists derived their strength not only from the disapproval of the war by certain sections, but also from the feeling that the commission form of government had represented business interests almost exclusively in the past. It was generally understood that if the Socialists were elected City Manager Waite would be discharged.

Although the Socialists lost by about 4,000 votes they polled an extraordinary percentage of the total.

Highest Socialist Candidate	Highest Citizens' Candidate	Per Cent of Total
13,504	17,095	44.1

In 1913 the Socialists in Hamilton had elected a mayor. In 1915 the two old parties combined against them and though the Socialists polled more votes than in the previous election they lost the election. The coalition of Republicans and Democrats continued in the 1917 election when the Socialists again lost, though they polled over 40 per cent of the total vote. In Sandusky the Socialists elected a city commissioner with a vote of over 1,400. In Massilon the Socialist candidate for mayor ran second, polling approximately 30 per cent of the total vote, while the Socialists in Springfield polled over 25 per cent of the votes cast.

Two small cities, Piqua (pop. 13,300) and Byesville (pop. 3,100) went so far as to elect Socialist mayors.

V. INDIANA CITIES

In Evansville where the Socialist strength has been noticeable of late years, the last elections witnessed a further increase.

	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per cent Socialist of Total
Municipal election (1913) . .	2,304	15,101	15.3
Municipal election (1917) . .	2,514	14,560	17.3

In Anderson the Socialists polled 1,825 votes, or 29.1 per cent of the 6,261 votes cast. In Marion they polled more votes than did the Democrats, their 1,539 votes amounting to 30.8 per cent of the total vote of

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[11] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 36.—EDITOR.

5,077. Though the Republicans won in Elkhart, the Socialists received as large a vote as the Democrats and elected two councilmen. A Socialist alderman was elected in Fort Wayne, while two small Indiana cities elected Socialist mayors: Gas City (pop. 3,200) and Ellwood (pop. 11,000).

In Indianapolis and Gary, on the other hand, the Socialist sentiment was slight. Only 6.2 per cent of the 7,600 votes cast at Gary were for the the Socialist candidates while but 4 per cent of the 52,000 votes in Indianapolis were polled by them.

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The returns from these cities east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio indicate clearly that the Socialist party far from suffering a "crushing defeat," as many newspapers stated, really made great gains in the last election. The fifteen cities[12] from which we have been able to derive accurate election statistics show that out of the total vote of 1,450,000 the Socialists polled 314,000 or 21.6 per cent of the whole. This is over four times the proportion of the vote usually polled by the Socialist candidates in these cities. Had the Socialists polled an equal proportion in the presidential election of 1916, their total vote would have been approximately 4,000,000.

This sudden gain is due probably to several causes: (1) Opposition to the war. This was undoubtedly the chief reason. Everywhere the Socialists pushed their demand for a general peace and it was largely upon this issue that the campaign was waged. (2) Resentment at the action of Postmaster General Burleson in suppressing many radical papers. Large numbers of men, who were not Socialists, felt that the post-office department had infringed unnecessarily upon the freedom of the press.[13] (3) Economic pressure caused by rising prices. During the past three years the cost of living has increased approximately forty per cent. As wages in most trades have not begun to keep pace, real wages have decreased. A decline in real wages inevitably engenders discontent—the present is no exception.

Along with this increase of the Socialist vote went a tendency on the part of the two old parties by merging forces to present a united front against the Socialists. When the Socialists elected mayors in Schnectady and Milwaukee and Hamilton the Democrats and Republicans united in opposition. That this will be the practice whenever the Socialists become dangerous seems to be borne out by the experience of the last election. In Reading and in Blairsville, Pennsylvania, in Dayton, and in Chicago, there were only two parties, the Republicans and Democrats forming one, the Socialists the other. Indeed, after the Chicago judicial elections,

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[12] New York City, Buffalo, Reading, Boston, Syracuse, Chicago, Dayton, Toledo, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Evansville, Marion, Gary, Indianapolis, Anderson.

[13] Prominent among these was Dudley Field Malone, collector of the port of New York.

Roger Sullivan, the Democratic leader of Illinois, advocated the permanent union of the two old parties to prevent the Socialists from electing men to office in the future.

Whether this gain will be permanent or whether it may be considered merely an expression of evanescent discontent which will vanish with the coming of peace, is of course impossible to determine. Only the future can tell. Whatever the future may be, the elections of last fall indicate that for the present at least (in the words of the New York *Post*) "The Socialists have won admission, as it were, to the family of political parties."[14]

WOODEN CITIES: THE NATIONAL ARMY CANTONMENTS

AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE VALUE OF THINKING BEFORE ACTING

BY JOHN IHLDER[1]
Philadelphia

NOW that the United States, like the allied nations of Europe, has entered the second phase of its war preparations, legislative criticism of administrative accomplishments, every statement is likely to be controverted by the next day's news. Yet up to the date of writing there has been no serious criticism of the layout of the sixteen wooden cities or cantonments built for the national army or of the barrack buildings themselves. Congressional committees have discovered lacks in clothing and equipment for the men and in hospital arrangement and management. In the southern camps of the national guard which, it is understood, were designed for very brief occupancy, and where the men sleep in tents, criticism has gone much further. In these the morbidity and mortality rates have been much higher than in the wooden cantonments of the north, despite the severity of the northern winter.

It is, of course, impossible at present to learn all the factors that may account for the difference. There seems to be a general conviction on the part of those in position to know that overcrowding and lack of ventilation were important factors that contributed to the spread of such diseases as measles, pneumonia and spinal meningitis which have exacted the heaviest tolls. In Camp Bowie, for instance, where the men are sheltered in tents, twelve to a tent when there should have been only five or six, 8,000 were sent to the hospitals. Twelve men to a tent means approximately twenty square feet of floor space per man, scarcely enough for them to lie quietly side by side.

[14] *New York Post*, November 9, 1917, p. 10.

[1] Secretary, Philadelphia Housing Association.

CAUSES OF DEATH

Indicative of the causes of death are the percentages for the period from September 21, 1917, to January 18, 1918. All troops, 8.2; regulars, 4.71; national guard, 10.04; national army, 8.53. The official comment on this is that regular troops know best how to take care of themselves, but in this instance such a statement probably covers the case only partially as some of the regulars have been housed in permanent barracks and others in wooden barracks. Fairer is comparison between the national guard and the national army. There, other things being equal, the supposition would be that the guard would make the better showing, for not only should their previous training both at the state camps and on the Mexican border, have taught them how to take care of themselves, but they may well be considered a more carefully selected group than the drafted men. Of course, the high pressure recruiting just before the guard went into camp neutralizes this to some extent, but by no means entirely.

So, to the best of our present knowledge and belief, the odds were in favor of the guard, except that the national army was put into cantonments where the water supply and the sewer system were in accordance with modern sanitary standards, and into buildings where ventilation had been carefully provided for. There was some over-crowding in these buildings, especially at first, but in the early fall there was no temptation to close the windows and when colder weather brought the temptation strict orders prevented any general yielding to it. But the crowded tents were closed.

Two years or so ago when a well known American declared that in case of need a million of his countrymen would spring to arms over night neither he nor the rest of us realized all that such a "springing" would involve. We have learned since. "A million men" does not sound as large as it did then. We have now called out two million and propose to call out millions more. But the task of equipping, feeding and housing them has assumed proportions we did not dream of. The housing alone, the building of the sixteen wooden cities, has been an enterprise that already has lessons for us.

AMERICA'S UNPREPAREDNESS

America entered the war last April unprepared. It was unprepared not only in that it had no large army of trained soldiers and no equipment for such an army; but it was unprepared because of its traditional military policy or lack of policy, and above all because of its vast ignorance about itself.

The raw materials for a nation in arms we had in as great, in some respects, greater quantities than any other nation. Moreover during the past three years we have been manufacturing munitions for export on such a scale that in arms, powder and shell we were in a better position to take the field at once than our history would give us any reason to hope for. But we had an ingrained habit of talking and thinking in a large, vague way; an impatience with the slow processes of getting facts and setting them in their proper relationship to one another. We were the richest nation in the world; one of the most populous. Since the early days of the republic we had exploited, on an ever expanding scale, natural resources whose limits we were only beginning to see. And to exploit them we had used wastefully human resources that seemed equally limitless, for did not the immigrant swarm from the old world grow with every demand made upon it? We were, in stock market phrase, "bulls" on America. And so generous was the margin allowed us by Providence that nine times out of ten we could "guess" and get away with it.

Then we entered the war and for the first time since the Revolution we had to utilize suddenly our resources to the full and the margin for wrong guesses and for blunders vanished. We needed to know just what we could do in a thousand different ways, and how exerting ourselves to the full in one way would affect our strength in another. But we did not have the facts. Such belated efforts as the more or less volunteer census of manufactories may have been of some value, but events prove their general futility. We did not know our manufacturing ability; we did not know the capacity of our railroads; we did not know the facts about coal or lumber. So we plunged into the war on a gigantic scale; drafted a great army; laid out a great program of shipbuilding; experimented to get the best rifles, machine guns and airplane motors.

For a while these tremendous undertakings and searches for "the best" satisfied us. They were in line with our traditional yearnings for superlatives. We never doubted our ability to put them through—we don't yet. We shall put them through. But meanwhile, let us hope, we shall learn a lesson. For the first time we have no margin by which blunders and bad guesses can be taken up. Definite knowledge of facts would be worth, not millions of dollars, but that for which we are throwing away millions of dollars, time, plus enthusiasm, certainly of action, strength. We have rushed into this enterprise never doubting that our resources would be adequate to every unconsidered demand made upon them. And now, ten months later, we find that they are not, that we must count and consider.

BUILDING WOODEN CITIES

Because in the building of the sixteen national army cantonments we did to some extent count and consider, they are worthy of our thought at this time when we are so much exercised over the building of ship yards—an enterprise started at the same time.

Two days after the cantonment division of the quartermaster's corps had been created by the secretary of war, Frederick Law Olmsted, president of the American City Planning Institute, was appointed a member of the committee on emergency construction of the Council of National Defense. This was a purely advisory body, but Colonel Littell, head of the cantonment division, asked and largely followed its advice in organizing, expanding, and securing personnel for his division. That is, he used the best brains available, brains that had been working for years on problems analagous to those that now confronted him.

These problems were of two kinds, planning and construction. True to American tradition we still were most interested in size. Official statements informed us that within sixty days 190 mills in all parts of the country had shipped to the cantonment sites more than 500,000,000 feet of lumber in 24,000 freight cars; that from 5,000 to 10,000 men worked on the construction of each cantonment, that weekly payrolls ran as high as $150,000, that 93,000 kegs of nails were driven, 140,000 doors hung and 686,000 window sashes placed.

What this sudden great demand for lumber, freight cars, labor, meant to other governmental undertakings, not to mention essential private business, we did not then consider. A few people realized that it meant disturbance, but most of us went on in blind confidence that we could draw on our resources to any figurable extent and still have enough left to continue our ordinary processes.

But despite all this information about size the significant thing about the cantonments—the thing that distinguishes them from the ship yards, for instance—was that they were carefully planned out in detail before construction work began, that even the men who built the camps, the construction gangs, were thought of and provided for.[2] Admittedly, the housing problem there was easier than that of the ship yards, the point is, it was recognized from the beginning and solved while that of the ship yards and munitions plants was not.

Mr. Olmsted immediately summoned by telegraph a corps of city planners, engineers, architects and a housing specialist. They were not to go on the government payroll. They were to give their services at their own expense. They came. Before them was put all available data, the number of troops in a cantonment, the branches of the service—infantry, artillery, signal corps, and all the rest that go to make a "Pershing division" with the number of units in each and the number of men in a unit.

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[2] Unexpected delays in completing the cantonments rendered inadequate in some cases and after cold weather began, the quarters provided for construction men.

PLANS FOR THE UNIT

The first question was the plan of the barrack for the unit. This had not been finished when the size of an infantry company was increased from 150 men to 200. So the plans were redrawn. The problem was to design the most compact, economical, convenient and wholesome building in which to shelter and feed 200 men. The plan decided upon was a two-story wooden structure with mess hall, kitchen, cook's bed-room, store room, commons or instruction room and two dormitories on the ground floor and four dormitories, first sergeant's room and commons on the second floor. Between each pair of dormitories ran a double row of open wooden lockers. Each of the ground floor dormitories provided for thirty-two men in double decker cots, three of the second floor dormitories for thirty-six men and the other for forty.

The cubic air space in these dormitories was inadequate according to accepted standards. The housing specialist argued in vain for an increase in the size of the buildings, he was met by the statement that the appropriation made by congress was inadequate to cover the cost. In those early days we still believed in keeping within appropriations. He did, however, succeed in getting the buildings lenghtened ten feet and in having windows placed so close together that practically half the wall was window space. With these concessions he believed it would be possible to keep the dormitories well aired by having all the windows open day and night except when necessary to close those on the windward side during a storm. According to this plan the dormitories were to be used only for sleeping, the commons—located in the middle of the building and heated by stoves—serving as a resting place during the odd hours and half hours when the men were off duty.

CHANGES IN PLAN

After this plan was finished and after construction had begun, two changes were made: the size of the company was increased to 250 men and a board of medical men appointed by the secretary of war secured the substitution of single cots for the double deckers. This board made a number of other recommendations, including elimination of lockers and hanging the outer walls of the barracks on hinges, so that a whole wall could be lifted up. It also recommended that only thirty men should occupy a dormitory and not more than fifty in any case.

This board was rightly impressed by the inadequate air space per man and most of its recommendations were designed to rectify this. Unfortunately the board did not secure an extension of the buildings, so part of its recommendations made the other part impossible. Single cots were substituted for double deckers, but in order to get floor space for them, crowded as thickly as they could be placed, it was necessary to omit all partitions, sweep away the commons and convert the six dormitories into two. So instead of from thirty-two to forty men in a room there have been as many as 185.

The increase in the size of a company which at first threatened to accentuate this crowding has ultimately decreased it as a company now occupies a barrack and a half instead of a single building. The mess hall, however, designed for 200 men, remains of its original size. The unexpected delay in calling out the full first quota made this spreading out of companies possible and later appropriations have provided for the erection of more buildings. Some of these, used by the training battalions, are smaller than the original barracks, and house only thirty to thirty-three men on a floor.

The sanitary arrangements in the national army cantonments were most thoroughly provided for. Adjacent to every barrack is a latrine or lavatory containing spigots, showers, urinal and stools. Water and sewer systems are complete. The water is purified and the sewage, except in a few cases as that of Camp Taylor on the Ohio, is treated before being discharged into streams.

WHERE THE CITY PLANNERS CAME IN

Having decided upon the unit barrack, officers' quarters, store houses, headquarters and other necessary buildings, and having settled their dimensions the next problem was to group them most economically and conveniently. Here the city planners came in, *for each cantonment is in reality a city with a population of from 30,000 to 50,000.* Arrangement without waste space meant saving not only in that prime essential, time, but in material, labor and money; for roads which will bear heavy traffic, sewers and water pipe must serve every part of the cantonment. And every yard saved on the plan meant sixteen yards saved in the sixteen cantonments.

The plan adopted was a gigantic U covering about six square miles. At the base of the U are the railroad tracks and store houses while along the two arms stretch the barrack buildings. This plan, of course, was modified to suit the topography of the different cantonments, but it has been followed in general. Its form permits of indefinite extension, a fortunate fact as changes made in organization have necessitated considerable extensions. Here the experience of the city planners stood them in good stead, for if anything could have been considered definite it was the organization of an army. In fact one plan early suggested assumed such definiteness and if adopted would have handicapped the later expansion.

The cantonments were not finished on the date set, they are not fully completed yet. Some of them are superior to others. But that early planning, despite all later changes, has permitted more rapid work of construction, has obviated confusion, caused certainty of action, and led to far more satisfactory results than would have been possible otherwise. Slowness in delivery of material, lack of ability on the part of individual contractors, caused delays; but delays due to confusion, indecision, false starts and new beginnings were notable for their absence. For the construction of the cantonments had been thought through even to such details as whether or not there should be tin wash basins—the use of which would have lessened by millions of gallons the amount of water that must be pumped, but use of which would have spread disease.

PATRIOTISM IN CANADIAN CITIES[1]

BY MRS. H. P. PLUMPTRE

Toronto, Canada

THE subject of the meeting this morning is patriotism in Canadian cities. Patriotism is not a war measure; nor does it last only for the duration of the war. It began before the war and it will last after the war. Under your Red Cross in America are combined a great many of those war relief funds which in Canada (because we began rather in a hurry to do our war work), are sporadic and not concentrated. Your Red Cross has combined many of these and it is generating a force which after the war is destined to be one of the very strongest elements in civic life throughout your country, as it will be throughout ours.

I would like to begin by reminding you of this very close connection between war work and the work which goes on year by year and day by day of trying to make our cities better places to live in.

WAR PATRIOTISM AND PEACE PATRIOTISM

Those who have been interested in town planning, or in the housing campaign, or in the better feeding of our citizens—whether the babies, or the school children, or the general public from the market point of view, they have all been doing patriotic work. I should like to wait a moment to make the connection as clear as I can, for it exists so strongly in my mind—the connection between patriotic work as it exists in peace time and patriotic work as it exists in war time.

I have lately had the honor of travelling for the Red Cross throughout the western parts of Canada. I have before that visited the eastern cities. I have seen a good deal of the work throughout Canada, and what I have seen makes me feel that the connection between peace patriotism and war patriotism is exceedingly close.

[1] Address delivered at the Detroit meeting of the National Municipal League. Mrs. Plumptre, the wife of Canon Plumptre of St. James' Cathedral, Toronto, is the secretary of the Canadian Red Cross.—EDITOR.

When I was in the west, I was shown one day some sketches that were found on a German prisoner who was taken captive by the Canadians. One of these consisted of a view of some houses in one of the worst slums of one of the biggest British cities. The other one consisted of a picture of one of those degenerate and feeble-minded persons who are such a constant problem in the peace time of our cities.

What were they doing in the pocket of a German prisoner? On one picture was written these words in German: "If the British conquer, this is the kind of house that you will have to live in"; and over the head of the terribly degenerate specimen was written, "This is the type of man that the British system produces."

I ask you whether there isn't a very close connection between our peace and our war patriotism when the Germans could circulate these pictures (and I suppose that we possibly might duplicate them from any American or Canadian city) and point to them as our "peace" atrocities, in exactly the same way as we have printed pictures of the war atrocities of the Germans?

It seems to me that what we want to do is to discover some method—and, gentlemen, I assume that I am speaking to those who have a very great influence on this work—of applying the enthusiasm of war patriotism to the problems of peace patriotism after the war is over.

There is another way in which I think peace patriotism and war patriotism in our cities are closely connected: What percentage of your men are being rejected because they don't come up to the health standard of the army? Do you find that you have a few men (or many) men rejected for that reason who might otherwise have served in the supreme duty of the state? Why should our city conditions be such as to produce such citizens; not thought much about in peace time, but in war time presenting a new and serious problem because we find they do not measure up to the full duties of citizenship?

Why don't we look after the life and health of our people in peace time? After all, a man or a woman has a duty to render to the state in peace time; why don't we look after their health and housing conditions and their general life with the same earnestness and the same concern for that man and that woman as a citizen of the state in the time of peace as we exhibit with regard to our soldiers in time of war?

THE SUPREME TEST OF WAR

I think it is not too much to hope that the supreme test of war which has been applied to manhood and to womanhood, too, in the allied nations will produce some standard of citizenship to which the cities of our communities and our nations shall feel impelled to attain in order that these cities may be places where a man and a woman can develop to the fullest extent all their ability; not for their own sakes but as units and individuals who are an integral part of the life of the state and the country. This seems to me to be a "peace patriotism" which is forced upon us by our war experience; is it too much to hope that ultimately war patriotism will devote itself to the solution of these peace problems?

I think perhaps I might be able to give you one or two facts of interest which have grown out of our experience in Canada. The chairman has spoken of the work of the women of Canada and of the sacrifices they have made—and that is true of a great many. I suppose that I should confess that we have women slackers as well as men slackers, that there are women who are disappointing just as there are men who are disappointing. Sometimes we women have all the praise and not much of the blame. The men are very generous in praising the women's work, and perhaps as a woman I might say that I don't know any class in the community that has been braver than the fathers of men who have gone to the front. The mothers are mentioned and perhaps their sacrifice *is* greater, but I know in my own experience many men who are staggering under the shock of bereavement and the loss not only of one who is dear to them, but one who embodied the fulfillment of their own professional hopes; not only someone who would carry on the family name but someone whom they were building upon to carry on the work of a great corporation.

PRIZES FOR PATRIOTISM

The women have done much. Yesterday morning I was speaking to a member of my own household. She is a widow, she has one child, a boy who is not yet twenty-one. He is at this moment in a hospital in England. He was one of the heroes of Passchendaele. I was talking to her about our "Victory Loan" and she was asking me about the rate of interest that was being given by our government on these bonds. I told her five and a half per cent. She said, "I wish the government hadn't given as much as five and a half per cent. *It seems to me like giving a prize for being patriotic.*"

That was said by a woman whose only child was at that moment lying in the hospital after having fought through two years of war, and it seems to me that it showed a splendid spirit. She resented receiving so much for her money because she wanted to pay the full price of patriotism.

As I have travelled through the country I have met many such cases, not always perhaps as clear as that one. I can think now of a city in Canada where there is a man and his wife and daughters living in the corner of a house because that man has abandoned his business and has been obliged to give up using his large house and automobile in order that he may give his entire time voluntarily, unpaid, to patriotic work. One of the daughters is practically doing the work of the house and another is training in a business college in order to be able to help the family funds by her efforts.

That is one class of sacrifice which I think is being made quite largely. Men and women are giving up all kinds of things they have been accustomed to in order to be better able to give their wealth or their personal service to patriotic funds.

There is another man that I know,—he is well-known in the United States—who has all his life been accustomed to live comfortably and have at his command the ordinary luxuries of a wealthy man. The other day when I went to his house I found that he had no car now, and that the street car had become his limousine for the time of the war. Two sons of his and a son-in-law has been killed and two sons are still fighting at the front.

I think it is right to tell some of these things, not because I want to brag in the United States of what Canada has done, but because it is sometimes by learning what others have done that we may learn how we may also follow in the same path.

We have had, as Sir George Gibbons has said, an experience of three years. We began our work in a scramble because we didn't expect war and we had no time to organize. We had to work first and organize afterwards; and when I see the splendid way in which you are organizing for your war work, it fills me with admiration, and I may say also with a certain amount of jealousy. So many of the difficulties which we have had to meet will be smoothed out of your way because you have been able to build on experience and because you have had time to see how things could be really well done.

I have had the honor of going to the headquarters of the Red Cross in Washington. We had the honor last Sunday of entertaining in Toronto representatives from the Head Office in Washington—Miss Marshall, the head of the women's bureau of the Red Cross and Miss Davison. They talked over with us their plans and we have talked with them of ours and we find the difference of organization is very great; but we find, in the words of the Scripture, that while there are diversity of operations, there is the same spirit working through us all. We have to fulfill ourselves in many different ways in this war and if there is one thing which everybody has to learn, it is the diversity of the calls which come as the war goes on.

CHANGING DEMANDS

The things that are wanted to-day are not wanted to-morrow just because you made them to-day. It is a hard lesson sometimes and perhaps the women find it hardest to learn. "Why are these demands always changing? Why do you want one thing to-day and another tomorrow? I wish you had settled plans."

But I say, "The enemy has not given us his plans and so we cannot settle ours. It is rather like a game of chess. We can't settle our moves because, you see, the opponent may make a move which upsets all our calculations."

Some of the things we have to put up with are simply the exigencies of war. I read your beautiful *Red Cross Magazine.* I hope you all see it. I see from the last issue that you are suffering from just the same plague we suffer from—that of unfounded rumor. It is one of the plagues of the war.

I took up one of your Detroit papers this morning and saw exactly the same sort of rumor described as we have had running through Canada from time to time, about selling socks. How it arose, we don't know—it may be by pro-German influence, it may be just because people are meeting together a great deal (and I suppose women especially), and when they meet they like to talk. Of course if you hear a really exciting story about something that's said to have happened, you like to tell the next person who is working beside you.

There is a great deal of conversation in working parties. One woman who came into our Headquarters, when told we didn't want her workers to roll bandages or make surgical supplies, said, "What do you want?"

I said, "What we want is pyjamas."

"That takes sewing machines," she protested, "and our ladies don't like sewing machines. *They drown the conversation.*" I suppose that is true. I suppose women like to talk (I have heard men talk in my time, too), and conversation is a large part of the meeting, but I want to impress this upon anyone here who has anything to do with patriotic work: The best counteractant of rumor is information. You can't give too much information about patriotic work.

LACK OF KNOWLEDGE

One thing I have learned in my travels is how little people know. You find when you talk to them that things are absolutely new to them which you took for granted that they knew from the beginning. Therefore, in patriotic war work (if you take a hint from us), give every atom of information you can. People only require authentic information to make them contribute to your Red Cross funds. One of the most serious mistakes that any patriotic society can make is to refuse information to the public.

Another thing may I suggest from our experience? That is not to judge patriotism by statistics. In going through Canada I have found how exceedingly different is the manner in which the war affects various communities. One city is made wealthy by the war and another city is impoverished; a dollar from one city is perhaps worth ten dollars or a hundred or a thousand from another city.

We have sometimes had cities held up as doing a great deal and others looked askance on for not doing more. I am secretary of the executive office of our Society and not of the women's department only, and from experience is my work I would advise, in dealing with the returns that come in from various cities, that you should not do too much comparing!

You may have the population of the city and you may be able to work out statistics to so much per head and yet you may arrive at a result which is very far indeed from the truth.

I'd like to give you an instance of what I mean. I have in my mind two municipalities—both about four thousand in population. One has given in the neighborhood of eighty thousand dollars to patriotic work and the other has given about sixteen hundred dollars to patriotic work. What lies behind those two municipalities? One is a mining community in which there is very great wealth and to which the war has brought still more wealth. The other is a little wind-swept city on the shores of the Pacific whose chief trade since the war began has been an export trade in young men to fight in France; a place where in one church which only seats three hundred people, they showed me an honor of roll one hundred and two names of men who were serving at the front.

And yet they have sent forward some sixteen hundred dollars from that community where the men are conspicuous by their absence, where the industries have almost ceased for lack of men and have passed very often into the hands of foreigners to whom the appeal has not come in the same force. How can you make a just comparison between the giving of those two municipalities, although you may work it out to the most accurate average?

NEED FOR PREPARATION

One of our experiences in Canada has certainly been that you cannot measure patriotism by statistics. Another thought I would like to give is that which has been already mentioned by Sir George Gibbons. He is chairman of the campaign fund in London. I have had the honor of being chairman of the woman's sections of all the campaigns that have taken place in Toronto except the last, when I was in the west. Those campaigns *look* as if they were very easy to get up; a good deal of noise and enough advertising and not much else in them. But those who know, realize that for weeks and months beforehand, men have been liberally giving their time and business experience to preparing very careful card indices of the whole population of the cities so far as they can get them, classifying the citizens according to what each might be expected to give, dividing their names among canvassing teams according to the location of their houses or offices, so that there were really months of work behind days of apparent endeavor.

Therefore, one more thought I leave with you as the result of our experience. You cannot get good patriotic returns without the most careful patriotic preparation beforehand. It is not the people who show on the last three days of a big drive who have necessarily done the most work; it is the people who for weeks and months beforehand have been laying the lines and preparing the ground so that when the time of attack comes, the attacking party may find the way prepared: that the "tanks" have gone ahead before them and cut down the wires, so that the infantry and the cavalry can sweep through and take the enemy's trenches!

May I then leave you these few, rather scattered thoughts about our war experiences—but, more than any other, that thought with which I began—that war patriotism and peace patriotism are one; and that if this war is going to be a blessing in any sense to us (and it takes a great deal of courage to say that any good can compensate for the many evils and great losses of war)—if war is going to accomplish anything that is good, should it not be along the line of making our countries and our cities fit for the men who come home to live in? Should it not be by applying to our social life not only the patriotism but also the principles for which our men are dying overseas and trying to see that, within our civic administration, there shall be the same principles of liberty and justice, of fair play and of care for the weak which we and you are fighting together to preserve at the front?

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PUBLIC UTILITY FIELD AFFECTING FRANCHISE POLICIES AND MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP[1]

BY DELOS F. WILCOX, *Chairman*
New York City

THE Chicago street railway settlement ordinances adopted in 1907 are universally recognized as a principal landmark in the development of a constructive franchise policy in the United States They established an elaborate contractual relation between the city and the operating companies, with provision for the immediate rehabilitation of the lines and improvement of the service, coupled with provisions for future extensions and continuous control of equipment. They definitely fixed the investment then in service and provided the means for measuring the additions to it from time to time. They put into effect a plan for the division of profits between the city and the companies, procured for the city the right to take over the street railway system at any time upon paying the fixed purchase price, and created a street railway purchase fund into which the city's share of the profits was to be placed. These resettlement ordinances applied to the surface street railway lines only and now, after ten years of experience with these franchises, the city of Chicago is striving to bring about a new resettlement that will include the elevated railroads and make adequate provision for the construction of much-needed subways.

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[1] Report of the Committee on Franchises of the National Municipal League, presented at Detroit, Michigan, November 22, 1917.

STATE CONTROL IN CHICAGO

At this critical time in the development of its street railway policy, Chicago is embarrassed by the substantial limitation of the powers of home rule which it has heretofore enjoyed with respect to the regulation and control of public utilities. The legal doctrine that a state public service commission, in the exercise of the police power by delegation from the the legislature, has authority over the rates and service of local public utilities, without regard to the terms and conditions of local franchises, has been spreading rapidly over the United States during the past few years, and has now been definitely established in the state of Illinois by the decision of the supreme court rendered in April, 1917, in the case of *Chicago* v. *O'Connell.* This decision is so radical and has so much significance with respect to the development of constructive franchise policies that we deem it necessary to call public attention to its implications. The state public utilities commission of Illinois, assuming jurisdiction over the street railways of Chicago and disregarding the terms of the settlement ordinances of 1907, issued an order in September, 1915, requiring the companies to operate their cars at intervals to be determined by methods prescribed in the order; to provide "turn-back" service in the loop district; to submit a comprehensive plan for rerouting the cars in order to secure maximum track capacity; to acquire the additional equipment necessary to enable them to carry out the provisions of the order; to install trailers during the rush hours; to submit to the commission plans for all new passenger cars, and for the remodeling of old ones, for its approval as to the width of passage ways, height of steps, type and location of seats, platform arrangements, etc., and to do certain other things considered by the commission to be requisite for the rendering of adequate service. This order did not undertake to revise the schedule of rates and transfers, but confined itself to matters directly affecting service. The city of Chicago brought injunction proceedings to prevent the commission from enforcing the order. The city contended that the settlement ordinances and the ordinance passed in 1913 requiring unified operation of the surface car lines constituted valid and binding contracts between the city and the companies, and that the commission's order violated the obligations of these contracts and deprived the city of the jurisdiction and control over street railways conferred upon it by the state constitution. The street railway companies were party defendants in this case, but they filed a cross bill by means of which they virtually took the same position as the city in the litigation.

The provision of the state constitution upon which the city relied prohibits the legislature from granting the right to construct and operate a street railroad within any municipality "without requiring the consent of the local authorities having the control of the street or highway proposed to be occupied by such street railroad." The supreme court in previous cases had stated that "the constitution commits to the city the control of the operation of street railways in its streets," and upon this declaration the city of Chicago placed great reliance. In this case, however, the court said that the statement just quoted "merely means that the constitution has conferred upon the city power to determine whether street railways shall be operated upon the streets of the city, and if so upon what streets. To this extent, and no further, the constitution has committed to the city the control of the operation of street railways in its streets." This disposed of any home rule guaranty in the state constitution.

FRANCHISE CONTRACTS AND THE POLICE POWER

The court then took up the discussion of the police power with respect to its bearing upon the authority of the Illinois public utilities commission to disregard or override the terms and conditions of the Chicago street railway settlement franchises. The court admitted that the city's contention was "undoubtedly sound so far as the contracts relate to *matters which do not affect the public safety, welfare, comfort or convenience.*" What these matters may be was in part indicated. "Thus, the grant of the right to the railway companies," said the court, "to construct and operate street railways in the city, the agreement to divide the net receipts between the railway companies and the city, and the option given to the city to purchase the railway properties at a certain price are all matters which do not affect the public safety, welfare, comfort or convenience, *because it is immaterial to the public what person or corporation operates the railways, or what disposition is made of the profits,* and over those matters neither the state nor the state public utilities commission has any control by virtue of the police power." As to the matters covered by the commission's order which were involved in this litigation, the court said: "The order requires only such things to be done by the railway companies as will, in the judgment of the commission, improve the service furnished the public, and *in so far as the order conflicts with the ordinances concerning such matters, the order of the commission supersedes and sets aside the provisions of the ordinances,* but does not, within the meaning of the constitutional prohibitions, impair the obligations of any contract, because the city had no power to contract away any of the police powers delegated to it by the legislature."

It is noteworthy that the court does not in this case mention rate-fixing either among those powers which are not included in the police powers or among those which are. It is clear, however, from the decisions of other courts that the fixing of rates is to be regarded as falling within the province of the police power, and, by the reasoning of the Illinois court in this case, it is clear that if the question arose the court would uphold the jurisdiction of the state public utilities commission to set aside or revise the schedule of fares and transfers prescribed in the Chicago settlement ordinances. With this in mind, the following language of the court is especially ominous with respect to the free development of municipal policy looking toward the control and ultimate acquisition of street railways in accordance with procedure established by resettlement franchises. "If the city of Chicago," said the court, "in entering into contracts with the railroad companies has seen fit to make its option to purchase the street railway system, or its right to a certain portion of the net receipts derived from the operation of this system, or any other rights reserved to it by the ordinances, dependent upon the non-exercise of the police power by the state, *it cannot be heard to complain that by the exercise of the police power by the state, through the state public utilities commission, it will lose its right to those benefits reserved to it by the ordinances.*"

A CRITICAL SITUATION

It is not too much to say that the condition brought about by the development of the law as typified in this case, coupled with the financial difficulties in which street railway companies generally are now finding themselves, creates a situation that is perhaps more critical than was ever before experienced in the public utility field. Unquestionably, the extraordinary increases in the costs of operation that have developed during the war period make it impossible for street railway or other public utility companies to continue to operate indefinitely under fixed inflexible rate schedules. Unquestionably, also, the theory of rate regulation by state commissions contemplates the readjustment of rates up or down as financial necessities may require, without regard to fixed or arbitrary rates established by tradition, by legislation or by franchise contracts. The only alternative to a flexible, adjustable schedule of fares on privately operated street railways, for example, is the establishment of a contractual relation between the cities and the companies by which the financial relief required as a result of increasing operating costs will be granted through relief from taxation or through subsidies out of the proceeds of taxation. Local transportation is a necessary public service in every large urban community. If the service cannot be discontinued then obviously its necessary cost must be paid, and ultimately the payment must be made by those for whom the service is rendered, or by the city as a taxing unit on their behalf. In the presence of economic necessities and powerful but conflicting interests, the public utility situation is drifting, and public policy is being shaped along wrong and dangerous lines by inadvertence; by the failure or neglect of states and cities to formulate and establish definite programs with respect to the necessary public utilities operating within their borders and potentially under their control.

TWO CONFLICTING TENDENCIES

While it is assumed that public sentiment is crystallizing in favor of municipal ownership and operation and that we are drifting toward the realization of that system as an ultimate policy, certain important facts, upon careful examination, belie the assumption. At this moment, two powerful but conflicting tendencies in the public utility field have gained headway in the United States. One is the tendency on the part of great municipalities to recognize public utilities as municipal functions, and by means of new or resettlement franchises containing purchase clauses and amortization provisions, to prepare for the ultimate municipalization of the utilities, particularly street railways, now privately owned and operated. This tendency has dominated to a greater or less extent the street railway settlements adopted during the past ten years in Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, New York, Kansas City, Des Moines, Dallas and Cincinnati, and is now dominating the negotiations pending in Toledo, Minneapolis, Oakland and St. Louis. San Francisco and Seattle have even gone to the extent of establishing competing municipal car lines, and Detroit has once voted 4 to 1, in favor of municipal ownership, and is now going along under a day-to-day agreement,[2] refusing to grant a new street railway franchise on any terms. The other tendency referred to is the one typified by the Illinois decision in the *O'Connell* case. It is based upon the theory that the state as such has no interest in the change from private to public ownership and operation but, taking utilities as it finds them, should assume control of rates and service to the exclusion of the local authorities. That the legislature, in the absence of specific constitutional guaranties of municipal home rule in respect to this particular matter, has unrestricted authority to exercise the police power, or to delegate its exercise to a state commission, without regard to the public utility policies which may have been formulated by local authorities and sanctioned by local contracts, has now been established by court decisions in many of the states, including Wisconsin, Washington, New York, Oklahoma and Illinois. Already the development of this legal theory and its actual application by state public service commissions have begun to counteract the other tendency to which we have just referred and to paralyze the efforts of cities to grapple with their local utility problems and to formulate and adopt effective municipal policies looking toward the ultimate practical recognition of public utilities as public functions. The significance of this conflict can hardly be overestimated, for it is clear that with all the traditional assumptions of state sovereignty in its favor, the movement for exclusive state control is likely to prove too powerful for the cities acting individually, with the result that the public utility policy of this country will be crystallized by state action in favor of the permanence of private ownership and operation without regard to the desires of the cities for whose benefit the utilities have been established.

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[2] Since this report was presented, the Detroit United Railway has repudiated its day-to-day agreement with the city of Detroit. The old rates of fare and the old state of war have been restored together.—D. F. W.

In our judgment the proper solution of the problem lies in two things: first, a definite and comprehensive formulation of municipal policy with respect to public utilities, and second, a careful delimitation of the spheres of state and local control with provision for legal co-operation between state and local authorities in the exercise of the necessary supervision over public utilities while they continue to be owned and operated by private corporations, and in a different way after they have been municipalized.

DEFINITE POLICIES SHOULD BE ADOPTED

While we recognize that to a certain extent the policy of cities with respect to their public utilities is a matter for determination according to the particular circumstances of time and place, and while, therefore, we would oppose any attempt on the part of the state to formulate and enforce a mandatory policy with respect to municipal ownership, we are, nevertheless, convinced that the time has come when all constitutional and statutory obstacles that stand in the way of the free development of municipal policy, under limited state administrative supervision, should be removed, and that it no longer satisfies the legitimate demands upon civic statesmanship for the municipal authorities to adopt a policy of indefinite postponement with respect to the determination of what the city is ultimately going to do about its public utilities. We believe that the time has come when state laws should be formulated for the purpose of facilitating the determination by municipalities of certain fundamental issues with respect to public utilities, and that whenever a municipality has received the authority to do so, it should proceed to the formulation, declaration and definite adoption of its policy. It may be that without plan or preparation many or all cities would ultimately be driven into municipal ownership and operation of public utilities, but it is clear to us that if cities enter upon municipal ownership and operation in this manner, they will be most heavily handicapped in the performance of one of the most vital of all municipal functions. The operation of public utilities requires technical knowledge, experience and skill of a high order. Cities cannot operate public utilities successfully until after they have learned how. No more can they control the operation of public utilities by private corporations until they have learned how. We regard it as in the highest degree incumbent upon cities that have not already done so, immediately to set up the necessary machinery for the development of expert knowledge and skill in the construction, control and operation of these utilities, and we regard the adoption of the policy of exclusive state control as a menace to the integrity of municipal government. We believe that the utilities rendering necessary public service, definitely urban in character, are theoretically and in their very nature primarily a concern of local government, and that any failure on the part of a city to recognize this fact and any action on the part of the state which would prevent a city, after recognizing this fact, from performing its legitimate functions, runs fundamentally counter to the legitimate welfare of the public and to the development of a properly organized and functioning democracy.

SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

Specifically, as to the formulation of municipal policy and as to the coöperation between state and local authorities in the control of public utilities, we make the following recommendations:

1. That every state remove the handicaps from municipal ownership by clearing away legal and financial obstacles, so far as they are now embedded in constitutional and statutory law.

2. That every state provide expert administrative agencies for the regulation and control of public utilities. These agencies should have full jurisdiction over interurban services and over local services where the local authorities are unwilling or unable to exercise local control. They should have limited jurisdiction wherever the local authorities are in a position to exercise the full normal functions of municipal government, and should even have jurisdiction with respect to accounting and reports in the case of utilities owned and operated by municipalities.

3. That every city where public utilities are operated primarily as local services definitely recognize these services as public functions and set in motion at once the financial machinery necessary to bring about the municipalization of public utility investments at the earliest practicable moment.

4. That every such city, pending the municipalization of its utilities, recognize the necessity of giving security to public utility investments and to a fair rate of return thereon, and to that end assume as a municipal burden the ultimate financial risks of public utility enterprises and insist upon receiving the benefits naturally accruing from this policy in the form of a lowered cost of capital.

5. That every city definitely adopt the policy of securing public utility service to the consumers either at cost, or at fixed rates not in excess of cost with subsidies from taxation whenever needed for the maintenance of the service at the rates fixed.

6. That every large city provide itself with expert administrative agencies for the continuous study of local public utility problems; for the adjustment of complaints as to service; for the preparation and criticism of public utility contracts and ordinances; for the formulation of standards of public utility service; and for adequate representation of itself and its citizens in proceedings before the state commission or other tri-

bunals affecting the capital stock and bond issues, the intercompany agreements, the accounting methods, the reports, the valuations, the rates, and the practices of public service corporations operating in whole or in part within the city's limits.

We believe that the foregoing includes only the essential points in the development of a constructive public utility policy, and that there is the most urgent need of the definite formulation and adoption, by the several states and cities of the country, of definite programs based upon the principles above outlined.[3]

CITY MANAGERS IN CONCLAVE ASSEMBLED[1]

BY HARRISON GRAY OTIS

Auburn, Me.[2]

THE City Managers' Association, formed at Springfield, Ohio, in 1914, has demonstrated its right and title to a permanent place among the progressive municipal organizations by its very successful fourth annual convention held in Detroit in November. The attendance, despite war conditions, was the largest on record, comprising nearly one third of all the managers in the country. This showing is quite remarkable when it is recalled that many of the great city-manager states, such as California and Texas, are so located that distance barred representation. Then, too, over half the city managers hail from south of the Mason-Dixon line.

Michigan leads the union in the number of cities pledged to the city-manager plan and nearly every one of her fourteen cities, so pledged, has the orthodox commission-manager charter. It was appropriate that Detroit, who by the way has been flirting with the manager idea, should have been selected as the convention city. It was also fitting and suggestive that the opening days of the Conference on Good City Government were consigned to the City Managers' Association because the managers, after three days of intensive debate, were quieted down for the more formal sessions of the Municipal League, or,—after a work-menu of solid, technical discussions, were prime for the delicacies to follow.

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[3] This report was signed by Dr. Delos F. Wilcox, Chairman, William M. Leiserson, Horatio M. Pollock, Charles Richardson, and Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Committee on Franchises.

[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 127.

[2] Secretary-treasurer, City Managers' Association. We had hoped to have a summary of the discussion of the city-manager form of government at Detroit, by Gaylord C. Cummin, city manager of Grand Rapids, but the fuel situation in Grand Rapids made it impossible for him to prepare the summary in time for publication in this issue.—EDITOR.

Suggestive, too, in that it symbolized the National Municipal League's splendid spirit of co-operation in throwing the spotlight of its cordial endorsement upon the movement represented by the managers.

SPECIALISTS AS HEADLINERS

The managers tried out the orthodox convention plan this time of calling in for its program headliners acknowledged specialists in their various fields, following up the addresses with discussions. This feature will help to make the yearbook, containing the proceedings of the convention, of much greater value than any of its predecessors. Certainly it is true that the generous contributions of our friends were, and will be, appreciated and the association has voted to conduct its 1918 convention along the same lines, with more time allotted for discussion. There was some excellent material presented, and in clear-cut form.

The only "set speech" of the convention made by a manager was the address by O. E. Carr of Niagara Falls, retiring president of the association. From the rich fund of his experiences and observations, he described,[3] in a decidedly human way, some of the trials and pitfalls that have tended to afflict the managerial profession with a high mortality rate. An editor sub-headlining his talk might adopt some such captions as follow: "Everybody Blames the Manager," "Party Politics Die Hard," "Tact, a Prime Requisite," "When Commissioners Oppose the Plan," "Need of Non-Partisan Press" and "War Stimulates Economy in Government."

PAVING PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

"Ann Arbor's Paving Experience," as described by City Engineer Manly Osgood was uniquely valuable in that the speaker emphasized the mistakes that his city has made in some of its many paving experiments. He described several types of construction, and nearly as many methods of repairing. The rise and fall of the once-famous "Dollarway" pavement which created such a stir about five years ago was graphically pictured. After a long period of experimentation, Ann Arbor has returned to standard types of pavement, constructed by contract under careful supervision and inspection.

CITY MANAGERS AS PROMOTERS OF DEMOCRACY

Jesse D. Burks, director of the Los Angeles efficiency commission, sounded the keynote of the convention in emphasizing the responsibility that rests upon all engaged in city management to do the thing most worth while to further the ends of democracy in these times of world war. He condemned political boss rule in city government as essentially Prussianism, "an attempt on the part of a small, compact, powerful group to put over its will upon the great masses in its own interests." He declared that "it doesn't make a particle of difference to democracy whether that attempt to exploit all of us is made through a powerful political machine or through a powerful military machine,—the results to democracy are likely to be just the same."

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[3] See National Municipal Review, vol. vii, p. 45.

Dr. Burks' address was inspirational throughout. Warning of the danger that lurks in the attitude of the average voter, he remarked: "When the time comes that we can get up as much excitement over the unnecessary death of a thousand babies in August, two years after election, as we can over the murder of one policeman in September, six weeks before an election, possibly we will have gone some way toward real democracy."

CITY PLANNING AND INDUSTRIAL SURVEY

"City Planning for Small Cities with Special Reference to an Industrial Survey," by A. Pearson Hoover, New York City, a consulting engineer, was a particularly practical paper on a subject which the average city is so easily tempted to "put off till to-morrow." He defined city planning as development along scientific and efficiency lines. He urged the importance of planning for the future while a city is small. Special stress was laid upon street arrangement and improvement, transit problems and districting for future growth. "The time to district a large city was when it was small." A plea for playgrounds and parks was followed by an excellent working plan for a complete industrial survey.

CHILDS AND WAITE ON FUTURE OF MANAGER PLAN

No one is better qualified to snap the chalk-line and mark the course for city managerism than Richard S. Childs. As originator of the commission-manager plan and nurse to the infant idea, he is perhaps the one man to whom the movement is most deeply indebted. "Now that We Have the Commission-Manager Plan,—What Are We Going to Do with It?"—the program reads. The sound advice and practical suggestions in Mr. Childs' address, augmented by the remarks of Henry M. Waite, struck the high-water mark of the convention. If the various commissioners and managers throughout the country absorb but a small part of the ideas here turned loose, and profit by them, the high mortality rate, complained of by Mr. Carr, would take a sudden and lasting fall.

The opening and closing sentences of Mr. Childs' paper indicate the trend: "Running a city government is like riding a bicycle,—you must keep going or you will fall over"; and "The great city managers of to-morrow will be those whose ideals stopped at no line of dogma or tradition, but who pushed beyond the old horizons and discovered new worlds of service."

William P. Lovett, executive secretary of the Detroit citizens' league, in his timely address, "Our Citizen Bosses," summarized the thought that was expressed, in one form or another throughout the convention: The absolute need of keeping in touch with the people by a continuous program of progressive publicity. These special features of the program were, of course, subjected to the free and frank discussion of the managers, nearly every manager having his say.

ROUND-TABLE METHOD VALUABLE

Indeed, one fact is significant. The one session devoted to the managers' round table,—so pronouncedly in vogue at our previous conventions, and which has been criticised as not producing "good reading" in the proceedings,—was the liveliest and, apparently, most enjoyed session of the whole convention.

On the program appeared: Practical Problems in Administration Relating to: Law, Public Utilities, Officials and Workmen, Newspapers, Commissioners, Financing Public Improvements, Special Problems of Small Cities, and Governmental Conditions. Each manager was requested to prepare a brief report of the experiences of his own city along any or each of the above lines. The session opened at ten o'clock. When the gavel struck at noon, the convention was just nicely started on the second of the eight subjects. There hadn't been a dull moment the whole morning.

This session, and the frequently expressed regret that it did not last longer, are evidence that the round table will remain as a vital part of future conventions of the Managers' Association. The reasons are obvious: All through the year the managers dig away in their own towns, bearing the brunt of the battle, piling up experiences, taking the blame for all that goes wrong; getting little sympathy and less praise. The convention affords the one big safety valve. It is the one chance in the year to tell of troubles and triumphs to kindred spirits. Don't blame the managers if the round-table chats fail to constitute a "real contribution to municipal literature."[4] Again, if each manager knows that he is to be called on, he is bound to take a greater personal interest in the proceedings, and the success of any convention depends upon, and is commensurate with, the number interested and the degree of their interest.

ACHIEVEMENTS UNDER COMMISSION-MANAGER GOVERNMENT

One important feature of former conventions was lacking this year. The managers were given no opportunity to tell what has been accomplished in their respective cities under the new plan. The first questions asked of the advocates of commission-manager government, and those hardest to answer, are: How does the plan work? What are the managers doing? Is it really worth while? And the answers are to be found in the *results accomplished by the present managers.* Every campaign manager and every writer on the subject knows how meagre the available material is.

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[4] Refers to Mr. Childs' comment on the last managers' yearbook. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September, 1917.

There is no better time to get this invaluable data than at the annual convention of the managers. Again, the exchange of experiences thus afforded, serves as an excellent stimulant to renewed effort and suggests new channels for the expression of that effort. If a manager knows that his achievements are to be given nation-wide publicity, he is pretty likely to try to make them worthy of such publicity, and the reaction of this on the home town is certain to establish the new régime more securely in the hearts of the people, by broadening the field of the manager's service to his city.

A little "corridor chat" scheme, arising from this very oversight, will, however, more than compensate for the omission, though made harder of execution by it. The association is securing "achievement reports" from managers all over the country, whether they attended the convention or not. A series of some fifty of these will be selected, "boiled down" and published in the forthcoming yearbook of the society. Some of these reports now reaching the secretary's desk, from managers heretofore little known, will make the older managers in the larger cities "look to their laurels."

THE CITY MANAGERS' YEARBOOK

The fourth volume of the city managers' yearbook is now in process of publication. It will contain the full text of the very excellent addresses referred to above, together with the "come-backs" of the managers. The lively round table discussions on accountancy, standardization of forms, municipal law, public utilities, proportional representation and kindred subjects will all appear, as will the business proceedings of the convention. These features will be augmented by the brief and spicy "achievement reports" of the managers in condensed form. A revised list of cities operating under or pledged to, the manager plan, giving the names and salaries of the managers is being prepared; and the series of half-tones of the managers published in the *American City* symposiums, from time to time, has been secured. This yearbook constitutes the big contribution of the Managers' Association to the promulgation of the movement.

MANAGERS PLAN MONTHLY BULLETIN

At the closing business session, an important innovation was inaugurated, looking to the greater usefulness of the association to its members and to the greater "cohesion" of all city managers. A committee, composed of Mr. Cummin, Mr. Waite and Mr. Otis, was delegated to assign to each of twelve managers, a subject for a paper to be prepared during 1918. These papers are to be released monthly, in mimeograph form, to all the city managers in the country. This plan is being carried out, with Mr. Waite's office in Dayton as the distributing center.

The officers elected for the ensuing year are: President, Gaylord C. Cummin, Grand Rapids, Mich.; vice-president, Clarence A. Bingham, Norwood, Mass.;[1] secretary-treasurer, Harrison G. Otis, Auburn, Maine.[2] To the new president was left the task of deciding the date and place of the 1918 convention, which will probably be held, as heretofore, in conjunction with the National Municipal League and its allied associations.

CONSOLIDATION PROBLEMS IN CALIFORNIA

BY GEORGE C. SIKES[1]

Chicago

SUCH familiarity as I may have with the situation in California is due to the fact that I was asked by the taxpayers' association of California to go to that state last spring to give advice with reference to a report then in contemplation on "City and County Consolidation for Los Angeles." My advice was sought because of my part in helping to prepare the report on "Unification of Local Governments in Chicago," issued in January last by the Chicago bureau of public efficiency.

CONSOLIDATION AND REORGANIZATION

Let me say at the outset that the movement for city and county consolidation should not be considered by itself as a separate problem. It is a part of the larger problem of governmental reorganization on the basis of unity, simplicity, and the short ballot. We Americans are too much given to looking upon plans as panaceas. Too often we discuss the city-manager plan, the short ballot, consolidation, etc., as mere mechanical devices for insuring good government, when they should be considered as features of plans for fundamental reorganization calculated, not to guarantee good government, but to facilitate the efforts of local communities to function more effectively. Some communities—notably San Francisco, St. Louis and Denver—have consolidated their city and county governments. But they did not at the same time undertake to deal with other important phases of the question of reorganization. Galveston, Des Moines, Dayton, and other cities adopting either the commission of the manager plans of government are living under county governments much the same as they were before. City and county consolidation and fundamental reorganization of the government on right lines should go hand in hand.

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[1] Becomes manager of Waltham, Mass., April 1, 1918.

[2] Appointed manager, Auburn, Me., January 25, 1918.

[1] Mr. Sikes is connected with the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, working especially on problems of reorganization of local government in Chicago.

In the movement for city and county consolidation, California has been a leader. San Francisco was one of the first communities in the country to merge its city and county governments, that merger having been effected in 1856. While the San Francisco venture was entirely beneficial in so far as it made for unification, unfortunately it did not go far enough in the direction of simplification. City and county governments were merged into one corporate entity, to be sure, with a single legislative body, and one assessor instead of two, and one auditor, one treasurer, etc. There are still two law departments, however, for the one government, with an elective district attorney as the head of one and an elective city attorney as head of the other—an illogical and absurd situation. There is both a sheriff and a city police department. The ballot is long, many purely administrative officials being chosen by popular election. One conspicuous absurdity is furnished by the system of school management. The superintendent of schools is elective, while the board of education is appointed by the mayor. Wrangling and friction are inevitable under such circumstances. Board-headed departments are numerous in San Francisco, whereas administrative departments should be single-headed. While San Francisco has merged its city and county governments, with important resulting benefits, it has by no means eliminated all possible duplication. It lacks thoroughgoing unification, the short ballot, and a simple plan of governmental organization designed to promote efficiency and economy.

In Los Angeles county and in Alameda county especially much propaganda work has already been done in behalf of city and county consolidation. The constitution of the state has been amended with the view of removing barriers to such consolidation, in which respect California is far ahead of most other states of the union, though still further modifications of the constitution may be necessary to authorize complete consolidation on satisfactory lines.

THE ALAMEDA COUNTY PLAN[2]

In Alameda county, across the bay from San Francisco, much good propaganda work has been done on the subject of governmental reorganization. The idea is to combine Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda and other municipalities with the county of Alameda. However, the plan embodied in the draft of a charter for city and county consolidation, proposed by the executive committee of the city and county government association, is really one for federation rather than consolidation. There are to be municipal entities within the city and county of Alameda with assured independence in certain lines, under the name of boroughs. The governing authorities for the city and county are to be a council of 21 members chosen by districts, an elective mayor with the veto power and some appointing powers, and a manager.

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[2] See National Municipal Review, Vol. vi, p. 105.

While the Alameda plan is admirable in many ways, and represents much painstaking and public-spirited work, I must take issue with two of its features. It seems to me illogical and unwise to provide for an elective mayor, with veto and appointing powers, in connection with what is professedly a manager plan of government. There should be no other executive and policy-making head of the city to divide authority and responsibility which under the manager plan is supposed to be centered in the council, and its executive agent, the manager.

It seems to me, too, that the rigid system of independent boroughs for which the Alameda plan makes provision is likely to prove unworkable in practice.

BOROUGH GOVERNMENT

The problem of borough government is as yet an unsolved one. Some great cities—New York, for example—have divisions called boroughs. But the New York plan is not one for general imitation. It cannot be said that any city has so far worked out a satisfactory solution of the problem. The matter is one calling for experimentation, as well as serious thought and study. The thing to be avoided, therefore, is stratification in the constitution of the state, so as to render needed changes and readjustments impossible. Matters should be left so that changes can be made as experience shall show them to be necessary. It would be most unfortunate if the basic law should outline a borough system so rigid that modifications clearly in the interest of the public could not be effected without the consent of a small group that might be induced to withhold consent through unworthy prejudices or for narrowly selfish reasons. The benefits of complete unification are so great that all parts should join in promoting the project, even at some sacrifice of local pride. On the other hand, the welfare of the larger community, as well as that of the localities themselves, will be advanced by the preservation of local names. Municipalities joining with the larger central city to form a consolidated city and county should be recognized in some way as governmental units of the new system. For one thing, each such former municipality, or the larger ones among them at least, should constitute an administrative improvement district. There should be some way of enabling the citizens of such a district to give expression to public opinion upon matters of local concern to the district for the information and guidance of the governmental authorities.

American city governments have been made unworkable largely through the efforts of constitution makers and charter framers to prescribe with rigid exactness the processes for dealing with future conditions that cannot be foreseen. There is danger that the provisions about borough government may be of this character.

It is far more important that the central government of the consolidated city and county have full power to satisfy the needs of the different localities comprising the greater entity than it is that such localities have special iron-clad guarantees against possible abuse of power at the hands of the authorities of the consolidated government. The problem is one for the charter framers to work out.

Oakland largely takes the leadership in the movement for city and county consolidation in Alameda county. Municipalities like Berkeley hesitate to join in a merger that may mean loss of identity and of independence to them. Oakland, likewise, is averse to an extension of the limits of San Francisco city and county to absorb the municipalities in Alameda county. It seems to me, however, that the municipalities around San Francisco bay constitute one natural metropolitan community and that the policy of city and county consolidation calls for the merger under one government of all the bay cities.

THE LOS ANGELES REPORT

In Los Angeles, the area between the mountains and the sea clearly constitutes a single natural metropolitan area, with many interests in common. The area, with nearly 1,000,000 population, contains 38 municipalities, the largest of which is the city of Los Angeles. It also contains many school districts and other taxing bodies of various sorts. The sentiment for consolidation appears to be strong in Los Angeles. There, as elsewhere, however, suburban communities like Pasadena constitute obstacles to the merger policy.

The taxpayers' association of California, in its report on "City and County Consolidation for Los Angeles," appearing under date of October, 1917, urges the complete consolidation, under the manager form of government, of all the local governing agencies in Los Angeles county. The minimum annual savings to taxpayers from such unification are estimated at $2,688,519. The gains in efficiency should be of far greater importance than the money savings. Under the plan proposed for Los Angeles by the taxpayers' association of California, the consolidated city and county would have a city council of from 17 to 21 members, elected by districts for a four-year term subject to recall. The council would choose the chief executive, under the title of mayor, but he would be in fact the manager. The mayor would hold office under indefinite tenure, and would have the power to appoint and remove at will all heads of departments, except the comptroller and city clerk, who would be selected by the city council.

THE EXECUTIVE VS. THE LEGISLATIVE BUDGET[1]

BY FREDERICK P. GRUENBERG[2]
Philadelphia

THERE was at least one point of agreement in the papers on the "Executive vs. the Legislative Budget" advocated by Dr. Cleveland[3] and Dr. Fitzpatrick[4] respectively. The debate may have held promise for a complete locking of horns—but there was, we repeat, this one point of agreement: that Prussia furnished the horrible example—it was pointed to by both champions to prove each side of the argument.

That sounds unreasonable, but it leads to the very crux of the story—namely that the divergence of view between the two papers was not so sharply defined as the bloodthirsty spectators—nor for that matter, the gladiators themselves—believed. This is borne out by some significant passages in each paper. For instance, Dr. Cleveland really argued for a modification of our governmental system so as to approach in effect the parliamentary form, and his whole thesis is really very largely dependent on that proposal. Dr. Fitzpatrick was inclined to agree with this rather revolutionary plan, although he was unwilling to have it "decided as an incident to a budget discussion."

Dr. Cleveland's paper showed evidences of careful preparation and, although many paragraphs had a reminiscent flavor to those familiar with his many years of valuable thinking on public questions, his case was well presented and interestingly sustained. Dr. Cleveland opened his remarks by alluding to the huge expenditures in this national emergency—so huge, indeed, that in one year we contemplate spending as much as the federal government has required from the time of our independence, including the cost of five wars. This situation is forcing thought on the need of a national budget and on the kind of a budget we should have.[5]

SAFE AND EFFICIENT DEMOCRACY DEMANDED

Dr. Cleveland then went on to point out that he is generally credited with favoring an "executive" budget under any and all circumstances, but that this is not correct as the kind of budget he favors is conditioned upon the kind of government upon which we agree. The speaker then went on to define a budget as "at best only an instrument of control" and by using the metaphor of a governor on an engine pointed out that the type of governor varied according to the type of engine. The engines of government, Dr. Cleveland said, are generally represented by two types: (1) that of the paternalistic Prussian state, and (2) some form of mechanism developed by democracy. The first, he said, had most convincingly shown its efficacy and the world is now awaiting proof that the second type can develop a like efficiency. As Dr. Cleveland put it, the problem of democracy is to build an engine that is "both efficient and safe."

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[1] Summary of a discussion at the annual meeting of the National Municipal League Detroit, November 22, 1917. See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 122.

[2] Director of Philadelphia bureau of municipal research.

[3] Formerly director, now a trustee of the New York bureau of municipal research.

[4] Draft administrator for the state of Wisconsin.

[5] The bulk of Dr. Cleveland's address has been separately reprinted in pamphlet form and can be had upon application to him at 226 Devonshire street, Boston.—EDITOR.

Fortunately, said the speaker, it is not necessary to work in the dark. It is known that "strong executive leadership" is the principle on which the Prussian state is built, while "in its initial planning democracy purposely deprived itself of the benefits" of such leadership. The problem, then, is to secure these benefits and at the same time make the leaders subservient to popular will, and Dr. Cleveland quoted ex-Premier Painleve in support of this doctrine.

ESSENTIALS OF AN EFFICIENT DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

Dr. Cleveland submitted five essentials in any scheme for gaining these desired ends in a democratic government, viz.: 1. Strong executive leadership; 2. A well disciplined line organization; 3. A highly specialized staff organization; 4. Adequate facilities for inquiry, criticism, discussion, and publicity by a responsible personnel which is independent of the executive; 5. The means of effective control in the hands of the people and their representatives. Dr. Cleveland then went on to say that Prussia had emphasized points 1, 2, and 3; Great Britain 1, 4, and 5. While France had used all five, she had not been able to build it large enough on strong enough to resist Germany. Russia, he said, provided leadership, but neglected the other four desiderata.

Turning to America, Dr. Cleveland pointed out that our most conspicuous constitutional characteristic has been the fear of strong executive leadership. Neither have we developed the line, the staff, the means of independent inquiry nor the means of effective popular control. Thus we have before us the test of whether our machine will prove effective to meet the machine of Prussian autocracy, and it is up to us to develop in our machine the five essentials. The speaker was confident that with our national *esprit de corps* we shall solve the problem.

Turning once more to the specific topic under discussion, Dr. Cleveland made clear that in his opinion an executive budget is neither practical nor even possible under existing conditions in this country, but that given strong executive leadership as the primary essential of efficient organization the executive should prepare the budget and defend it before the legislative body. By requiring "the support of a majority of that body before further supplies are granted" responsiveness to popular will is secured. This procedure as a method of control is effective, Dr. Cleveland went on to say, only when the executive is the prime mover, and where he "can be put on trial to defend his leadership."

The effective line and staff organization follow naturally from a provision for strong executive leadership, but the other two points are essential, viz.: provision for "adequate facilities for independent inquiry, criticism, discussion and publicity" and provision of a "recognized procedure which may at any time be called into operation for the purpose of finding out whether those who are looked to for executive leadership will be supported in any act or proposal brought under critical review by those who oppose, and of determining whether the organized, well disciplined line forces of democracy operating under the staff guidance provided to assist the management is being used in a manner which meets with popular approval."

CRUSHING MINORITY CRITICISM

The contrast of the American political system of ruthlessly crushing minority criticism with the parliamentary system was then emphasized, and again Dr. Cleveland pointed out that the question of whether the executive shall frame the budget must be determined by the government we have. We have never had, said the speaker, responsible leadership, responsible criticism, nor a means of securing responsibility to the people.

In France, England, Switzerland, Italy or Japan such a question as this would appear foolish, for since they have this system of responsible government, they look to the executive as a matter of course to frame the budget.

Our system of government being based on a philosophy of distrust, left "prime movers" out of account, so we are now confronted with the problem of what kind of government we really want before we can decide what kind of budget procedure we want. Dr. Cleveland went on to say that if we elect to retain our present form of political machine, he is aligned with those who say the executive should not frame the budget, and he cited President Taft's attempt in 1912 to submit a budget, which still lies pigeonholed in some congressional committee. The experiences of several states were also cited. In these, laws requiring the governor to submit a budget have been ineffective, but under the "constitutional weaknesses of our system . . . such devices as these can prove nothing but expensive encumbrances."

Dr. Cleveland concluded his remarks by pointing out that the practical needs of the war situation have forced congress to make President Wilson a dictator, and that the urgent requirements of the times called for the utilization of the experience of France and England with responsible executive leadership. Dr. Cleveland felt that we could effect this revolutionary change without a constitutional or even a statutory change. A mere change in the rules of congress providing for the executive's appearance "before the committee of the whole, to give an account of past acts and to explain his proposals for the future" would bring about responsible government.

DR. FITZPATRICK'S REMARKS

Dr. Fitzpatrick spoke a little less formally than his predecessor, basing his remarks to some extent on notes, but saying more, it seemed, in rebuttal.

Dr. Fitzpatrick pointed out a very marked difference between the executive budget idea as just presented and the provisions in the proposed constitution of New York and in that of Maryland. These states failed to include all the five essentials named by the previous speaker, said Dr. Fitzpatrick.

The speaker then went on to say that democratic control by change of leaders when the leader in power ceased to retain popular confidence would only be possible through a complete change in our system—in short through the adoption of the parliamentary system.

The next point made by Dr. Fitzpatrick was that "when we decide on the budget we decide on the kind of government we are going to have," but a few minutes later he said that the question of the form of government should not be settled as an incident to the budget discussion, which conflicting views somewhat neutralize each other.

Dr. Fitzpatrick went on to say that, regardless of labels, "if we make the executive the . . . dominating factor . . . we have an autocratic form of government." However, even though the executive may properly take a large part in the budget procedure, we shall have a democratic government if the legislature is the controlling factor.

The speaker then proceeded to say that under the legislative budget idea we should not have Prussian efficiency—and he hoped we shouldn't—but we should have the "best institutions possible—dealing with the American people as they are." "If we are going to sacrifice efficiency or liberty, let us sacrifice efficiency and let us do it willingly."

The next point brought forward by the speaker was a reference to an English critic of Mr. Lloyd George's government on the ground that it is a one-man government with a one-man budget. But even with the extraordinary powers there assumed by one man, "they have democratic control which neither Maryland nor New York offers the people of those states."

In those states, Dr. Fitzpatrick went on to say, we have the nearest approach to the German budget. Germany, he said, "is financed by the executive budget" without which "the German autocracy could never have permeated the German people."

THE MARYLAND BUDGET[6]

Characterizing the propaganda for the executive budget as a "patent medicine campaign," Dr. Fitzpatrick proceeded to poke fun at the defense of Governor Harrington of Maryland against the charge of executive usurpation. He quoted the governor to the effect that as no governor has been re-elected in Maryland since the Civil War there is no such danger. But other states do re-elect governors, the speaker pointed out.

Dr. Fitzpatrick then addressed his remarks to members of the Michigan budget commission present in the room, and warned them against bringing autocracy in at the back door—by means of introducing the executive budget—while the state is sending its boys forth to fight for the safety of democracy.

The speaker challenged the claim that the executive budget would promote executive leadership. It would only muzzle the legislative body, for it would say to them in effect, "You may not increase this item, you may only reduce it." Additional items, he said, would be permitted only at the end of the session, when most of the legislators go home. Under such a system "the governor with a minority of either house can kill anything that a real majority of the legislature wants."

The system would make not for leaders, but autocrats, said Dr. Fitzpatrick, who then proceeded to differentiate between "budget" and "budget proposals." By budget Dr. Fitzpatrick said he meant "the actual money voted to finance the government during the coming year." At this point, the inconsistency of the analogy between the general manager of a business corporation and the executive of an American governmental unit was taken up, and it was shown that while a manager is answerable to his board and may be removed by it, an elected administrator in this country is in office for a fixed term of years.

The proposal that when a difference arises between the executive and the legislative body, such difference be referred to the people for decision was ridiculed by the speaker for the reason that there is no assurance that a re-election will result in a politically harmonious executive and legislature, and again he felt that the proposals of his opponents call for a radical revolution in our scheme of government. Dr. Fitzpatrick adverted briefly to President Butler, and to Messrs. Hughes and Root and intimated that their fear of "direct government" was consistent with the recent "repudiation of the primary in New York" (the Bennett mayoralty nomination incident).

A RESUMÉ OF DR. FITZPATRICK'S POSITION

Dr. Fitzpatrick wound up his remarks by several clearly defined statements which really seemed to state his views more exactly on practically all the points involved than had any part of the preceding twenty minutes-odd of his talk. These points were to the effect that the speaker favored:

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[6] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, pp. 395 and 485.

1. Executive preparation of budgets for executive departments; independent "judicial" preparation for the budgets of the judiciary; recognition of administrative commissions as "quasi-judicial bodies," with right to prepare their budgets; independent preparation by the legislature "for the legislature's departments."

2. "Fullest, freest action on proposals" to be given the legislature—freedom to go beyond information submitted by executive.

3. Regarding the budget not "merely as a financial instrument, as an instrument of financial control," but "as a social, political and economic document determining the whole question of education, welfare, and all other things a modern community must deal with."

4. Giving unlimited power if necessary to do so at all to the legislative body rather than to the executive, "for a democracy is safer with an unshackled legislature than with an unshackled executive."

A CRITICAL SUMMARY OF BOTH PAPERS

From the foregoing it will be seen that the divergence of view between the debaters was not so marked as the auditor might have supposed. Indeed, to anyone acquainted with the two speakers the differences were much more temperamental and philosophical than due to any really fundamental differences of judgment on, let us say, the technique of the budget. The real differences between the men are patently irreconcilable—the differences between them on the issue at hand were largely eliminated by their own papers.

Of course, the audience (including Dr. Fitzpatrick) all expected Dr. Cleveland to champion that form of executive budget made concrete either in the ill-fated New York constitution or in the new one of Maryland. He did no such thing, but presented instead an admirably thought-out thesis which while not so definite on the subject of the budget as many had hoped, did set forth the topic of strong responsible executive leadership under a parliamentary system. Dr. Cleveland left to the representative body all the final authority in voting supplies that Dr. Fitzpatrick demanded, and on this essential it is impossible to find any difference between the papers. Dr. Fitzpatrick very properly ascribed to some constitutional and statutory programs for an executive budget certain limitations on the legislative body—for instance, on their power to increase or add items—but Dr. Cleveland did not advocate such limitations, not at any rate in this discussion.

Dr. Cleveland's paper was very general, academic perhaps, and by government he meant almost throughout, *national* government, and the leading nations of the world furnished illustrative material. The other paper probably erred in the other direction—that is, it seemed very concrete (even personal!) and it conceived government always as meaning a state government and generally it seemed to mean Wisconsin.

Dr. Cleveland hurt the fine scholarly tone of his paper by what one of those who discussed it[7] called an "excursion into the field of botany," but on the whole his contribution will prove a valuable addition to the much-needed thinking on some of the weaknesses, for peace as well as for war, of our governmental machine.

The weakest point to your reviewer, in Dr. Cleveland's whole discussion, was his easy assumption that our fundamental constitutional scheme could be altered without anything more than a change in the rules of congress. A rigid written constitution, deliberately designed to keep equipoised the judicial, executive and legislative branches of our government, cannot be so easily evaded. True, "answerability," minority interpellation and other external features of the parliamentary system could be created, but forcing a change in the cabinet by withholding supplies would soon invoke the interpretive power of the judicial side of our system, and unless all signs fail they could not but interpret the constitution of the fathers as it is plainly written. To bring about such a revolutionary change as the true parliamentary-ministry system would require a frank effort at constitutional amendment in order to be genuinely effective.

Perhaps the most discouraging thing Dr. Fitzpatrick brought out was the spectre so many of us had hoped was laid—that there is something inherently incompatible between democracy and efficiency. This is too long a theme to be brought into this commentary merely as an incidental topic, but surely we may hope that the cause of efficient democracy is not so soon deserted by one who served in the front ranks as director of the society for the promotion of training for public service!

Dr. Fitzpatrick's comparison of the Maryland budget idea with that of Germany was rather effective although not well buttressed. He might have gone on, without deviating from the truth, to point out that our whole theory of absolute independence of the executive from the representative body is much more akin to the German political system than to the parliamentary.

An amazing liberty was taken by Dr. Fitzpatrick in his definition of "budget" as the "money voted," whereas every recognized student of government finance uses the word to mean proposals, requests, financial programs.

Indeed, both papers were weak in that the budget idea was used exclusively in connection with the *expenditure* side of governmental finance. The importance of that part of the budget that has to do (or ought to have to do) with raising the revenue or borrowing was nowhere emphasized either from the point of view of the so-called "executive" or "legislative" budgets.

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[7] R. P. Farley, of the Winnipeg citizens' research league.

COMMUNITY MUSIC

BY ARTHUR FARWELL
New York City

DURING the past few years the term "community music" has come into striking prominence. Musical activities of the people of an unprecedented sort have sprung up everywhere throughout the country and the daily and periodical press has given to these activities an amount of space and attention never accorded to the traditional affairs of the "musical world" of concert, opera and recital. Scarcely any fact in our American life of to-day is more striking than this outburst of the musical idea among the people. Municipal concerts of unusual character, civic music associations, symphony and other concerts at popular prices, pageants and community masques and dramas with music, music school settlements, people's music leagues, community choruses, community orchestras, community Christmas trees with music, "song and light" festivals, these and many others are the forms which the new activities have taken. Such a widespread flowering of the musical idea throughout a great nation which has never before witnessed such a phenomenon is sufficient evidence of the fact that a new and significant principle is operating among us, which it is important to understand and to direct with intelligence.

By way of explanation of these matters, it may be said in a word that this entire movement is the first broad response of democracy to the musical idea. It would, however, be a serious wrong not to add at once to this explanation that the phenomenon has a further significance which must be regarded as spiritual and mystical. Music is a mystical art, dealing with the elusive and intangible stuff of human emotions, and when the mass-emotion of a nation catches fire, with a movement most directly concerned with the emotions, it argues that there is a vast and immeasurable human force seeking expression which, once it is liberated, has a definite part to play in the general evolution of the nation. It is highly significant that this phenomenon should take place at a time of world-upheaval, when the principles and ideals of the nation are pressing for expression and for realization in action. Nothing, excepting religion, with which music is so intimately connected, is so powerful as music, and especially song, in welding the emotions of individuals into the mass-emotion necessary for the carrying of great common objects.

Scarcely anyone will pretend that the community music movement indicates a sudden devotion to the cultivation of the art of music on the part of the people generally, although such a cultivation will undoubtedly be increased by the movement. The man who finds a new joy in singing weekly with a "community chorus" will seldom give more attention than he did before to the study of music as an art. He simply finds joy in expressing himself, where before he had no opportunity for expression. Nevertheless we must go to the development of the art of music in the United States to find the direct antecedents of the community music movement.

ARISTOCRATIC ART

It was not so very long ago, a matter of twenty years or so, that one frequently heard from the devotees of music, that it was essentially an aristocratic art, necessarily to be appreciated only by the few, and that to democratize music would be to ruin the art. From our point of view to-day we see how little faith these persons (and there are a few of them still among us) had in music itself, and in the fact that it must, by virtue of its own nature, ever strive toward and attain at last the high and the beautiful, whether it is the concern of the few or of the many. The anticipation of the confusion in which we find ourselves to-day in this matter appalled them; they could not see, beyond the inevitable artistic night, the dawn which we are now beginning to perceive, of a great movement which is to liberate more truly than ever before the spirit of music among mankind. The corollary of this aristocratic attitude was musical philanthropy. Certain of the great musical organizations handed out a little charity in the form of "wage-earners' concerts," and the astonishing discovery was made that even among the "people" there were those who found something real in the music of the masters.

PEOPLE'S SYMPHONY

From that point it was a short step to giving the people a voice and a hand in the management of certain classes of public musical affairs. Series of "people's symphony concerts" and symphony concerts at popular prices were undertaken in many places, sometimes as an extension of the work of existing symphony societies, and sometimes as new organizations. It may be said that the enormous growth of the musical life of the United States along the older lines was preparing the soil for the new movement, especially in the creation of the machinery of musical presentation. The spirit of the new movement, however, did not come from that older musical life and its commercialized and socially restricted affairs, but from the people, and from the growing enlightenment and desire that animated them. And this enlightenment and desire arose in very great measure through the newspaper, the magazine, the movies, the phonograph and the player-piano. Through these channels, ramifying to every community and every element of the community, reaching out to the 97 per cent of the people never reached by concert or opera, the people became informed of the musical doings of the world, and became familiar with music that could mean something to them beyond the primitive gratifications of popular song and dance music. From the general desire to come closer to the spirit and the deed of music arose the will to create the community music movement.

ART AND LIFE

Then arose the need of bridging the gulf between the art of music and the life of the people. The democratic idea had prevailed, but how was it to be realized? At this point the pure ray of musical art splits upon the many faceted prism of American life and thought. As many democratic musical activities now arose as there were people with theories of what was to be done and initiative to carry their ideas into action. These activities were characterized and classified by the degree of their closeness to or departure from the older forms of activity. With some, democracy in music meant nothing more than to set before more of the people the identical productions which constituted the affairs of the restricted musical life of an earlier day. The general thought at first was that there was but one true substance and form of musical activity, namely, the symphony or other high class concert exactly as it had always been known; and that if the people could not partake of this particular kind of feast, then, in the name of musical art, there was no other feast to partake of. All the great music that was to be had already been written; the form in which it was to be presented had already been long established. The people were to come and go—passive and receptive shadows, with no creative part in the transaction.

This idea was altogether too close to the old régime to prosper greatly. Symphony concerts at popular prices, even where the people have a voice in their management, cannot show the way through. The first reason is that most people have never heard symphonies and are not prepared to think that they would like them. To the mass of the people the symphony is supposed to be "high brow" and dry, and to offer a symphony concert at five cents a seat in a community new to the movement would allure but few. Secondly, the conditions under which symphony concerts are commonly given are the product of a social condition foreign to the people generally, who are neither happy nor at home in the diamond horseshoe of either the opera house or concert hall.

MUNICIPAL CONCERTS

A thoroughly sympathetic relation of the people to symphony concerts was, however, established at the municipal concerts of New York in Central Park at the beginning of the Gaynor administration in 1910, when the writer, as supervisor of municipal concerts, was enabled to experiment in the matter on a large scale. Here, without having to overcome their prejudices against symphonies to the extent of paying even a small fee, the people could come out and hear them gratis, under absolutely democratic conditions. The result was the production of a new host of insatiable symphony lovers, so that at the present time popular symphonic concerts at a small price can be given with a measure of success in large halls such as Madison Square Garden.

Municipal concerts afford a much more direct way of reaching the people than do semi-private popular symphonic enterprises. The trouble here is that the authorities in charge of municipal concerts usually are without musical knowledge or ideals, and without faith that the people want something good. Politics is the tomb of music. The New York municipal concerts already referred to presented an unusual opportunity. A degenerate epoch of political band leaders had brought matters to an open scandal in 1909, and the incoming reform administration undertook to rectify the situation. The most radical reform was the substitution of symphony orchestras for bands at the Mall in Central Park, and these concerts quickly became immensely popular and drew great crowds. They were given every night through the summer, and on Sunday afternoons.

The programs included many of the great orchestral works of such composers as Bach, Beethoven, Schubert, Weber, Tschaikowsky, Wagner and Verdi. "Symphony night," on Wednesdays, became immediately the great function of the week. The crowds were quiet as a church congregation, and aside from ushering duties, the police had nothing to do, and the services of only three or four were required. The great point of knowledge gained from these concerts was that the message of the great composers is for all the people, and in particular that a still little understood law of crowd psychology provides for the short-circuiting of an educational process by a spiritual one; for it was found that such a crowd is unlimited in its receptivity, and under the right conditions receives easily and gladly any great music whatsoever, music in which it would be difficult or impossible to interest the members of the crowd individually. This principle is at the base of all community music enterprise, and its understanding is essential to the success of such endeavor. That it is not generally understood is plentifully evident, and it is still commonly supposed that a long process of education is required before the people can enjoy the music of the masters. It should be said, however, that the great orchestral music of the world is not written with a view to outdoor performance, and that it is therefore essential to provide the best possible acoustic conditions. Either there must be an augmented string section of the orchestra, or a proper reflecting sound shell should be provided. From the democratic and social standpoint, however, municipal concerts present an ideal line of advance, though not until musical considerations, reinforced by the special knowledge referred to, are placed above political manipulation, can the immense possibilities of such concerts be realized.

CIVIC MUSIC LEAGUES

The extended use of school buildings for community purposes afford also a large field of activity "People's" and "civic" music leagues and associations, as well as "community centers" are making the greatest use of this opportunity. Free concerts for the people are given by such organizations in school buildings in cities throughout the country. The artists contribute their services or are paid small sums. There is no doubt that the knowledge and enjoyment of good music has been widely extended through such activities, and much done toward creating the soil of a musical nation. The chief criticism which may be made of this phase of the movement is that it is not powerful enough in its effects. The programs are apt to be too slight and the audiences too small for the awakening of emotions and ideals great enough for the needs of the time. The Civic Music Association of Chicago has perhaps canvassed these possibilities as thoroughly as any similar association, with many excellent results, though its activities have extended far beyond the possibilities afforded by the school buildings.

COMMUNITY PAGEANTS AND MASQUES

A new and all-important principle came into operation with the advent of the community pageant and masque—the participation of the people themselves, instead of their mere presence as auditors. This represented a great step forward in the democratization of the dramatic and musical arts. The movement for the community pageant, usually a local historical celebration, was well under way in 1913. Its antecedents were the English pageants, though while these devoted themselves to the ancient history of their localities, seldom bringing it up closer to the present than four hundred years, the American cities and towns began perforce but one or two hundred years back, and carried the pageant into the present day and its problems, and usually concluded with a symbolical representation of the future. In these pageants the townspeople participated in every conceivable way, dramatically, musically, both instrumentally and chorally, in the dance, in stage management, and in the making of costumes and properties. The result was an extent and intensity of interest beyond anything previously experienced. Every member of the community could be, and a great proportion were, directly active in the production of the pageant. Since its object was the celebration of local history and the stimulating of local pride, it was both interesting and comprehensible to everyone. For a practical everyday community suddenly to discover that it was able to create an immense drama-music-dance art-work of great beauty was a memorable surprise. The pageant has opponents who take the ground that it is a transitory orgy of community endeavor, depleting the community, and leaving no valuable influence or activity in its train. It is doubtful if anyone who ever took an active part in the production of such a pageant has held this view. A pageant, beautifully carried out, is a great vision, and experience has often shown that both the beholding of and the participation in such a great expression of the communal life has given to the individual life a moment of beauty and expansion which has influenced its entire course and bequeathed to it one of its most joyous and enduring memories and inspirations. It is also almost inevitable that a pageant will leave behind it permanent organizations of various participating groups, such as chorus or orchestra, folk-dance groups, and committees for civic advancement. A community pageant will bring unity of thought and purpose into an ordinary heterogeneous community as almost nothing else will. In the massed finale of the Pageant of Thetford, Vt., one of William Chauncey Langdon's early pageants, an old farmer in the audience was heard to remark, "Well, that's the first time that the town of Thetford ever did anything all together." This pageant served to procure for the northern counties of Vermont an agricultural expert from the government who was instrumental in regenerating a region of abandoned farms. As composer and director of the music for several of Mr. Langdon's pageants, I have had an opportunity of observing the effect of such productions upon the musical activity of different communities, an effect both stimulating and expanding, and unquestionably having a permanent effect upon the musical character and development of the communities.

In a healthful community growth, with respect to such art activities, two elements are necessary, continuous work of a character which need not be at all pretentious, and the occasional flowering of such expression on a scale commensurate with the extent and power of the entire community. Without both these phases in due proportion, a vital element must be lacking, either the continuous effort needful for development, or the life-giving joy of beauty greatly realized and widely shared.

DRAMA OF THE PEOPLE

Destined to a development far beyond the usual pageant, in the writer's belief, is the community masque, which passes beyond local meanings and takes the eternal substance of all drama for its province. Local history has limits quickly reached in American life, but there is no limit to the aspiration toward the joy and beauty which is capable of realization through the dramatic art in its broadest sense. The logical dénouement of the developments already operating in America is a drama of the people which shall hold a place similar to that held in ancient Greece by the Greek drama. Music will take a great place in such a form, which will, in fact, be a music-drama of the people, a democratic art-form such as Wagner dreamed (and wrote) of, but which he was prevented from attaining by the fact that he did not get beyond casting his music-drama in the form of traditional opera. Such a people's music-drama is forecast in the "Grove Plays" of the Bohemian club of San Francisco, which gave the inspiration leading the present writer to his association, as composer, with Percy MacKaye in the production of "Caliban" in 1916 in New York. Here the conception was restricted by the necessity of fitting it into a Shakespearean celebration, but the field suggested by some such form is unlimited in its scope. A new work resulting from the same association, "The Evergreen Tree," a masque for community singing and acting, aims at finding a fitting form for the celebration of Christmas—a work not yet produced.

THE MUSIC SCHOOL SETTLEMENT

Coexistent with the other forms of community music activity, and persisting in substantially the same form while many of these have undergone radical modifications, is the music school settlement; in the first instance the school in New York, founded twenty-four years ago, and the many others since established in different cities throughout the country. The object of the music school settlement is to provide musical instruction of the highest order for the many who are not able to pay the prevailing high prices for good instruction. The New York school is now an institution having over one thousand pupils, one hundred teachers, eleven departments and four orchestras. The price of lessons runs from fifteen cents for class lessons to thirty-five and sixty-five cents for individual lessons. The teachers are either those who teach usually for higher prices but who are glad to give a certain number of hours a week to this work at very low prices, or are drawn from the advanced pupils who thus earn their first money and who are glad to get such work even at the small prices which must prevail in an enterprise of this kind. The deficit inevitable in maintaining such a school is made up by voluntary subscriptions, donations and memberships of various kinds, collected under the auspices of a board of managers. The music school settlement of New York is famous for the fervent musical spirit which it has awakened and which it maintains in its pupils, who are drawn not only from the lower east side, where the school is situated, but from remote sections of the city as well. Such work is a permanent contructive force of great value, and a real power in the process of working out a musical democracy; its effects are far-reaching and incalculable.

THE COMMUNITY CHRISTMAS TREE

The community Christmas tree, the "Tree of Light" has been a very beautiful popular expression, finding acceptance everywhere, and creating a center for different forms of community music activity. The tree points the way to many developments in the future, in the first place because of its inherent significance, and in the second because it leaves such freedom in the working out of ceremonies pertaining to it. The "Tree of Light" was first raised in Madison Square, New York, at Christmas, 1912, since when the custom has become national and it is the exception rather than the rule to find an American community without its tree at Christmas time. In 1917 there were trees in all the army camps, twenty with the army in France, and American battleships in English waters had trees lashed to the masts.

THE COMMUNITY CHORUS

The latest phase in the course of community music development is the community chorus. The mere fact that this idea has swept the country as has no other phase of the movement indicates that it contains a new and distinctive principle, or that it affords an opportunity for the fuller operation of known principles than does any previous aspect of community music. The community chorus movement was originated by Harry Barnhart some five years ago. He believed that if the people could be brought together to sing, irrespective of all other considerations, entirely democratically, without voice trials or dues, for the joy of song, that a new vision would be gained and a wholly new force liberated in human society. He pointed out the fact that Luther had said that he could not have conducted his reformation without his hymns, with which he unified the people. If this power resided in song, then it must have its own province and mission, irrespective of any particular phase of religion; that a brotherhood of song, rightly conceived, must in fact lead rather than follow the religious idea. Within five years this idea has ramified to every part, almost to every corner of the country, and community singing has outdistanced in scope and reach, among the people, every other aspect of the community music movement.

Song is the primary and most universal musical function of man, and in removing all barriers, academic, traditional, financial, or any other kind, from the singing together of the people, the community chorus has thus at a stroke realized and given full play to the least common denominator, musically, of the people. Coming at a time when the emotions of the people are awakened and united in a great common cause, it has found at hand a condition miraculously adapted to its acceptance and growth. Adding to musical ideals, as such, the ideals of patriotism and the fundamentals of all ontological ideals, of faith (for people cannot sing without faith) and brotherhood, it has touched the imagination of the nation in a manner impossible to all movements presenting merely an expansion of the artistic ideal. Song concentrates the thought and power of the people, and a singing "unit" is a force the scope and effect of which cannot be estimated. This fact need not be allowed to rest on a general assertion; for the New York community chorus alone has given birth to movements already officially incorporated into the systems of work in operation in building up the new national army.

Much that is happening in the community song movement is as yet sporadic and without understanding or self-consciousness with respect of its nature and mission. But in spite of this fact the vitality of the idea has carried the movement everywhere into existence, and time must elapse before its great meanings can become plain to all.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON COMMUNITY MUSIC

In the spring of 1917 the first National Conference on Community Music was called in New York city by a group of people interested in the movement from different points of view. Mrs. Howard Mansfield of New York presided over the sessions of the conference. Persons interested and active in the movement came from many places, east and west, and almost every conceivable aspect of the movement was presented and discussed by authorities on the various aspects of the subject. This being the first general national recognition of the subject, the general movement for community music, embracing all its different phases, may be said to have been officially born on this occasion. It was here that the matter of community singing in the army camps, since so widely carried out, was introduced by Lee F. Hanmer, of the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities, and definite action inaugurated.

The community music movement as a whole we thus find taking its point of departure in a past aristocratic condition of musical art, passing into a mass of democratic musical activities having little purpose beyond carrying that same musical art out to more of the people, and at last, in its most widely accepted form, merging upon the spiritual movements of life. What this evolution means to the nation can scarcely be realized at this early period. The awakened men and women of to-day who are interested in these matters must thread their way through the course of the evolution and seek to find the place where evolution is met by revelation. That is the way in which the awakened soul deals with the evolution of human life, and the problem here is no different. The great potential message of music to mankind is not yet understood. We must first engage in bringing music to all mankind, learning quickly the best ways. Not until we have found our way to the spreading of this spiritual feast freely before all, will the greater reasons for doing so become manifest. We are moving rapidly to the goal, and are not far from revelations of the meaning of music to man beyond any which the past has known.

FUSION MISTAKES AND A WAY OUT

BY JOSEPH M. PRICE[1]
New York City

IN REVIEWING the last municipal campaign in New York city, in pointing out the mistakes of Fusion, a distinction must be made between the Fusion government of the last four years and the conduct of the campaign to re-elect it. If an administration in the city of New York deserved re-election, it was that headed by John Purroy Mitchel. No former administration has had as broad an outlook of municipal functions as a whole, or has had as difficult a situation to meet financially in carrying out its projects. It must be recollected that for over three years of the life of this administration there has been waged this great world war. It was building and financing a great new subway system and it had a comprehensive scheme for the development of the railroad situation so intimately bound up in the development of the city as a port. Its conduct of the finances of the city, especially in putting an end to the pernicious system of issuing bonds for things which would be used up before the life of the bond; its limitation of the corporate stock budget; the pay-as-you-go policy, would in a few years have placed the city of New York in an impregnable financial position. Among other great reforms of the administration, one could mention the adoption of the zoning system, which will be of inestimable value to the orderly growth of the city, and which if adopted years ago, would probably have obviated the great fluctuation of realty values in the city of New York; and the adoption of a modern building code. In spite of these things it met with an overwhelming defeat.

THE QUESTION TO ASK OURSELVES IS WHY

Is it possible for an administration that does these things to be continued in office? Some say we were going too fast in New York city, others, that the real fault of the administration has been its lack of humanizing elements, still others, that in doing these things so many enemies have been made and so much opposition aroused that continued success is impossible.

I do not believe this, and am probably one of a great minority who believe that this administration could have been re-elected. It is true great opposition had been aroused by these things, an organized opposition, but it is a fact that the managers of the last Fusion campaign did not realize the strength of the opposition until it was too late. The influences that dominated the Fusion committee of 1917 from its very beginning

[1] Member executive committee, fusion campaign of 1917.

naturally gave the impression that it was only the moneyed interests that were in favor of the mayor's re-election. The leaders really believed that money could re-elect the mayor, money not to be used for illegal purposes, but money for what they considered legitimate expenses, such as enormous sums for newspaper advertising, printing of pamphlets, billboard advertising, high salaries for expert directors of the various departments, most of which was spent in a perfectly puerile fashion. The point is, those directly responsible for the mayor's campaign had no vision of what the town was thinking about or interested in, nor did they have any political experience in managing municipal affairs or campaigns, though they were all good business men in managing their own affairs.

CITIZENS' COMMITTEES

Citizens' committees must make their own way into public confidence, they must justify themselves for their assumption of the direction of affairs. This committee did not secure the public's confidence and the town had no reliance upon its non-partisan character or its independence from party control. In this the town was thoroughly justified by the acts of the leaders in consulting the Republican leaders step by step in the formation of the committees' policies; not once during the campaign or in planning for it was the executive committee of the Fusion committee called together by its chairman for consultation, advice or information as to his plans. If it had been, many of the mistakes made, especially the proposal for spending such enormous sums, might have been obviated. The Republican leaders of the counties that make up Greater New York, care only for being represented on the ticket and except for the mayor, the nominee for president of the board of alderman and several county offices, the entire ticket was dictated by the Republican organization. In Brooklyn there was not a Democrat on the ticket. These facts were pointed out after the nominations by some newspapers friendly to the Fusion cause.

LOSS OF THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARIES

The fatal error, was of course, the loss of the Republican primaries. The excuse given by the Fusion leaders is that they took the advice of the majority of the Republican leaders, as to making a fight in the primaries for Mayor Mitchel. I would just as soon take the advice of the Kaiser as how to conduct the allied campaign on the western front. I would not take hostile advice in political matters.

The loss of the primaries by Mayor Mitchel with its attending irregularities, for which he was not in the least to blame, changed the whole psychology of the city. Before the loss of the primaries it was felt he could not be beaten and the talk was all that way; after the loss of the primaries the talk one heard around, even on the streets, was that "they did not see how he could win."

I believe Tammany Hall can always be beaten in the city of New York with a united opposition. People may say the united vote of Mr. Mitchel and Mr. Bennett was not enough to elect Mitchel. True, but that is not the whole story. The Republican enrollment in Greater New York is over two hundred and fifty thousand, the combined Mitchel and Bennett vote a little over two hundred and twelve thousand, surely fifty thousand votes were cast for Mayor Mitchel by men not enrolled in the Republican party, which leaves the Republican vote for Mitchel about one hundred thousand short of its enrollment. I believe Mayor Mitchel could have had these votes if they had not been alienated by the tactics of the Fusion leaders, for it has been shown that the Republican enrollment is for state and national purposes only, over half of it will vote independently in municipal elections and cannot be controlled by the Republican leaders.

The point I am making is that the Fusion leaders threw away the great asset of a citizens' movement, such as elected Mayor Mitchel four years ago, by dealing in conference with the Republican leaders, submitting to their demands for places on the ticket for votes which they do not control. The committee four years ago nominated a ticket and told the Republican organization to take it or leave it. The excuse for this year's procedure was that the Republican organization had not recovered from the sores of four years ago and therefore must be the primary consideration this year. The fact is, a ticket dominated by the Republican organization cannot win in the city of New York, and the only hope they have to get anything is by their endorsing a citizens' ticket, not in dominating it.

Everything we have gained in our struggles in New York city for the last twenty years in having the citizens themselves nominate their ticket has been lost.

THE NEED FOR A MUNICIPAL PARTY

In view of these facts and an important new factor, I have come to the conclusion that the time is ripe for the formation of a permanent municipal movement, call it by any name you like, party, committee or league. I have previously been opposed to this, for the reason that I have been doubtful as to keeping it alive without patronage, which is the life of most political organizations. I believe, however, we now should be willing to risk this, for we have learned a great deal in this city since the Van Wyck administration of 1898–1901, as there has grown up a body of men who can be banded together that know city affairs and are working out municipal problems on a basis of "know your city."

The important "new factor" is the granting of votes to women in New York. The progressive women in New York city have taken an active interest in municipal affairs for years past. Here is a large body of new voters not yet aligned politically that could be brought into a purely municipal party and should be an antidote to the patronage seeker and a great influence in guiding the city along progressive lines, by giving them a place where they can work for their city on an entirely non-partisan basis.

THE NEED FOR A MUNICIPAL PROGRAM

Such an organization will stand or fall upon its municipal program. American political tradition has been that we should have a two-party government, why not a two-party government in municipal affairs as well as state and national affairs, but not dominated by national or state political lines, but upon the lines of municipal, social and economic progress. Such a party when the time came for the nomination of a city ticket should be absolutely non-partisan (as far as national parties are concerned) in its selection and should have no hesitancy in renominating a member of the sitting administration, if it believed he had made good in office; it should always be in a position to criticize the acts of the administration, friend or foe, and offer helpful and constructive suggestions. It would not, like the Fusion committee of 1917, work upon a municipal platform for two months, then hastily whip it into shape in two days, never again to be heard of during the progress of the campaign. Such a body would become acquainted with the needs and interests of the various sections of a great city like New York. It would build up a band of disinterested citizens who would work sincerely for its success, have a place where the young men and women could find vent for their civic enthusiasm; it would do away with trying in the last few weeks of a campaign to effect a working organization; it would know before the beginning of the campaign which were "strike" organizations and which among them had merit; it would do away with financing various combinations of labor, nationality, race and color, to which so much time and money is devoted in a hastily constructed campaign organization; it would conduct between elections a speaking campaign of education, for reform must rest upon the intelligent understanding of the average citizen.

Such an organization need not entirely do away with the formation of a citizens' committee, but it would certainly obviate the necessity of it and would certainly prohibit the formation of any committee that was not a real citizens' committee. We must not forget that the other man believes in "good government" as much as we do, but he believes it can be secured in a different way. To be successful in our municipal movements, we must get that other man, he is the "average citizen"; if we don't, we will never make a permanent success. I believe he can be gotten.

THE RECENT NEW YORK CITY FUSION CAMPAIGN

BY RAYMOND V. INGERSOLL[1]
Brooklyn

AFTER a political turn-over so sweeping as was the recent election in New York city, it hardly seems profitable to speculate upon the relatively slight variations in result which might have flowed from different methods of campaign management.

The make-up of the Fusion committee of 1917 did not differ very radically from that of similar committees in previous years. It contained fully as much ability and political experience. It was a larger committee than usual, and had about the customary proportion of wealthy and prominent men. No two Fusion committees have been exactly alike, and this one contained a larger proportion than is usual of men closely allied with the Republican organization. The reason for this was obvious. The renomination of Mayor Mitchel—a Democrat—seemed like a foregone conclusion, and special consideration had to be given to the securing of Republican support.

LOSS OF THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARIES

As a matter of fact the one serious mistake in campaign management was the failure to get the mayor to make a direct personal appeal in the Republican primaries. The direct city primaries were a new feature. No previous Fusion movement had had to deal with them. It was realized that the Tammany Republicans—men hostile to the mayor for failure to get patronage and other political favors—as well as many who had been turned against him by certain sensational newspapers, would make a showing in these primaries. Even those Republican leaders, however, who were thoroughly loyal to Fusion were inclined not to take the Bennett candidacy very seriously and advised against having the mayor conduct personally a primary campaign. The losing of these primaries was a complete surprise to the community. It revealed for the first time the bitterness of the opposition to Mayor Mitchel and gave some indication of the unusual lines of cleavage among the voters and of the deep undercurrents of feeling which were about to sweep the Fusion government out of existence. While there is little doubt that had the Bennett primary campaign been taken more seriously Mayor Mitchel would have had the official Republican nomination, Tammany would surely still have scored a complete victory.

Aside from its misjudgment of the Republican primary situation the

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[1] Mr. Ingersoll was superintendent of parks in Brooklyn under Mayor Mitchel.

Fusion committee showed considerable ability in organizing and handling the campaign. It did not and could not create the chief issues, either by emphasizing the platform or otherwise. They already existed in the history of the administration, in the unusual conditions and feelings growing out of the war and in the personality and public attitude of the mayor and other leading candidates.

A SERIES OF ACCIDENTS

New Yorkers have been rightly proud of the steady improvement of civic standards since the days of Van Wyck and have believed that a complete reversion could not occur. However, anyone familiar with our city campaigns knows that the improvement in government was helped along greatly by a series of accidents. Eight years ago the effort to secure a complete fusion failed. But at the last minute the Hearst forces were persuaded by a hair's breadth to endorse the proposed Fusion ticket, with exception of the candidate for mayor. This action secured for the first time a Fusion majority in the board of estimate—in spite of the easy election of Judge Gaynor, the Tammany nominee for mayor. Four years later, Mayor Mitchel was elected largely as an outcome of Tammany's impeachment of Governor Sulzer and of the effective way in which this Tammany schism was played up in a spectacular individual campaign conducted by John P. Hennessy. Even with the exceptional circumstances of that year, and with Hearst supporting the Fusion mayoralty candidate, there would have been no Fusion victory had not the sudden death of Mayor Gaynor, after Tammany's refusal to renominate him and his nomination on a separate independent ticket, consolidated all anti-Tammany forces.

Prior to the election of 1917 the chances and accidents of politics were, on the other hand, highly unfavorable. Neither these accidents, however, nor any particular policies or methods of the Fusion committee could account for the great wave of popular feeling which showed itself at the polls. It might be added that no Tammany campaign within memory has seemed so weak and uninspiring as the campaign of last fall. But the popular mind had been set against Mayor Mitchel—in spite of all his unusual achievements—to a degree which could be little affected during a brief campaign.

VOTING ACCORDING TO RESENTMENTS

Even more than is usually the case, the votes appear to have been cast according to resentments. The only Tammany candidate who appeared to rouse any enthusiasm was Al. Smith, candidate for president of the board of aldermen. Yet Smith ran behind his less known colleagues on the city ticket because no one felt any special bitterness against his opponent.

It would not be difficult to enumerate the more important causes which produced the hysterical atmosphere of the 1917 campaign. They were such as to defy the best efforts of any campaign committee. Any very searching analysis of them, however, would only tend to keep open sores which should be allowed to heal.

Owing chiefly to large previous commitments, the administration had been obliged to make rather drastic reductions in expenditures, without any hope of securing thereby a lessening of current taxation. This was a thankless task. Individual antagonisms arising from retrenchment outweighed the approval of those who take an intelligent interest in effective administration. The number of persons adversely affected by thorough-going administrative reforms may not be relatively great, but these persons often make up in velocity of action what they lack in mass. Life in a city of 5,000,000 is so complex that comparatively few can really be made to comprehend such constructive governmental civic and social work as was done by the mayor's great departments.

The most far-reaching antagonisms against Mayor Mitchel were unquestionably the passions growing out of the public charities dispute, the unfortunate divisions of feeling created by war conditions—including opposition to the draft, discontent with war prices, and special personal antagonism among the large Teutonic population, usually opposed to Tammany—and the popular theory that the mayor was in some special sense a representative of the rich. This last feature had been worked up systematically by the Hearst newspapers for many months before the campaign started. It was seized upon and spread by large masses of voters whose opposition had already arisen out of the charities controversy and out of conditions produced by the war but who preferred not to openly base their campaign upon those issues.

To all appearances Tammany conducted a lifeless campaign. Its candidate for mayor presented no clearly defined issues. He read all his speeches and seemed to create enthusiasm nowhere. Nevertheless, his nomination had been shrewdly planned for a campaign in which an accumulation of resentments against the mayor was to be the main reliance. His residence in Brooklyn helped in some measure to obscure his Tammany connections. It was also advantageous in that the mayor was less known in Brooklyn than in Manhattan, and that opposition to the mayor had arisen in that borough on a number of local issues. Hylan's personality was in complete contrast. His administration would mean an all-round reversal of methods. His past life and all his connections were such as to be satisfactory to the various elements whose special grounds of opposition have been mentioned here. He contrasted well both with the real Mayor Mitchel and with the distorted caricature of the mayor so skillfully prepared for campaign uses.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

Community: A Sociological Study. By R. M. Maciver, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. $3.75.

In this work the author has set for himself an ambitious task. The study entails nothing of the minute; little of that which is local or merely contemporary. It is an effort to state and to describe the operation and development of the laws that seem to lie at the basis of the communal life of man. The author says in his preface, "In an early essay I remarked that there was no definite science of society beyond that contained in such specific studies as economics and politics. That view I now believe to be wholly mistaken, and I hope that this present volume adds one to the many disproofs of it revealed by the recent progress of the subject. . . . The greater portion of the work is concerned with what seem to the author to be the fundamental laws of social development." It is yet another courageous venture in man's age old search for unity.

While believing that the sum of man's life shall not be told by "tramway statistics alone" the author seeks no *deus ex machina* to help the erstwhile baffled pen over the "hard places" in the great drama of which he writes. The laws are not to be found outside the life of man superimposed from an alien source to govern inexorably his conduct with his fellowmen. Instead, they have their being in the minds of men, and are products of actions which men will. Men have a will to action, a will to seek the gratification of interests, and out of these, laws of common life and development come into being—and have their being. Into the question whence comes the will to action the reader is not led.

The interests of men are the source of all social activity, we are told, and community has its origin in the common interests of men. Further "the interests realizable in community outweigh the dissociating interests realizable by conflict and thus the permanence of community is assured.'' Armed with this assurance the vital question of the "reality of communal development" is considered. As criteria of development, the author cites, "the power to understand and estimate the claims of others in comparison with our own, the power to enter into relation with an ever-wider community, and to enter into more and more complex relations with his fellows and his sense of responsibility towards others within these relations." With these in mind, an appeal to history is made. The fallacies of "the golden ages of old" and "the noble savage" are laid bare. In short, measuring history by the above *criteria* we find "the essential progress of men . . . certain and verifiable." It is interesting to read in the preface that the work was written before the advent of the war. Yet the work has been published, a proof that he feels he has not erred in his judgment of history.

Of laws of development of community he finds three: the first, the most fundamental of all, he finds to be that, "Socialization and individualization are the two sides of a single process," a thing so obvious that "its true place" of importance has not been accorded it. In connection with this law he considers the problem of "the co-ordination of community and the problem of the unity of the individual life." "The power which inherited property retains as a determinant of social function" is the "chief obstacle" in the way of co-ordination of classes for the further development of community. In fact, the economic status of the individual is held to be of fundamental importance in the determination of all communal development. Yet we find him avoiding the barren fields of economic determinism. The second law he finds to be the progressive "correlation of socialization and communal economy." In a word he says, "Men. . . . compete more readily than they fight, and they co-operate more than they compete. . . . The law of success is the law of co-operation." But as cataclysmic events attest, this shall not be made law by the stroke of the pen. The third law of communal development he finds to be "the correlation of socialization and the control of environment." Briefly he holds that the increasing control of environment is secured chiefly through the increase of social co-operation. Finally, the operation of these laws establishes a unity that underlies all the forms of communal development.

Few, perhaps, will deny the existence of these laws or tendencies of development. Fewer still will have courage to believe that man's destiny lies in the hands of blind chance or pitiless determinism. Yet many there are that may deny the unity of purpose which these laws seem to postulate. While admitting the existence of the laws they will contend that social life in its unfolding looses new and yet more terrible forms of divergent and dissociating interests, which ever cloud the vision of a "great society" beyond. The answer will not be written by any one hand. All our statistics and our "data" cannot alone afford an answer. The answer—at least a partial answer—is being written with blood and infinite pain by the peoples of the earth on the battlefields of Europe.

One cannot but commend the sincerity and the fine care which Professor Maciver has brought to his task. While he lays claim to the discovery of no new continents, he treads a way that is yet beset with pitfalls—and escapes them if it is, on a few occasions, seemingly by a narrow margin. The work suffers from a certain abstractness and lack of sufficient illustrative material, these features being thrown into relief by the excellence of the illustrative material that is employed. The very scope of the task, however, must mitigate against such criticism. The "attempt," as the author humbly terms his work, is well worthy of a place of honor among the books that help to "push back the unknown" and will in all probability retain such place.

L. E. CARTER.

Western Reserve University.

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THE NATIONAL BUDGET SYSTEM AND AMERICAN FINANCE. By C. W. Collins. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 151. $1.25.

An interesting and concise presentation of the American financial chaos is just from the press. In handling this subject, especially at this time, Mr. Collins deserves thanks. He has given the man with an hour or so to spare an opportunity to know what other democracies have done, what a "budget system" is, how simply it can be introduced, why it will end the "pork barrel" and make every dollar spent by the government go where it is most needed and give a dollar's worth of service. The first section of the book outlines the budget systems of England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Japan.

In the second section of the book, Mr. Collins deals with the "undemocratic and vicious" (p. 97) American financial system. This section is written with a keener understanding of the living organism and less adherence to the constitutional husks of government. Mr. Collins is now at home. After showing with concrete instances that the estimates from the departments do not form the basis of the appropriations, that 29 committees are concerned with the budgetary business of congress, that a unified plan is not attempted, that "log-rolling" and "pork-barrels" are inherent in our present lack-of-system, and that the only auditing we have is done by a branch of the executive department, he brings us to the conclusion that we need a national budget system.

His solution is for the president to prepare the budget after consultation with the party leaders and the heads of departments, using the treasury department as his staff agency. This budget is to be submitted to congress, and there defended by the executive departments. To make the president unalterably responsible, the budget can only be adopted, decreased, or rejected by the legislature. In case of rejection, the Swiss system is followed, and the executive prepares an amended budget to meet the demands of the legislature. To control spending and to audit accounts, Mr. Collins suggests making the comptroller of the treasury an independent and non-political officer responsible to congress, where a committee of accounts with a chairman from the minority would check executive usurpation. This entire program, he shows, can be secured with very little difficulty, as far as the law and the constitution go. The change of five rules of the senate and house would turn the trick.

To those who fear the new powers of the president and the break-down of the division of powers, Mr. Collins says with unusual candor for a lawyer, "The president already participates in legislation and actually exercises the legislative initiative while the judiciary legislates constructively by interpretation and application of statutes. The adoption of the national budget system would carry us just one one step further in the direction we are already going" (p. 109).

The one feature of this constructive program which the student of the budget would question is the methods of solving a deadlock between the president and congress. It is a bit surprising to see a man who is so appreciative of group pressures pass over this most crucial point with such confidence. The Swiss analogy seems to have a few unconvincing features, for there is no national government with less partisan political activity than the Swiss, and no governmental system so unfitted to arouse partisan enthusiasm as an indirectly elected plural executive. The contrasts with our process of government are of more importance than the similarities. And further than that, when the president and congress disagree is the precise time that we wish to keep the issue clear-cut and the responsibilities unconfused. To salve over the differences and bury the hatchet will certainly dissipate responsibility. Is there any genuine solution for such a *political* deadlock short of an appeal to the final political authority?

But whether Mr. Collins' program is the final solution or not, it is the next step. It is in the right direction. His clear and concise volume deserves a wide reading.

LUTHER H. GULICK, 3rd.
Washington, D. C.

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HISTORY OF THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Eldon Cobb Evans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 102.

Dr. Evans gives the history of the Australian ballot not only in the United States but in Australia and England and prints in full the text of the original act for the province of South Australia, which is not to be found elsewhere in print in this country, it is believed. Professor John H. Wigmore's book, "Australian Ballot System," has only the South Australia electoral act of 1879 which condenses and revises the original of 1857.

Dr. Evans' dissertation contains an illuminating account of voting before the introduction of the Australian ballot which is both humorous and, from a democratic point of view, pathetic. He gives the story as "commonly reported" of the W. W. Dudley expenditure of $100,000 in Indiana in 1888 for organizing "floaters in blocks of five"—a story which I have verified from a near relative of this Mr. Dudley, living in the state at the time.

Dr. Evans shows that the predictions of a political millennium have not been fulfilled. That was to be expected by all sane persons, but some failures, which he points out, are due more to defective ballot laws inviting evasions of secrecy, rather than to the system itself when embodied in sound legislation.

This paper contains good samples of the two competing kinds of ballots—the office group as in vogue in Massachusetts and the party column. A table shows that the Massachusetts system is used in good form in 15 states, in two others with a party circle for a one cross vote for all party candidates, and 26 states have the party column plan. The paper contains also a valuable chapter on the attitude of the courts.

Dr. Evans groups together the objections and the answers that were made at the time of the introduction of the Australian ballot system in the United States and in England, but it seems strange he did not show how the objections were answered in the eating of the pudding, especially as quite extensive data have been published showing how those objections have vanished into thin air in actual practice.

The secret ballot system was in operation in Australia 16 years before it was enacted in the British parliament and 16 years in England before it was adopted in the United States. The Hon. Joseph Chamberlain stated that he believed the reason the secret ballot was called the "Australian" here was because of the unpopularity of British institutions in our country. I called his attention to Australia's prior claim to the title, as a matter of history.

The article is timely, valuable and carefully prepared. Dr. Evans concludes as follows: "It may be said that the Australian ballot is a decided advance toward a realization of true democratic government. While not completely destroying the evils of the unofficial ballot, it mitigated those evils. It has cleared away the obstacles which formerly prevented a free expression of the public will. It has made good government possible if the electors really want it."

Richard H. Dana.

Cambridge, Mass.

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Self-Surveys by Colleges and Universities. By William H. Allen, Ph.D. Educational Survey Series. Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.: World Book Company.

"Either we have been to college and are grateful or we have not been and are disappointed or we are thankful for having escaped." This and more says Dr. Allen in his handbook on self-surveys by colleges and universities. The American people spend something like $500,000,000 a year on higher education among the six hundred or more colleges and universities in the land, but no longer does it suffice for the hundreds of thousands of students attending these institutions to depend with olden time reliance upon their ultimate college or university halo for community recognition. Keener and keener is the competition that has grown up among the colleges and universities and other activities. Donors and taxpayers are asking more and more for concrete results from the faith that has been placed in these educational institutions. Students about to invest time, money and opportunity, are beginning to apply the principles of scientific selection in picking out their college and training ground. The experience of private business is repeating itself in the world of higher education.

To keep pace with the changing conditions, every college and every department within the college is coming to see that it must continuously and progressively study itself. To raise questions is the purpose of Dr. Allen in this book. "The starting point for common knowledge," he says, "is common questioning. No one can know the answers until the self-surveys are made." Readers who dislike thinking for themselves will find the book uncomfortable. The author, in his brilliant, analytical way, relentlessly asks questions about subjects which it is hoped will help trustees and students answer questions that are being widely asked about such phases of college and university life as: the effect of foundations upon colleges and universities; how president and faculty deal with one another; use and non-use of college space; effects of research upon teaching efficiency; methods of appealing and publicity; academic vacations; national conventions for trustees; co-education and segregation of the sexes; personality and selection of instructors; observation of class room instruction; lecture and over-lecture; English as taught and practiced; learning by doing; citizenship courses; keeping in touch with alumni; student cost of living; and education scapegoats. In form the book presents itself as a series of expositions, disquisitions, illustrations, arraignments, questionnaires (with blank spaces and pages for answers) under the following captions: the survey movement in higher education; procedure for a co-operative college survey; relation of president and faculty to trustees; faculty government; extra-curricular activities of students; courses of study; instructional efficiency; and relation with college communities.

Murray Gross.

Philadelphia.

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State Government in Pennsylvania. By Samuel B. Scott. Philadelphia: The Harper Press. $1.50.

Mr. Scott has given in these 272 pages, a good, readable account of the actual workings of the government of the Keystone state. Free from technical details and language and therefore easy of understanding, every effort has been made to secure accuracy. Its chief importance, however, lies in the fact that is is designed to aid those who desire to take an intelligent and effective part in the public affairs of the commonwealth. Surcharged with the modern civic and social spirit, Mr. Scott writes out of a full and useful experience as one of the secretaries of the old municipal league of Philadelphia, a present director of the city club of Philadelphia, and an independent member of the Pennsylvania house of representatives.

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Disasters and the American Red Cross in Disaster Relief. By J. Byron Deacon. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 75 cents.

The periodicity of disasters gives this volume in the "Social Work Series" a practical as well as a historical value. Mr. Deacon asserts that they do come; that no place is immune; that each year, whether in war or in peace, not less than one half dozen big catastrophes—floods, city-wide fires, mine explosions, tornadoes, shipwrecks—are bound to occur. The necessity of this volume was strikingly demonstrated by the fact that its proof sheets were ready on the very day of the appalling Halifax disaster, and its advice and experience thus made immediately available. The chapters are brief and based on first hand material not available hitherto in any form.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

Annual Report of The Smithsonian Institution. 1916. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1917.

The Book of New York. By Robert Hungerford. Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Co. $2.50.

Community Civics. By R. O. Hughes. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. Pp. 505. $1.25.

Co-operative Marketing. By W. W. Cumberland, Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Minnesota. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. Pp. 226. $1.50.

The Dawn of a New Patriotism. A Training Course in Citizenship. By John D. Hunt. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, Ltd. Pp. 353.

France Bears the Burden. By Granville Fortescue. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 214. $1.25.

Good Housing that Pays. A Study of the Aims and the Accomplishments of the Octavia Hill Association, 1896–1917. By Fullerton L. Waldo. Philadelphia: The Harper Press. Pp. 126.

The High Cost of Living. By Frederic C. Howe. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 275. $1.50.

History of the Pacific Northwest. By Joseph Schafer, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 323. $2.25.

Important Federal Laws. Compiled by John A. Lapp, LL.D. Indianapolis: B. F. Bowen & Company. Pp. 933, with supplement. 1917.

Income Tax Law and Accounting, 1918. By Godfrey N. Nelson. Second edition. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 364. $2.50.

Marketing and House Work Manual. By S. Agnes Donham. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. Pp. 241. $1.50.

New Zealand Official Year Book, 1916. Prepared under instructions of the Government of New Zealand, by Malcolm Fraser, Government Statistician. Wellington, New Zealand: Marcus F. Marks, Government Printer. Pp. 710.

Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia. Statistics for Period 1901–1916. No. 10, 1917. Prepared by G. H. Knibbs, Commonwealth Statistician. Melbourne: McCarron, Bird & Company.

The Play Movement and Its Significance. By Henry S. Curtis, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 346. Illustrated. $1.50.

Principles Governing the Retirement of Public Employes. By Lewis Merriam. New York: D. Appleton & Company. Published for the Institute of Government Research. Pp. 476. $2.75 net.

Rural Planning and Development. By Thomas Adams. Ottawa, Canada: Commission of Conservation. 1917. Pp. 281.

Theories of Social Progress. By Arthur James Todd, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 579.

Where the Great City Stands: A Study in the New Civics. By C. R. Ashbee. London: The Essex House Press, 37 Cheyne Walk. £1 1 s. net.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS.

Annual Report of the Police Department of New York City.—The report of the New York police department for the year 1916, issued as of the date August 1 of that year, is at hand. It is well worthy the careful study of students of social progress. Such a study shows how the police force of our largest American city is broadening its functions with the enactment of new laws by our legislatures and their interpretation by our courts. Fifty years ago the activities of an American police department were fully summarized by a statement of the arrests made by it. Those arrests covered only a portion, less than one half, of the offenses for which the police are now required to be on the lookout. Thus of the 200,901 New York arrests in 1916, 122,944, or more than 61 per cent, were for offenses against regulations for public health, public safety and public policy. Of these specified arrests, nearly if not quite 100,000 were for misdemeanors or felonies not recognized by the statutes nor known to the police before 1860. These arrests for new offenses created by modern statutes mark one doubling of the field of police activity in the period which separates the time when Fernando Wood was mayor of New York and Arthur Woods was commissioner of police.

Again we note that in making these arrests for offenses unknown to the police of a half century ago, the New York patrolmen aided 122,345 persons such as the sick, injured, lost children, etc. This branch of current police helpfulness, once rarely exercised, constitutes a greater volume of activity than the arrests for offenses known to the police of the days of Fernando Wood.

Attention is called to these statistics of the given report to show how the average policeman is becoming a friend and helper of large numbers of those needing his assistance. Police departments are everywhere becoming more and more embued with the spirit of helpfulness and co-operation. No statistics are available at the present time to exhibit fully the practical results of this new spirit. Something of that spirit can be seen in the benefits arising from wise modern traffic regulations and the kindly, even if dictatorial directions of traffic policemen. It is also evidenced by the efforts of the police to educate the public to prevent accidents, to facilitate transportation and in numberless kindred ways.

A most striking field in which this helpful service of modern police departments is exercised is that which is connected with the organization and direction of junior police. The 10,000 adult policemen of New York are now assisted by and associated with 4,000 boys known as the junior police. These boys are organized in 22 different police precincts and are by the police given instruction in military and athletics as well as in civil government and good conduct. The boys are helped to a good time, trained in the duties of citizenship, and made helpers. The police are beginning to establish good relations with the boys, who 50 years ago were their natural and bitter enemies. In this way they are organizing good order and the observance of law on its most durable foundation. Further, by turning the city hoodlums into city guardians, the police are organizing a movement which in time will do more to decrease juvenile and adult delinquency than can be attained by juvenile arrests, juvenile courts and juvenile prisons whether known as reform schools or by other designations.

With the broadening of the field of his activity the average policeman is brought more and more in contact and co-operation with the well disposed in their several cities. Relatively, he has less to do with the criminal and law-breaking classes. In this way the police as a body are changing front, and it is becoming more difficult with the passage of the years to prostitute the police as a body to base purposes; and more possible to make the police force a power for social reform and genuine democratic progress.

Cannot someone with the records available contrast some of the earlier police reports of New York city with this last one, and by such contrast bring out in detail the story of the evolution of the good side of modern police activity? Such a story if well written will bring out the fact that with the passage of years and its enlargement of the field of police activities, the policemen of New York have been gradually converted into true social servants and active agents of democracy in achieving a more efficient municipal government. The writer also believes that such a study, if well made, will afford a ground for a civic faith that the New York police will be better directed in the future than in the past, even though reform commissioners like Arthur Woods are displaced by the exigencies of Tammany politics.

L. G. Powers.

Washington, D. C.

Direct Primaries in New Jersey.—It was about time somebody told us what direct primaries have been doing to further the cause of representative government. Until Dr. Boots[1] made his study of the direct primary in New Jersey, most of the evidence in the case consisted of nearly equal parts of enthusiasm for and aversion to this change in the system of making party nominations. Under the direction of the New Jersey state chamber of commerce, Dr. Boots conducted a study of the system in New Jersey, which is unique in its thoroughness and impartiality.

Counties of typical population, urban, rural and mixed, were selected for intensive study, and investigators were sent to these counties to examine the official data for the purpose of determining the extent of participation in the primary before 1908 and thereafter. Similar studies were made of the character and political responsibility of the primary nominees and the cost of elections. Opinions on the various phases of the subject were obtained from municipal clerks, auditors, county chairmen, county clerks and representatives of the commercial organizations.

Dr. Boots has found that, contrary to early promises, the direct primary has not materially increased the participation of even party voters in primary elections; that in but 8 per cent of all cases have contests arisen to justify such participation and that the party organizations practically control the choice of candidates as formerly. It has been found that the legal requirement that each voter declare his party affiliation in order to vote at the primary has driven many voters away. As to the cost of primary candidacy, few records were available, but it was the opinion of most of the persons consulted, that the direct primary had materially increased the expenditures on the part of the candidates themselves. The author found also little evidence to support a conclusion that the type of officials elected to public office under the direct primary system had been materially improved.

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[1] The Direct Primary in New Jersey. Ralph Simpson Boots. New York, 1917. Privately published.

Apparently the chief service which the direct primary has served in New Jersey, at least, is that of giving to the voters of the party an opportunity to oppose the organization slate whenever they might so desire and give their support to independent candidates.

Since this book was written, an independent organization, inspired principally by the anti-saloon forces and favoring local option in liquor matters, has conducted a successful election for members of the assembly from Essex county. The contest involved the expenditure of a very considerable amount of money and much intensive organization and campaigning. Dr. Boots does not by any means minimize the value of the direct primary system, but his study of the subject gives rather cold comfort to those who a few years ago offered the direct primary as the solution for most of the current political ills.

The author favors the adoption of a method of selecting the party organization which will make that organization responsible and responsive to the party voters. He also favors the provision of some simple and effective means whereby those party voters who do not approve of the organization nominees may, if they desire, call for a contest and support independent candidates.

This puts the direct primary in a rather new light as something for emergency use after the general plan and conception of the initiative, referendum and recall. That is to say, parties are to be given control while they behave themselves, but there should always be a gun behind the door with which to bring them to time. Governor Hughes in New York seems to have had somewhat the same conception of this institution.

The New Jersey state chamber of commerce, for whom Dr. Boots prepared this study, is doing some exceedingly effective work in the investigation of state government. The organization, unfortunately, is not as well known among political scientists and practical investigators as it should be, possibly because of its own somewhat misleading (though perfectly appropriate) name, which seems to indicate a commercial rather than a research agency.

H. S. Gilbertson.

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Widows' Pension Legislation[1] is the subject of a recent number of *Municipal Research.* Chapter one contains a brief historical statement of the origin of the principle of mothers' pensions in several of the states and a discussion of the experience of the cities of San Francisco, Kansas City, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Louis. There is also a cursory review of the laws of the various states which may very well have been omitted in view of the comprehensive tabular digest of the mothers' pension laws of twenty-eight states which is inserted at the end of chapter one. This digest, by the way, should be credited to the legislative reference section, New York state library, as Legislation Bulletin no. 41. In his historical discussion of the New York law the author states that "The act is not mandatory but permissive." This statement is but half true. The act is altogether mandatory as to the creation and organization of boards of child welfare but is permissive as to payments, the boards of supervisors not being compelled by the law to make appropriations.

In chapter two the "significance of pensions" is discussed from the standpoint of theory. Not being satisfied with the usual theories, the author analyzes the laws themselves and finds these four reasons for enacting widows' pension laws: (1) To endow motherhood; (2) to indemnify widows for their widowhood; (3) to furnish relief because of poverty or need; (4) the conservation of childhood. Rejecting the first three, he holds the fourth to be the real motive.

The problems of administering widows' pension laws are discussed in chapters three and four. "The task of the administrator is essentially one of planning and standardizing welfare for certain classes of children and then proceeding to install those plans and standards." The pension is not allowed without investigation which calls for: "(a) social data; (b) vocational data; (c) physical data; and (d) financial data." These four general groups are subject to further division showing in detail the numerous questions that enter into each individual case. "This plan of intensive investigation and verification may appear formidable . . . but nothing can be more dangerous or destructive to the progress of the entire pension movement than lax methods in investigation."

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[1] Widows' Pension Legislation. Bulletin no. 85, May, 1917. Bureau of municipal research and training school for public service, New York city.

Thoroughgoing administration, however, waits upon effective organization. Co-operation is desired between private charities and local boards and between these instrumentalities and a state board. Four present forms of organization are noted: (1) the overseers of the poor; (2) the juvenile courts; (3) the school authorities; and (4) child welfare boards. None of these, however, are entirely satisfactory.

The concluding chapters present a criticism of the provisions of the New York law and its administration. The law itself is held to be little more than a "temporary expedient" and a number of weak points are noted. With respect to the administration of the law it is held "that the time has not yet come for a thorough evaluation of widows' pension work in New York state."

As a serious study dealing with "widows' pension legislation" one would expect to see considered all laws on the subject enacted to date. No attempt appears to have been made to discuss legislation subsequent to 1915. The author might have found something of interest in the Maryland act of 1916 and in the laws of Arizona, Delaware, Maine, Texas, Vermont and West Virginia enacted in 1917. There is also a noticeable lack of bibliographical data.

William E. Hannan.[1]

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[1] Legislative reference librarian, New York state library.

The Kansas State Printing Plant.—For more than a dozen years, all printing for the various Kansas state officers, boards and institutions has been done at the state's own printing plant at Topeka, and so satisfactory have been the results that any proposition to return to the former method of handling state printing would be overwhelmingly defeated by the voters.

Prior to 1905, the public printing was done at the office of a state printer, named by the legislature and paid according to a schedule of prices fixed by statute. This scale was sufficiently generous to make the office one of the most coveted within the gift of the state. With the growth of the state departments, the amount of work done by the printer naturally increased, with the result that the emoluments of the office enjoyed a proportionate expansion.

The first move toward a more economical method of handling this work was made in 1903, when the legislature submitted to the voters a constitutional amendment placing the state printer on a straight salary. This proposition carried in the general election of 1904 and the following January, the legislature fixed the salary at $2,500 a year and provided for the establishment of a state printing plant.

Grounds and building cost the state $36,000, and the equipment approximately $75,000. In 1913, the legislature enlarged the sphere of the plant's usefulness by authorizing state publication of textbooks and voted an appropriation of $150,000 for the purchase of additional ground, the enlargement of the building and the installation of necessary new equipment.

That this measure carried easily indicates the success of the plant. Tables showing the cost of stock and of printing during the last seven years under the old system and during the first seven years under the new proved a most effective argument as to the ability of the state to handle the additional work satisfactorily and economically. That the amount of work done in the latter seven-year period was much greater is evident from the fact that $27,005.19 more was spent for stock than during the last seven years under the old system; but in spite of this, the printing cost was $193,098.04 less, enough to replace the entire plant and leave a handsome surplus.

With the addition of school book publication to its field of activity, the state printing plant is effecting even greater savings. This work has been taken up gradually. W. C. Austin, state printer at the time of the adoption of the system, installed the book-making machinery and printed the first Kansas textbooks. The present state printer, W. R. Smith, succeeded him and his administration has been marked by the successful development of this feature of the work.

Kansas had enjoyed uniform textbooks for years, the adoptions being made under five-year contracts. After the adoption of state publication, as these contracts expired, plans were made for doing the work in most cases at the state plant. Now, one of the high school texts and all of the grade school texts, with the exception of the geographies, are published at the state plant.

While this work is still in its infancy, more than two million finished volumes have been produced and other orders in course of fulfilment will swell this total a half million more. In addition, 325,000 writing texts were furnished by the plant in 1917. Some idea of the number of persons benefited by this work is gained from the statement that more than a million and a quarter volumes were sold to Kansas pupils in the first half of the present fiscal year and the saving to them was about $200,000.

State publication has not only not interfered with the completion of other state printing, but it has increased the efficiency of the plant, making it possible to maintain a larger force of skilled operatives and a lower manufacturing cost. It has resulted in school books being furnished to the pupils at prices averaging 40 per cent less than those charged by book companies, even under five-year contracts.

The state, in publishing school books, supplies them at cost but in fixing the price on the book, every item of cost is included, so that the taxpayers are not taxed to make up a saving to purchasers of textbooks. The reason for the price made by the state being lower than that fixed by private companies is that the state charges no profit and its marketing cost is much less. No attempt is made to save money by slighting the quality, and the texts compare favorably with any that can be obtained for the same grades.

With the increase in the amount of printing required by the seventy-odd departments, boards and institutions it serves, its savings are proportionately larger. When the saving on textbooks is added, the plant saves enough to replace itself every three years. Some years it does much more. A conservative estimate shows that the saving on the work done this past year was enough to replace the entire plant, grounds, building and equipment.

W. R. Smith.[1]

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What is a House?[2]—Last fall the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* sent Mr. Ackerman to England to learn what had been done there to meet the housing shortage in munition centers. England's problem was enough like that which confronts America to-day to make it well worth while to study her experience. This pamphlet is the result of Mr. Ackerman's trip. It contains an argument for house building as a federal government enterprise, discusses British prewar methods, and then takes up the British war-housing program. This is illustrated by a number of drawings and floor plans of the cottages the British government has erected for its war workers. Several pages are devoted to a description of the present housing situation in the United States which ends with the following "Synopsis of a program for the United States":

First, create a central body with

(a) Powers to acquire land under authority equal to that created by the

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[1] State printer, Topeka.

[2] By Frederick L. Ackerman. Published by the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects.* Washington, D. C. 52 pp.

Defense of the Realm Act. The final disposition of property need not now be treated.

(b) Powers to survey needs for housing facilities and to determine, in co-operation with a central priority board, the relative importance of industrial operations.

(c) Powers to design and construct communities where the needs of such have been made evident by the survey.

(d) Powers to operate and manage these communities during the war, and for a few years thereafter, along lines of policy similar to that expressed by what is known as the co-partnership tenants or public utility societies in England.

(e) Powers to maintain a high standard of physical well-being in munition plants (adopting the standards set by our most progressive industrial corporations) and to organize community activities within the communities thus created.

The second step:

Create a commission to study the final disposition of these properties. Such a commission should consider such questions as:

(a) The organization of local non-profit corporations to manage and develop the communities created during the war.

(b) The saving of the appreciation of land values for the benefit of the community as a whole.

(c) The establishment of the part of the cost which should be written off as belonging to the cost of the war.

(d) The basis upon which such communities could be transferred to municipalities, or non-profit corporations.

During the fall and winter the *Journal* has devoted a large part of its space to a discussion the housing situation in America, the pamphlet noted above being only a part of its campaign.

John Ihlder.

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The Buckeye Land Company, a subsidiary of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, is seeking to decrease the labor turnover of the parent company by building houses for employes. Like most other industrial concerns building houses, the Buckeye company is doing it not from desire but from necessity. Consequently it is seeking to reduce the task to the simplest possible terms, and, according to one of its officials, these are pretty simple. But so far as the evidence goes he has in mind only the building of the houses, not their management. The greater number of the houses the company proposes to sell as rapidly as possible.

This Youngstown work has two distinct parts. First, there is a colony of group or terrace houses on some 40 acres. Each family will have three or four rooms, one of which will be on the ground floor. Each house will have water, sewer and electric light. Adjoining each house will be space for a small garden. The buildings are of pre-cast concrete slabs, walls lathed and plastered, wooden floors over concrete, and tile roofs. The purpose is to make them fireproof and vermin proof. It is hoped to rent them for from $12 to $16 per month—the company believes that it should receive at least 5 per cent net on its investment. These houses are for aliens exclusively. Their prospective tenants are men earning a minimum wage of $19.50 per week.

The second development is both larger and more pretentious. It will occupy a tract of 219 acres and, in the words of the manager, will be "a town for people who live on an American standard." The description of the site indicates that it is attractive. John Nolen and Morris Knowles who have been retained to develop the area may be counted upon to make the most of its natural advantages. The houses here are to be sold to the employes of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company whose minimum wage is $25 per week.

Seemingly the Buckeye management, like many another at the beginning of a housing undertaking, has thought of it only in terms of house building. Admittedly that is comparatively simple—provided one can get the capital, the materials and the labor. But even if it succeeds in selling all the houses in the American town as fast as they are finished, it still proposes to retain and rent those in the alien colony. It will be interesting to learn, five or six years from now, whether it has succeeded in this management to such an extent as to be enthusiastic over the results, or whether its tone will then be apologetic. And will the task still seem "pretty simple"? J. I

Housing Conditions in the City of St. Paul.[1]—If one were to begin this report without expectations and were to read without questioning, he would, whether a citizen of St. Paul or not, find it an interesting volume. It is well printed, well illustrated and contains many tables and a number of graphs. It takes up the principal phases of bad housing and gives a clear statement as to conditions found by the investigators. After reading it no one can doubt that St. Paul, like every other city that has been investigated, contains all the things that go to make up bad housing. What distinguishes St. Paul from other cities, as it does any city one chooses from every other, is that the emphasis is different. Of course that is about all the difference possible in a world where the results of human activity are usually varying shades of gray instead of being either black or white. So there would be no reason for disappointment if one had no expectations. The report proves that St. Paul has bad housing, some of it very bad. So clearly does it prove this that the author feels impelled to state his hope "that the citizens of St. Paul will not take the unpleasant facts revealed in this report as intended to disparage either the potential or actual merits of St. Paul as an industrial or residential center." Surely there is no cause to fear such a conclusion. Did not equally proud—and quite equally attractive—Minneapolis a few years ago take a look at its back yard and learn facts quite as unpleasant? The result has not been disaster, as St. Paul knows. Rather the contrary. Minneapolis secured a housing law similar to the one Dr. Aronovici recommends for St. Paul and its real estate men have ever since been regular attendants at housing conferences.

J. I.

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Paving Inspection by Civic League of Cleveland.—The street paving committee of the civic league of Cleveland has performed a valuable service to the citizens and taxpayers of Cleveland by supplementing the city's inspectional service. During the season of 1917 the league's engineer and inspectors kept in constant touch with the city's 48 paving inspectors, making daily visits to the various jobs, keeping a record of each inspector's work, and making a full report concerning each man to the league's committee.

"Marked improvements during the season have been noted everywhere," the committee reports in the January *Civic Affairs*. "A number of inspectors, who, at the beginning of the season, were inclined to be late on the job in the morning and inattentive to the work, have, after a few reports and reminders, become prompt and attentive to their work. Some, who at the beginning of the year were indifferent, have become first class inspectors."

One of the results of the league's inspection work has been the appointment of a committee of engineers to draft a street code for Cleveland. Most cities have building codes, fire codes, health codes and the like, but so far as is known not a single city has attempted to frame a compact and complete code covering the important work of street construction, maintenance and regulation.

Cleveland is in particular need of such a code. Although the present charter has been in force four years, no ordinances have been framed and adopted properly organizing the engineering and street divisions and distributing the functions relating to street construction and maintenance. Regulations governing the location, construction and maintenance of pipes, lines and conduits under the streets are totally inadequate. Little attention is paid to the preparation of permanent maps, plans and records of subsurface structures. Too little effort is being made to improve the appearance of street fixtures by regulating their use and location, and avoiding, wherever possible, duplication of fixtures.

Although it is appreciated that the problem of drafting such a code presents many difficulties, the evident need and the seriousness of the present situation seem to justify the effort.

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[1] Report presented to the housing commission of the St. Paul association. By Carol Aronovici, Ph.D., director of social service, Amherst H. Wilder Charity. 120 pp.

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Minnesota's Codified Children's Laws.—The first state to adopt a comprehensive legislative code affecting children is Minnesota. It is a striking tribute to the forces for public welfare in that state that an unpaid commission appointed by the governor in 1916, and with only a small appropriation at its disposal, should have submitted to the legislature in February, 1917, a complete revision of the state's child welfare legislation; and more striking perhaps that of the forty-one separate bills submitted thirty-five were passed practically intact.

The children's bureau of the state board of control at St. Paul now comes along in September with the finished product published in a pamphlet volume entitled "Compilation of Laws of Minnesota Relating to Children." It is edited by William W. Hodson, the attorney who acted as executive secretary for the commission.

Although Ohio in 1913 was the first state to start the movement for codifying children's laws, Minnesota has gone much further, by dealing not only with state agencies, but county and municipal as well. The whole range of activities for children in the state has been thoroughly overhauled and definitely interrelated. State administrative supervision is admirably combined with local autonomy of counties and cities. To Judge Edward F. Waite of Minneapolis, judge of the juvenile court and chairman of the commission, is due much of the credit for the statesmanship of this most significant piece of state legislation for children.

The code is part of a new national movement for uniform standards in all the states. Work is now under way in some ten states, Missouri and Minnesota being the first to publish a report and to secure action.

Roger N. Baldwin.

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A North Carolina Club Yearbook for 1916–1917,[1] devoted to the wealth and welfare work in North Carolina, has been published by the University of North Carolina. It is an effective summary of the forces and agencies that are "making or marring, creating or crippling North Carolina to-day." It differs from the usual yearbook in many respects, but most importantly in frankly facing the actual condition of affairs and suggesting ways and means for improvement. It is of more interest and value to students of state and county government than to students of municipal government, for municipalities do not bulk large in North Carolina, although there are a number of urban communities that are developing at a lively rate. The handbook is issued under the auspices of the bureau of extension of the University, of which Dr. E. C. Branson is the intelligent and effective director.

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The American Society of Municipal Improvements did not hold its convention in 1917 on account of the war. It was decided, however, by the executive committee to gather the papers and committee reports that would have been presented at the convention and publish them in sections during the year. The first instalment has been issued containing papers dealing with sewage, forms of contract for unusual construction, street improvements, and the reports of the committees on water works and water supply, sidewalks and street designs, also the report of the secretary, whose address is now Bloomington, Illinois. The transactions are copyrighted.

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City Planning in Sacramento.—Abundant illustrations from European city planning characterizes the second annual report of the California state capital planning commission. The work at Sacramento began with a committee of five in the chamber of commerce. Under the late Charles Mulford Robinson and afterward Werner Hegemann, the committee was increased to 150. This was followed by the engagement of Dr. John Nolen, whose city plan was written into the municipal code. The city, meantime, had acquired nearly 900 acres of municipal park. Then came the creation by the legislature of a state commission to develop Sacramento under the Nolen plan as a model capital. The second annual report of this commission is now ready for distribution. Free copies may be had by addressing State Librarian M. J. Ferguson, Sacramento, California.

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[1] Chapel Hill, N. C. 25 cents, postpaid.

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"Good Government," the official organ of the National Civil Service Reform League, appears in new form beginning with the January issue. It now consists of 16 pages, pamphlet size, double column. Not only has the typography been greatly improved, but the matter is presented in a much more lively and effective way. The chief emphasis of the number is given to the federal service. It is to be hoped that in future numbers the movement in cities, counties and states will receive larger consideration than has heretofore been the case.

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Town Planning Institute [London]. Papers and discussions, 1915–16. [1917.] 185 pp.

Two papers especially notable are: Davidge, W. R., "Arterial roads in Greater London," pp. 49–70; and Thompson, F. L., "Width and allocation of space in roads," pp. 115–132.

Whitten (R. H.). Report to the Committee on City Plan. Contention made that control should be exercised over erection of buildings within lines of proposed streets. (Record and Guide, Dec. 15, 1917: 771–772.)

A Digest of the papers and discussions of the first meeting of the American City Planning Institute, held in New York City on November 24, 1917, is published in the December issue of The City Plan. The time of the meeting was spent largely in considering the experience of New York City with its zoning law.

Contracts

Grant (F. W.). Preliminaries to taking bids and letting contracts. Parts 1–2. (Amer. Architect, Dec. 12, 26, 1917: 424–426; 471–472. illus.)

Harvard University. Graduate School of Business Administration. Provisional outline [of course in] cost inspection [for government contracts]; with topical list of readings. 1917. 14 pp. typewritten.

Courts

Lauer (E. J.). Conciliation and arbitration in the Municipal Court of the City of New York. (Amer. City, Jan., 1918: 23–24.)

New York County Lawyers' Association. Report of the Committee on Practice and Procedure in the Municipal Court. May 3, 1917. [6 pp.]

Education

See also Americanization, Auditing, Schools, Vocational Education.

Abbott (Edith), and Breckinridge (S. P.). Truancy and non-attendance in the Chicago schools. A study of the social aspects of the compulsory education and child labor legislation of Illinois. 1917. 472 pp.

Anon. Use of the "movies" in education. (Bul., Natl. Assn. of Corpn. Schools, Jan., 1918: 9–17.)

Anon. Works schools: a sinister suggestion. (Athenaeum, Dec., 1917: 639–640.)

Refers to vocational training as provided in the recent Education Bill in England.

Anon. Rural education. III. Central and Continuation Schools. (Athenaeum, Dec., 1917: 645–647.)

Bobbitt (Franklin). The plan of measuring educational efficiency in Bay City. (Elementary School Jour., Jan., 1918: 343–356. charts, tables.)

Darrah (David). Field work as a new educational principle. (Educ. Rev., Jan., 1918: 20–29.)

Gruenberg (B. C.). The functions and organization of a bureau of information and investigation for the Department of Education in New York City. (School and Society, Dec. 22, 1917: 728–733.)

Institute for Public Service. Rainbow promises of progress in education. Nov., 1917. 88 pp. illus.

National Association of Corporation Schools. Fifth annual convention; addresses, reports, bibliographies and discussions, Buffalo, N. Y., June 5–8, 1917. 1917. 893 pp.

Contains a good deal of material on education.

Perry (A. C., Jr.). The problem confronting the new Board of Education of the City of New York. Nov., 1917. 11 pp.

Mr. Perry is District Superintendent of Schools.

Talbot (Anna H.). The work-study-play plan vs. the old time formalism. (Educ., Dec. 1917: 197–204.)

United States. Bureau of Education. The money value of education, by A. C. Ellis. 1917. 52 pp. diagrs. (Bul., 1917, no. 22.)

Elevators

Elevator Manufacturers' Association of the United States. Uniform regulations for the construction and installation of passenger and freight elevators. Adopted Oct. 12, 1917. 47 pp.

Mr. Martin G. McLauthlin, 120 Fulton St., Boston, Mass., is chairman of the committee in charge of these regulations.

Fire Protection

Adamson (Robert). Reducing a city's fire waste: a problem in public education. (Amer. City, Dec., 1917: 507–510. illus.)

Anon. Fire apparatus operation. [Tables.] (Mun. Jour., Dec. 15 and 22, 1917, Jan. 5, 1918.)

Anon. Gasoline consumption by fire apparatus. Average miles run per gallon last year by each kind of apparatus in each of two hundred and fifty cities. (Mun. Jour., Dec. 29, 1917: 430–432.)

Anon. Auxiliary fire equipment [Tables.] (Mun. Jour., Jan. 12 and 19, 1918: 36–37; 56–58.)

Anon. City payments for fire protection. (Mun. Jour., Jan. 26, 1918: 76–78. tables.)

A compilation based on reports of the U. S. Census Bureau.

Gillette (J. C.). Factory fire protection [with discussion]. (Jour., Cleveland Engrg. Soc., Nov., 1917: 165–185.)

Hull (W. A.). Comparison of heat-insulating properties of materials used in fire-resistive construction [with discussion]. (Proceedings, Amer. Soc. for Testing Materials, June, 1917. Pt. 2, 424–452. illus.)

Massachusetts. Joint Special Recess Committee on Building Legislation. Report relative to fire protection in schoolhouses, Jan., 1917. 1917. 41 pp. (Sen. doc. no. 340.)

National Board of Fire Underwriters. Regulations governing the installation of automatic and open sprinkler equipments recommended by the National Fire Protection Association. 1917. 77 pp.

Food Supply

American Academy of Political and Social Science. The world's food. C. L. King, ed. 1917. 313 pp. (Annals, Nov., 1917.)

Massachusetts. State Department of Health. The food of working women in Boston. An investigation by the Department of Research, Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston, Lucile Eaves, director, in coöperation with the State Department of Health. 1917. 213 pp.

New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. The adequacy and economy of some city dietaries; by H. C. Sherman and L. H. Gillett. 1917. 32 pp. diagrs. (Pubn. no. 121.)

Pack (C. L.). Urban and suburban food production: its past and its future. 1917. 4 pp.

Published by the National Emergency Food Garden Commission, Maryland Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Health Insurance

See also Pensions.

Alexander (M. W.). Some vital facts and considerations in respect to compulsory health insurance. 1917. 15 pp.

Andrews (J. B.). Progress toward health insurance. 1917. 8 pp.

Reprinted from Reports and Addresses of the National Conference of Social Work, 1917.

Bradley (R. M.). Health insurance and the medical profession—from the financial and administrative point of view. (Boston Med. and Surg. Jour., Nov. 15, 1917: 698–700.)

Housing

See also City Planning.

Ackerman (F. L.). What is a house? Our national obligation. The story of England's colossal work in building workmen's houses as a prerequisite to maximum output of war munitions, and as a part of her program of social and economic reconstruction after the war. 1917. 52 pp., plans.

Reprinted from the December issue of the Journal of the American Institute of Architects.

Aldridge (Henry R.). Housing and town planning in 1917. (Mun. Jour. (London), Jan. 4, 1918: 11–12.)

Anon. Building a town to house three thousand shipbuilders. (Engrg. News-Record, Jan. 31, 1918: 227–230. illus.)

The industrial town laid out by the U. S. Shipping Board at Bristol, Pa.

Anon. Government housing scheme. Well Hall, Eltham, Kent. [1917.] 28 pp., plates. diagrs.

Extract from Journal of the American Institute of Architects.

Cincinnati Better Housing League. Home, health, happiness. [1917.] 20 pp. illus.

This pamphlet is designed to instruct the poorer classes in the fundamentals of good housing conditions.

Connecticut Mills Company. The village beautiful. Better wages, better homes at the Connecticut Mills, Danielson, Conn. [12 pp.], plates.

——. The village beautiful for mill operatives; it pays, and why. [16 pp.] plates.

Feiss (P. L.). The Cleveland Homes Company; a plan for housing Cleveland's workers. An address before the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Oct. 9, 1917. 1917. 9 pp.

Forster (H. W.). Industrial housing. (Jour., Engrs'. Club of Philadelphia, Jan., 1918: 18–21.)

Discusses the problem now confronting the principal industrial centers.

Harvard University. Department of Social Ethics. Low-cost cottage construction in America. A study based on the housing collection in the Harvard Social Museum, by Winthrop A. Hamlin. 1917. 30 pp., charts.

Lasker (Bruno). The housing of war workers. Lessons from British experience for the fulfilment of an urgent task. (Survey, Jan. 5, 1918: 390–397. illus.)

National Housing Association. Housing problems in America. Proceedings of the sixth National Conference on Housing, Chicago, Oct. 15, 16 and 17, 1917. 1917. 462 pp.

——. A war emergency in housing. Letter to President Wilson [and report of Committee on War Time Housing]. Nov. 30, 1917. 8 pp.

Institutions

See also Food Supply, Public Health.

Bardwell (Francis). Standards of almshouse administration. Necessities may be demanded, comforts asked for, reasonable pleasures hoped for—Difficulty of attaining uniform standards—Principles of legislation—Necessity of individual investigation and work. (Modern Hospital, Dec., 1917: 393–397.)

Hornsby (J. A.). Standardization of hospitals—class VI, large municipal hospitals. Creation of medical staff through competitive examination first great forward move—All other departments benefit—Political control the curse of public institutions—The story of the Cook County Hospital, Chicago, as an illustration. (Modern Hospital, Dec., 1917: 409–412. illus.)

Massachusetts. Joint Special Recess Committee on Building Legislation. Report upon a plan for a uniform building scheme for the institutions in which the feeble-minded and insane of the commonwealth are confined, including the construction, alteration and maintenance of said buildings. n. d. 12 pp. (Sen. doc. no. 332.)

Minnesota. State Board of Control. High cost of living in state institutions critically analyzed [and remedies suggested], by George W. Beach. 1917. 16 pp.

Nascher (I. L.). The institutional care of the aged. (Proceedings, Natl. Conf. of Social Work, 1917: 350–356.)

Pollock (H. M.) and Furbush (E. M.). Insane, feebleminded, epileptics and inebriates in institutions in the United States, Jan. 1, 1917. (Mental Hygiene, Oct., 1917: 548–566.)

Labor

American Association for Labor Legislation. Review of labor legislation of 1917. Sept., 1917. 618 pp. (Amer. Labor Leg. Rev., v. 7, no. 3.)

California Commonwealth Club. Industrial unrest. (Transactions, Dec., 1917: 481–529.)

A report of the Club's discussions on labor troubles and the high cost of living.

Merchants' Association of New York. Readjustment and operation of industry in England since 1914. A [detailed summary] report of five conferences between employers [of New York City, northern New Jersey and Connecticut] and representatives of the British Ministry of Munitions, Nov., 1917. 28 pp.

United States. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Industrial unrest in Great Britain. Reprints. 1. Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into Industrial Unrest. 2. Interim report of the Reconstruction Committee, on joint standing industrial councils. Oct., 1917. 240 pp. (Bul. no. 237.)

Legislation

American Bar Association. Tentative review of 1917 legislation; report of the Committee on Noteworthy Changes in Statute Law. 1917: 64 pp.

Lighting

See also Public Utilities.

Illuminating Engineering Society. Report of the Committee on Progress. (Trans., Nov. 20, 1917: 344–407.)

Massachusetts. Board of Gas and Electric Light Commissioners. Report of an investigation relative to establishing a calorific standard for gas, under chapter 167, General Acts of 1916, by C. D. Jenkins. 1917. 77 pp.

Powell (A. L.). The lighting of New York City's new $3,000,000 garbage disposal plant. (Gen. Elec. Rev., Dec., 1917: 964–967. illus.)

Rose (S. L. E.) and Butler (H. E.). Street lighting with modern electric illuminants. (Gen. Elec. Rev., Dec., 1917: 945–963. illus.)

"This article amounts practically to a handbook on street illumination, covering both incandescent and arc lamps from the illumination standpoint, and enables anyone having to do with street lighting to compare different units on the basis of illumination."

Stickney (G. H.). Illuminating engineering publicity. (Trans., Illuminating Engrg. Soc., Nov. 20, 1917: 219–343.)

United States. Bureau of Standards. Gas-mantle lighting conditions in ten large cities in the United States, by R. S. McBride and C. E. Reinicker. Oct. 29, 1917. 37 pp. (Technologic papers no. 99.)

Liquor License

Chicago. City Council. Committee on License. Report . . . on the public licensing, regulation and control of the liquor traffic in Boston and New York City. Dec., 1917. 58 pp.

Markets

Foster (H. M.). Food middleman presents his own case. His contention is that every proposed substitute contains him in disguise—Solution of the problem in community co-operation. Dec. 16, 1917. [1 p.]

Extract from New York Times Magazine, Dec. 16, 1917, p. 11. Author is general manager of the New York Wholesale Grocers' Assn.

Indiana. University. Co-operative retail delivery. The organization and methods of central delivery systems, by W. S. Bittner. Sept., 1917. 30 pp. (Bul., Extension Div.)

Powell (T. C.). Scientific marketing. Remarks at a meeting of the Traffic Club of New York, Oct. 30, 1917. 14 pp.

Weld (L. D. H.) and others. Marketing survey of New Haven; conducted for the Town and City Improvement Committee of the New Haven Chamber of Commerce. 52 pp.

Milk Distribution

See also Accounting.

Boston Chamber of Commerce. The milk question in New England. An investigation of the cost of producing milk in New England and its distribution in Boston, with recommendations. Dec., 1917. 57 pp.

Chicago. City Council. Report on the more economic distribution and delivery of milk in the City of Chicago, by the Committee on Health. Dec. 3, 1917. 15 pp. (Mun. Ref. Bul. no. 8.)

Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce. Educational Committee. Milk and its distribution in Philadelphia. 1917. 12 pp. illus. (Educ. Pam. no. 8.)

Municipal Government and Administration

See also Annexation, Charters, City Planning, Public Health, Public Service, Purchasing.

Bureau of Municipal Research, Akron, Ohio. Report on standardization of salaries and grades for the City of Akron, with recommendations. Nov., 1917. 43 pp. Mimeographed.

Commission of Conservation, Canada. Urban and rural development. Report of conference held at Winnipeg, May 28–30, 1917. 1917. 98 pp.

Mr. James White is Deputy Head of the Commission, whose headquarters are at Ottawa.

Cushman (Robert E). American municipalities in war time, I. (Amer. Municipalities, Jan., 1918: 109–113.)

The first part of a paper read before the Ill. Municipal League in Dec., 1917.

New Orleans. Mayor. Martin Behrman['s] administration [and] biography, 1904–1916. 1917. 144 pp. illus.

This volume was issued as a souvenir of Mayor Behrman's twelfth anniversary as Mayor of New Orleans.

New York City. Borough of Manhattan. Lecture delivered on October 10, 1917, by J. W. Adams, Secretary of the Borough, as the first of a course of lectures on borough government arranged by the Committee on Education of the Welfare Committee of the Borough of Manhattan. 1917. 4 pp. typewritten.

Peterson (A. Everett) and Edwards (George W.). New York as an eighteenth century municipality. Part 1: prior to 1731. Part 2: 1731–1776. 1917. 259 pp., plates.

Reed College Record (Portland, Ore.). A statistical study of American cities. 41 pp. (No. 27, Dec., 1917.)

Contains interesting graphs for 36 cities showing their respective standing as to rates of wages, deaths, infant mortality, proportion of population married, church membership, child labor, parks, pavement, fire loss, public properties, school attendance, illiteracy, etc.

The Toronto Annual, 1917. Issued with the approval of the Mayor and the Board of Control, by Heaton's Annual Publishing Co. 1917. 104 pp.

Woman's Club of Minneapolis. Brief outline of the Minneapolis city government. Prepared by the Social Economics Department. 1917. 32 pp.

Municipal Ownership

See also Markets.

Public Ownership League of America. Municipal electric light and power plants in the United States and Canada, by Carl D. Thompson. 1917. 149 pp. (Bul. no. 1.)

Copies may be had (price, 50 cents) from the League's Secretary, Dr. Carl D. Thompson, 4131 N. Keeler Ave., Chicago.

Thieme (T. F.). Municipal ownership—the salvation of our cities—some objections [refuted]. (N. J. Municipalities, Dec., 1917: 12–13.)

Parks

American Association of Park Superintendents. Report of Committee on Standard Cost Records. (Parks and Recreation, Oct., 1917: 36–40.)

Parks and Recreation is the newly established official organ of the American Association of Park Superintendents. The Managing Editor is Roland W. Cotterill, Seattle, Washington.

Pensions

See also Health Insurance.

Bush (S. P.). Special report on old age pensions. (Proceedings, Natl. Assn. of Mfrs. of the U. S. of Amer., May 14–16, 1917: 48–64.)

Citizens' Research League of Winnipeg. Your forgotten liability of $700,000 for pensions. Jan., 1918. 10 pp. (Bul. no. 6.)

Police

Griffiths (A. E.). The ideal policeman. An address read before Washington State Conference of Social Welfare, June 1 and 2, 1916. [1917.] [8 pp.]

Reprinted from New Jersey Municipalities, Sept., 1917.

Massachusetts. Special Commission on Constabulary and State Police. Report. Jan., 1917. 43 pp. (House no. 539.)

Mayo (Katherine). Cherry Valley. A true story of state police. (Atlantic Monthly, Feb., 1918: 175–181.)

Woods (Arthur). The police department of New York City. Pt. 2. (Modern City, Dec., 1917: 16–20. illus.)

Ports and Terminals

American Association of Port Authorities. Selected bibliography on ports and harbors and their administration, laws, finance, equipment and engineering, compiled by William J. Barney, Secretary. Aug., 1916. 144 pp.

Boston Chamber of Commerce. The Port of Boston; its problems. A summary of the situation, made by P. T. Cherington for the Joint Sub-committee on Lighterage. Nov., 1917. 35 pp.

See the Review for Jan., 1918, p. 84.

Crossland (James). The placing, design, and arrangement of railway terminals [with discussion]. (Papers and Discussions, Town Planning Institute, 1915–16. 1917 29–47 pp. illus.)

French (J. B.). The development of car float transfer bridges in New York Harbor. 1917. 58–76 pp. illus.

Reprinted from Proceedings of the Connecticut Society of Civil Engineers for 1917.

Harding (H. McL.). Harbor and port terminal facilities and works. 1917. 11 pp., plates.

Paper presented before the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, 1915–16.

Rea (Samuel). What the Pennsylvania Station is to New York City. Nov. 28, 1917. [4 pp.]

This is an open letter by the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad System, published in "Information," a bulletin issued by the company. Mr. Rea writes in reply to an editorial in the New York Evening Mail, which asserted that the construction of the Pennsylvania Station, in the center of New York City, by a single railroad system, was an economic error.

Staniford (C. W.). Handling freight on New York's new steamship pier. Equipment details for Forty-sixth Street wharf on Hudson River represent latest ideas of steamship men. (Engrg. News-Record, Dec. 6, 1917: 1058–1060. illus.)

Tomkins (Calvin). War and transportation. Address before the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Sept. 11, 1917. [4 pp.]

The world's greatest port. I. The public interest, by Hon. C. S. Whitman. II. A gigantic freight transfer, by Hon. W. E. Edge. III. Organizing New York's port facilities, by Irving T. Bush. (Am. Rev. of Revs., Feb., 1918: 168–170.)

Power Plants

Harding (Louis A.) and Willard (Arthur C.). Mechanical equipment of buildings. A reference book for engineers and architects. v. 2. Power plants and refrigeration. 1917. 759 pp. diagrs.

Sloan (H.). The electrically operated ice plant [with discussion]. (Jour., Amer. Soc. of Refrigerating Engrs., Nov., 1917: 269–297. diagrs.)

Wolff (Mark). Pumping station cost and efficiency records. 1917. 347–354 pp.

Reprinted from the Journal of the American Water Works Association, Sept., 1917.

Public Health

See also School Hygiene.

Brend (W. A.). Health and the state. 1917. 354 pp.

This is an English book and relates exclusively to health problems in England.

Contents: The sanction of the state to safeguard the national health; Nature and disease; Infant mortality and its problems; Disease and defects in children and adults; Public health, land, and housing; Medical treatment among the working classes; Public health and the national insurance act; Public health and fraud; The complexity of public health administration; The need for a ministry of public health; Public health and local administration.

Bureau of Social Hygiene. Commercialized prostitution in New York City, November 1, 1917. A comparison between 1912, 1915, 1916 and 1917.

The office of the Bureau of Social Hygiene is at 61 Broadway, New York City.

Chicago. Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium. Annual report for 1916. 98 pp., plates.

This report is of exceptional interest for every one interested in public health problems.

Cleveland Hospital Council. Public health legislation, considered and enacted by the 82nd General Assembly, Ohio, 1917. Report of the Legislative Committee. Sept. 1, 1917. [12 pp.]

Dublin (L. I.). Community health on a national scale. (Survey, Nov. 17, 1917: 167–168.)

Frankel (L. K.) and Dublin (L. I.). A health census of Kansas City, Missouri. 1917. 11 pp. (Seventh community sickness survey.)

—— ——. Sickness survey of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. 1917. 22 pp.

—— ——. Sickness survey of principal cities in Pennsylvania and West Virginia. 1917. 78 pp. (Sixth community sickness survey.)

These surveys are undertaken by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company with the idea that communities can best raise their health standards when they know the extent of their sickness losses.

Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and the Chelsea Neighborhood Association. A health census of Chelsea neighborhood, 14th to 42d Streets, 5th Avenue to the Hudson River, New York City. 1917. 16 pp.

National Conference of Social Work. Proceedings. Part 4, Health; reports, addresses, discussions, forty-fourth annual meeting, Pittsburgh, Pa., June, 1917. 258 pp.

The proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work (formerly National Conference of Charities and Correction), are published this year in a series of "hand-books."

Contents of Part 4: Public health and social welfare; The campaign against infant mortality; Public health nursing; Economy in diet; Co-ordination of health activities.

Pan American Scientific Congress. Proceedings of second congress, Dec. 27, 1915 to Jan. 8, 1916. Sec. 8, Pt. 1, Public health and medicine. v. 9. 1917. 714 pp.

Preble (Paul). Appropriations for city health departments. Summary of expenditures of 330 cities in the central and eastern United States for public health work. (U. S. Pub. health reports, Dec. 7, 1917: 2072–2078.)

"The general conclusion to be drawn from the tables presented is that appropriations for health departments in the United States vary quite directly with the size of the community and are in general insufficient for proper functioning of these departments."

Rankin (W. S.). Evolution of county health work. (Am. Jour. of Pub. Health, Dec., 1917: 998–1002.).

Trautschold (Reginald). Cost of industrial health supervision. (Industl. Management, Jan., 1918: 48–54. tables, charts.)

United States. Public Health Service. Malaria control: a report of demonstration studies conducted in urban and rural sections, by R. C. Derivaux and others. Sept., 1917. 57 pp., plates. (Pub. health bul. no. 88.)

Wilson (J. G.) and Hommon (H. B.). Improving sanitary conditions at Leavenworth. Control of health activities in the extra-cantonment zone around Fort Leavenworth, Kan., by U. S. Public Health Service—Apparent inadequacy of water purification plant. (Mun. Jour., Jan. 26, 1918: 69–72.)

Jervis (J. G.). Meat inspection. (Jour., Amer. Veterinary Med. Assn., Dec., 1917: 263–267.)

McGregor (G. M.). Cold storage and meat inspection [with discussion]. (Jour., Royal Sanitary Inst., Oct., 1917: 107–115.)

Savage (W. G.). Meat inspection in rural districts [with discussion]. (Jour., Royal Sanitary Inst., Oct., 1917: 101–106.)

Public Safety

See also Elevators, Public Utilities.

Edholm (C. L.). Scientific accident prevention in the large city. Some of the means of attaining this end developed in St. Louis. (Sci. Amer., Jan. 5, 1918: 9. illus.)

Frankel (L. K.). The increasing automobile hazard. An address delivered before the Association of Life Insurance Presidents, Dec. 7, 1917. 1917. 10 pp.

The experience of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company indicates that the death rate from automobile accidents has trebled since 1911. In this address Dr. Frankel analyzes the problem and suggests remedies.

Massachusetts. Highway Commission. Twenty-fourth annual report, for the fiscal year ending Nov. 30, 1916. 1917. 291 pp., plates.

Contains (pp. 204–213) the results of an investigation of the causes of 675 motor vehicle accidents in which 429 pedestrians were killed or injured: in the 265 cases in which pedestrians were killed, the pedestrian was wholly at fault in 162 and partly to blame in 43; the operator was wholly to blame in 51, and partly at fault in 43; in most of these cases the accident could easily have been prevented by exercising a little more care.

New York State. Department of Labor. Industrial code. Proposed rules for the guarding of dangerous machinery. [1917.] 16 pp.

Copies may be had on application to Room 2015, 230 Fifth Ave., New York City.

Watkins (J. A.). Mitigation of the heat hazard in industries. (U. S. Pub. health reports, Dec. 14, 1917: 2111–2121.)

Public Service

Allen (W. H.). Universal training for citizenship and public service. 1917. 281 pp.

Partial contents: Universal training for citizenship is possible; Training privates for minimum essentials; Training for volunteer civic work; Training for drillmasters and teachers; Special training for leadership in civic work; Training for entrance to civil service; Training for the professions; Training for continuance in public and quasi-public service.

Massachusetts. Supervisor of Administration. Report upon the classification of positions in the state service for the purpose of determining salaries. A study of the problem of personal service. Dec., 1917. 98, 4 pp. typewritten.

Meriam (Lewis). Principles governing the retirement of public employes. 1918. 477 pp. (Publication of the Institute for Government Research.)

Public Utilities

See also Accounting, Contracts, Street Railways.

Buchner (C. E.). The war and our gas companies. Utilities Mag., Dec., 1917: 13–15.)

Reviews the conditions under which the New York City gas companies are recovering toluol for the use of the War Department.

Ford (Arthur H.). Service clauses in public utility franchises. (Amer. Municipalities, Jan., 1918: 108, 124.)

Goodman (L. S.) and Jackson (W. B.). Effects of war conditions on cost and quality of electric service. (Proceedings, Amer. Inst. of Elec. Engrs., Jan., 1918: 23–39.)

Pittsburgh. City Council. Report on electric rates in Pittsburgh, Pa., made to city council by C. E. Bown, June 12, 1916. 1916. 46 pp. (Bill no. 1342.)

Comparison is made with rates in force in New York and a number of other cities.

Prouty (C. A.). Regulation of public utilities. (In: Proceedings, Second Pan Amer. Sci. Cong., 1915–16, v. 11: 16–21.)

Thelen (Max). The duty of the state commissions during and after the war. (Utilities Mag., Dec., 1917: 3–13.)

——. Advantages of administrative tribunals in the determination of controversies. (Utilities Mag., Jan., 1918: 3–9.)

Thom (A. P.). The relation of central to local control in the regulation of public utilities. (In: Proceedings, Second Pan Amer. Sci. Cong., 1915–16, v. 11: 491–505.)

United States. Bureau of Standards. Public utility service standards of quality and safety. Oct. 6, 1917. 8 pp. (Circular no. 68.)

Purchasing

Baker (Arthur). Stores in connection with the municipal purchasing department. (Purchasing Agent, Jan., 1918: 21–23.)

Fawcett (Waldon). The influence of food control upon purchasing practice. (Purchasing Agent, Dec., 1917: 165–168.)

Galloway (Lee). Educating the purchasing agent. (Purchasing Agent, Dec., 1917: 161–164.)

Keene (A. M.). Purchasing department forms used by a public service corporation [the Westchester Lighting Company].—V. (Purchasing Agent, Dec., 1917: 182–184. illus.)

Travis (E. M.). Buying supplies for the state [of New York]. Movement afoot for establishment of a central purchasing agency for supplies to take the place of the present costly system. (State Service, Jan., 1918: 46–50.)

Tucker (Philip W.). Baltimore's system of centralized purchasing and what it means. (Modern City, Dec., 1917: 29, 52.)

Refuse and Garbage Disposal

See also Lighting.

Allen (H. A.). Refuse reduction processes. (Surveyor and Mun. and Cy. Engr., Nov. 16, 1917: 428–429. illus.)

Abstract of paper presented at a meeting of the Chicago Section of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers.

Dyck (G. E.). The treatment of garbage. 1917. 44 pp. (v. 1, no. 3.)

Contents: Rendering; Incineration; Stock feed; Poultry feed; Crockery for brick and cement; Fertilizer; Soap grease; The prevention of obnoxious odors; The prevention of flies; The natural rotation of crops.

Schroeder (J. P.). Millions from city garbage. A plea for the conservation of the fertilizing elements in garbage. (Amer. City, Dec., 1917: 499–503. illus.)

Shears (J. A.). The Staten Island garbage disposal works—Cobwell system. (Monthly Bul., New York City, Dept. of Health, Oct., 1917: 109–118. illus.)

Roads and Pavements

See also City Planning.

Anon. A state highway system for Delaware. Special report by Chief Engineer C. W. Upham describes proposed routes, traffic and methods of construction. (Good Roads, Jan. 26, 1918: 39–40, 44. illus.)

Brown (C. C.). The designing of concrete pavements. Discussed in the light of most recent experiences and investigations—importance of drainage still not appreciated—selection of materials—cement, fine and coarse aggregate—reinforcement—jointing materials. (Mun. Jour., Jan. 5, 1918: 8–10. illus.)

E. I. Du Pont de Nemours Powder Company. Road construction and maintenance. [1917.] 127 pp. illus.

Howard (J. W.). Basic principles of design, construction, maintenance and financing of roads and pavements. (Mun. Engrg., Jan., 1918: 8–12. illus.)

Ontario (Canada). Department of Public Highways. Report on street improvement, Ontario. 1917. 200 pp. illus.

United States. Department of Agriculture. The expansion and contraction of concrete and concrete roads, by A. T. Goldbeck and F. H. Jackson, jr. Oct. 13, 1917. 31 pp., plates. (Professional paper. Bul. no. 532.)

—— ——. Standard forms for specifications, tests, reports, and methods of sampling for road materials; as recommended by the first Conference of State Highway Testing Engineers and Chemists. Nov., 1917. 56 pp. (Bul. no. 555.)

Schools

See also Education, Taxation, Vocational Education.

Anon. Natural gas furnace heats rural school. (Metal Worker, Plumber and Steam Fitter, Jan. 25, 1918: 132–133. plan.)

Arizona. The school laws of Arizona, 1917. Issued by C. O. Case, superintendent of public instruction. 1917. 156, xii pp.

Averill (L. A.). Rural school supervisor in New England. (Educ., Jan., 1918: 361–373.)

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NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Alameda County Charter.—There have been movements under way looking towards the adoption of a county charter for Alameda county, thereby providing in some degree a certain measure of home rule; but the tax association of Alameda county while believing that a county charter is better than operating under the general law, has in mind other features, such as the doing away with all duplication of offices and functions with which such a community with its several municipalities is burdened. This means the consolidation of the cities' and the county's business, but the task is not an easy one. A chief difficulty is to be found in the constitutional provisions permitting consolidation. These provisions surround the submission of the question to the several municipalities with many obstacles and uncertainties, so much so, that the association is afraid the voters would not fully understand the proposition when presented, and might vote negatively thereon. At any rate, the opponents would use as arguments against the merger, all of the uncertainties that might come to any consolidation, owing to the looseness with which the constitutional provisions covering city and county consolidation have been drawn. If these sections were short, and only granted power, leaving the details to be worked out by an enabling act, it would have been much better. An initiative amendment to the constitution, adopted some four years ago while apparently general, was drawn to fit San Francisco, to enable it to merge with San Mateo county. Unfortunately this amendment goes into detail and produces a situation as regards Alameda county, if it should proceed under it, of compelling it to submit the question "with the cart before the horse." In other words, under the present sections, the first question that would be submitted to the separate municipalities would be in the following form:

> Shall (Berkeley) join with the city of Oakland in a consolidated city and county government to be governed by a charter to be *hereafter* prepared within two years, by *freeholders elected within the city of Oakland?* The same proposition would have to be submitted separately in each municipality within the county.

The serious objection to this is that the people of Berkeley, or any of the other cities, would never vote for consolidation, when such consolidation is to be governed by a *charter to be hereafter prepared by freeholders*, which they have no voice in choosing and which charter comes after the merger.

There are many other incongruities provided in the section, all of which form high hurdles difficult to surmount.

Recognizing these conditions, the association prepared and presented to the last legislature an amendment to the constitution adding a new section that will permit the submission of the question to the people as it believes it should be. This amendment passed both houses without a dissenting vote and will be submitted to the voters of the state for ratification at the general election, November, 1919. There is no opposition to it, and it is reasonably certain that it will be ratified. Unfortunately, the old section could not be amended, as San Francisco wished it to remain practically as it is. So the new amendment adds a section and provides an alternative method of submitting the question. It does not apply to San Francisco county or Los Angeles county.

The association is not losing any time, for under the old section if it was really workable in the case of Alameda county, four years would have been needed to campaign and call nine or ten separate elections in the several municipalities.

The San Francisco initiative amendment having gone into much detail, the association was compelled to make its amendment practically an enabling act worked out in every detail. Consequently, it is necessarily long. Immediately upon its ratification an election can be called and possibly if the cogs work smoothly consolidation may be effected within one year.

The advantages of the amendment are:

First—that instead of dealing with the several councilmanic bodies in the county, all proceedings looking toward consolidation are conducted by the county board of supervisors.

Second—The charter is prepared and filed of record in advance of any invitation extended to the several municipalities to join the merger. In this way the people are fully informed as to just what sort of a government is contemplated before being ask to vote.

Third—Small localities, whether incorporated or not, will be unable to stop the merger, if the contemplated consolidation should surround these localities.

Fourth—Should consolidation provide for boroughs—the rights and powers of such boroughs can never be taken away, unless and by the consent of the electors of the particular borough affected.

Everything is carefully worked out in the amendment, even to provision for a separation of the county—should the eastern portion thereof, which is practically all rural, desire to separate itself from the western portion, which is all urban and contains seven distinct municipalities including Oakland, Berkeley and Alameda.

A tentative charter has been prepared which practically covers the whole situation. The charter was prepared by a legal committee of the association of which Thomas H. Reed, now city manager of San José, was the chairman and guiding spirit.

E. W. Williams.[1]

*

Proposed Amendments to Cleveland Charter.—Cleveland is experiencing its usual post-election agitation for amendments to its charter adopted in 1912. Six have already been proposed, as follows: (a) To substitute the single choice nonpartisan ballot without a primary for the preferential ballot. (b) To provide for woman suffrage. (c) To extend the term of mayor from two to four years. (d) To extend the term of members of the council from two to four years. (e) To require the councilman to be a resident of the ward at the time of his election. (f) To change the method of selecting civil service commissioners by providing for one to be elected at large, one to be appointed by the council and one to be selected by the employes in the classified service.

Preferential Ballot.—After each election, since the adoption of the charter, one or the other of the party groups have proposed the elimination of the preferential ballot, which is thoroughly distasteful to the average party worker. In 1913 the Socialists submitted an amendment, which was defeated at a special election. In 1915 the Democrats proposed an amendment which the council, after hearing from the newspapers, refused to submit to a vote. The Republican group, at present in power, now proposes a similar amendment. Each time the proposed amendment has had the serious defect of providing for a single choice ballot without the elimination primary, and the supporters of the preferential form have been able to convince the public that the proposal was wrong in principle. The effort to amend the charter is likely again to be defeated because of the financial stringency which confronts the city, a special election costing approximately $50,000. There are no funds appropriated or in sight to meet such an expense.

The civic league has appointed a committee to consider these proposed amendments and to make recommendations to the executive board. The probabilities are, however, that none of the amendments will be submitted this year, because the director of law has held that they cannot be submitted at a party primary and must be submitted as required by the charter either at the regular municipal election or at a special election called for the purpose of voting upon these amendments. No funds are available to meet the expenses of a special election.

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[1] Secretary, tax association of Alameda county.

Strangely the opposition to the preferential ballot has been growing in Cleveland, although the opposition can point to no serious defects in the operation of the system. The number of second and other choices has not been large, and in only five out of eighty-one officers elected on the preferential ballot in the three elections have the results been other than they would have been on a single choice ballot. In 1913, 25 per cent of the voters expressed second and other choices; in 1915, 33 per cent, and in 1917 only 22 per cent.

MAYO FESLER.[1]

⁂

City Manager Changes.—W. R. Patton has succeeded C. T. Cain as city manager of Morganton, N. C., and Captain Edward O. Heinrich[2] has been selected as city manager of Boulder, Colo.

John Kneebone, a graduate of the University of Michigan, has been appointed city manager of Beaufort, S. C., succeeding Harrison Gray Otis. Mr. Kneebone has to his credit two years of useful experience in the office of the city engineer of Flint, Mich. He is the third man from the University of Michigan to take up the city manager profession, the other two being Mr. Otis and W. M. Cotton, who is now manager of Edgeworth, Pa.

H. L. McDuffie has been appointed city manager of Madill, Oklahoma, succeeding J. K. Ross, and Sam C. Gary has been appointed city manager of Denton, Texas, in place of P. J. Beyette.

J. Newton Johnston, a civil engineer from Florence, S. C., has been made city manager of Ocala, Florida, (population 6,000) beginning his duties February 15.

⁂

Dayton Loses City Manager.—Henry M. Waite, who has been city manager of Dayton since the inauguration of the plan there in 1914, has been commissioned lieutenant-colonel in the signal corps of the American army and has sailed for France to take up his work there. In the meantime the administration of affairs in Dayton will be carried on by the staff which he has built up. The loss to Dayton is a great one. Concerning his removal to another field of activity, the Columbus *State Journal* had this to say editorially:

> The city manager of Dayton, Mr. H. M. Waite, is going to France to help rebuild the villages of that country and Belgium. It is a very important work and no better man than Mr. Waite could be gotten for it. There will be a sense of loss to the cause of decent city government in Mr. Waite's leaving it for war work. He has been a power in raising Dayton in the opinion of the nation. That city has been growing onward and upward ever since Mr. Waite directed its destinies. He has shown what a commission government can do when intrusted to a courageous and clear-headed man. Dayton is likely to suffer unless as good a man is put in Waite's place, for already the politicians are baiting their hooks for plunder. Dayton has won distinction throughout the land and Ohio is proud of her, because she has kicked politics to hades and conducted her government upon the plane of justice, fairness and common sense. Mr. Waite has left a $12,500 job for a $3,500 one. That alone shows how big a man he is.

James E. Barlow, the service director of Dayton, was elected city manager to succeed Col. Waite, at a salary of $7,500.

⁂

Lincoln, Nebraska.—The second attempt of Lincoln, Nebraska, to adopt a home rule charter was successful. At a special election in November a home rule charter was carried by a majority of 990 to 135. The reason for the exceptional majority was that the only issue before the voters was that of home rule, the home rule charter convention having compiled the existing legislative provisions affecting Lincoln into a charter which was submitted to the voters.

⁂

Kalamazoo's city-manager charter with proportional representation provisions was adopted at the special election on Febuary 4 by a vote of 2,043 to 659, every precinct in the city registering a substantial vote in its favor.

⁂

Municipal Ownership in New York City.—At the quadrennial city election last November the successful candidates for mayor, comptroller, president of the board of aldermen and the five borough presidents, who together constitute the board of estimate and apportionment of the city of New York, were men who had been nominated on the Democratic (Tammany) ticket, and had run upon a platform which included a declaration for "public ownership and operation of all public utilities including traction, gas, electric and the telephone." The plurality secured by these candidates was so overwhelming that, taken in conjunction with the very heavy Socialist vote, and with the fact that the Fusion candidates themselves were pledged to the extension of municipal ownership as far as the finances of the city would permit, would seem to indicate that the people of New York were of one mind on this general policy. This is far from being true, but the customary political camouflage of the campaign resulted in substantial unanimity as the record was made at the polls.

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[1] Secretary, Cleveland civic league.

[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 103.

During the campaign Dr. Milo R. Maltbie, city chamberlain under the Mitchel administration, himself well known as an advocate of public ownership, and a recognized authority on public utility problems, prepared for use in combatting the program of the Tammany candidates a statement containing an estimate of the cost to the city of acquiring all the public utilities included within the terms of the Democratic platform. He pointed out that the gross funded debt of the city on June 30, 1917, was $1,437,000,000, and the temporary debt $52,000,000. Deducting the assets in the sinking fund he found the net bonded debt to be approximately $1,055,000,000. He estimated that there were at least 140 public utility companies which would be affected by the program of the Tammany candidates. This list included 17 gas companies, 10 electric companies, 3 gas and electric companies, 2 electrical subway companies, 7 water companies, 50 street railway companies, 5 rapid transit companies, 21 steam and electric railroads, 1 telephone company, 16 wire companies, 7 steam and refrigerator companies and 1 electric supply and street railway company. He estimated that the cost of acquiring the physical property of the principal local utilities, excluding those doing a large amount of business outside of the city, would be at least $840,000,000 and that the cost of railroad, telephone, telegraph and signal properties within the city limits would be at least $350,000,000 more without any allowance for severance damages. These estimates were based upon the average prices that prevailed prior to the war. He estimated that, if current prices were to be used, the cost would be increased at least 50 per cent. He called attention to the fact that these estimates were not based upon the earning power of the properties, and contained no allowance for franchises, most of which, in New York city, are perpetual. He estimated that the amount to be paid for franchises and earning power in condemnation proceedings would not be less than 30 per cent of physical value, thus bringing the cost of the strictly local utilities up to $1,100,000,000 and of the local portion of the railroads and wire companies up to $500,000,000 or more. This would make the minimum expense of acquiring, by condemnation proceedings, all the public utility properties within the city of New York covered by the Democratic declaration of policy up to $1,600,000,000, which is 50 per cent more than the present net bonded debt of the city. The position of the Fusion candidates was that any considerable extension of the policy of municipal ownership at the present time would be financially impracticable, and that the city's efforts in this line should be directed to the acquisition of its remaining private water companies and the electrical subway companies.

To anyone familiar with the magnitude of the public utility properties of New York city, and with the prices paid by cities for such properties, whether by agreement or in condemnation proceedings, Dr. Maltbie's estimates will appear extremely conservative. In fact, it is roughly estimated that the immediate adoption of municipal ownership as applied to all local public utilities throughout the country, would involve an expenditure on the part of the municipalities of approximately four times their existing gross funded debt. On this basis the possibility of the adoption of municipal ownership in New York looks comparatively rosy, but this appearance is a result of the enormous debt which the city has already incurred, rather than of a relatively small cost of the public utilities to be acquired. It is said that the more business men use their credit, the easier it is for them to raise large sums of money. We may reason from this that the bigger the debt which a city has incurred for other purposes, the more readily it can raise the funds for carrying out a municipal ownership program. The country will doubtless have an opportunity to learn some important lessons in municipal finance from the accomplishments of the new administration in New York city!

An interesting development in connection with the approval of the policy of municipal ownership is the suggestion emanating from the public service commission for the first district to the effect that the rapid transit act be so amended as to permit the commission, with the approval of the board of estimate and apportionment, to enter into contracts for the acquisition of surface street railways to be operated in conjunction with the rapid transit lines. As is well known, the commission a few years ago entered into contracts with the Interborough rapid transit company and the New York municipal railway corporation, a subsidiary of the Brooklyn rapid transit company, for the equipment and operation under lease of the new subway lines in conjunction with the old subways and the existing elevated lines of the Brooklyn system. The wording of the proposed amendment to the rapid transit act is to the effect that the commission may purchase for such price, and upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed upon, "any line or lines of street surface railroad already constructed or in process of construction, which in the opinion of the commission it is for the interest of the public and the city to acquire in order that the same shall be operated for a single fare in conjunction or in connection with any existing rapid transit railroad owned by the city or of which the receipts are combined with the receipts of another road of the city under any contract made pursuant to this chapter." The amendment further provides that instead of paying for the property from the proceeds of bonds the commission may, with the consent of the local authorities, "as part of the terms and conditions of the purchase of such railway or street surface railroad, enter into a contract under the provisions of this chapter, with the person, firm or corporation from whom said purchase is made, for the equipment, maintenance and operation, or for the maintenance and operation of said railway or street surface railroad and therein provide that said price be deducted from or allowed on account of the rental payable for the use of such railway or street surface railroad under such contract at such times and in such amounts as may be specified therein, or that said price shall be deemed the contractor's investment in the said cost of construction of said railway or street surface railroad within the meaning of said contract." Translated into English, this means that under the public service commission plan those street surface railways of Manhattan which are owned by a company affiliated with the Interborough rapid transit company, and the street surface lines of Brooklyn, which are owned by subsidiaries of the Brooklyn rapid transit company would be purchased and leased to the companies for operation, with a guaranteed return upon the recognized investment (the purchase price) and provision for the amortization of the investment itself out of the earnings of the combined rapid transit and surface lines in case such earnings were sufficient. It is to be noted that these rental and amortization charges would constitute a prior lien upon transportation revenues, coming in ahead of any possible return to the city upon the investment of approximately $230,000,000 which it is now making in rapid transit facilities. If the transportation earnings of the combined systems, even when relieved from paying anything to the city on this investment, would be still insufficient to pay operating costs and the rental and depreciation charges guaranteed to the companies, then it is to be presumed that the deficiency would have to be made up out of direct taxation. It may be said that the commission's proposal, which was put forward at the suggestion of Commissioner Travis H. Whitney, has not been received with any particular enthusiasm by the advocates of municipal ownership. The New York public is so blind that it fails in a measure to appreciate the advantages of the municipal ownership of the subways which we now have, combined as it is with operation by the rapid transit companies under 49-year leases.

Delos F. Wilcox.

New York City.

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The New Buffalo Charter and the Schools.—The ideal of the new charter is power centered in a single council, permitting business to be done—efficiency; and control by the voters, insuring that business be done for the public interest—democracy.

This ideal was not attained in the school department, where the creation of a board with independent power resulted in friction with the city council, greatly augmented by the effort of the board to force the "Finegan school bill" upon Buffalo, regardless of the opposition of the council and without submission to the voters, who they feared would reject the bill. This bill, now enacted into law, reverts to divided government by transferring from the elected council to an appointed board accountable to neither voters nor council, practically all control over the schools, except an ill-defined control over the budget. It contained no merit system for appointment of Buffalo teachers until such was forced in at the last moment and as enacted has none for any other city except New York where the merit system was too well established to be safely attacked.

Thirty-five workers for the new charter proposed a home rule bill to remedy the lack of unity in the new charter. Fifteen business men's associations unanimously indorsed it and opposed the Finegan bill. The home rule bill required the approval of the voters to become a law and then would have made the council responsible for the schools with power to abolish the board subject to the veto power of the voters. It contained an excellent merit system for appointment of teachers. Its friends claimed that school boards outlived their usefulness with the advent of centralized, responsible city government; that the city corporation had no more need for a second board of directors than had any other corporation; that no part-time, non-expert board could wisely manage a great technical city department; and that efficiency and democracy demanded that the schools, like other city departments, be managed by an expert, full-time superintendent accountable directly to the full-time, elected and responsible council.

The home rule bill passed the assembly 94 to 16 but was held up in a senate committee. Then the Finegan forces made concessions to the enemies of the mayors of New York and Buffalo, secured a majority party caucus on their bill, and had it passed after sunrise following an all-night fight after rejecting an amendment to submit the bill to the voters.

When it became evident that the Finegan bill would pass and destroy the power of the council to remove the school board, the council by a vote of four to one removed the board that had spent so much of its energy in trying to aggrandize itself at the expense of the council. The new board appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the council, has been favorably commented on by the press of both sides of the school controversy. This board provided for applying a real merit system to the appointment of teachers, which the old board declined to do.

To gain the support of the enemies of the then mayors of New York City and Buffalo, the Finegan bill was amended to provide that in these two cities only, the terms of all board members should expire in January, 1918, enabling the mayors elected in November, 1917 to appoint all board members, who would then be irremovable by the city during their terms of five years for Buffalo and seven for New York. However, in the case of the boards appointed in 1918, one member's term should end each year and his successor be appointed for a full term.

In Buffalo all the new board members were reappointed in January, 1918. They are now looking for a new superintendent of schools and have proposed a general increase of salaries of teachers and the creation of new positions in the general office. MELVIN P. PORTER.

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How Detroit Handled the Coal Situation.—About October 10, 1917, it was brought home to the officials of Detroit, that something radical in the coal business had to be done to relieve the desperate situation. The commissioner of police was appointed fuel administrator for the city by the mayor. Immediately coal offices were opened in each of the nine precinct stations in Detroit in charge of a sergeant or lieutenant of police, who, with the aid of a civilian order clerk and patrolmen as needed, handled his district under the supervision of headquarters or the main office.

Calls came from all classes, rich and poor; it was not a question of having the money, but placing an order with the coal man. It was found that the coal men had booked orders and had not been able to fill them fast enough, consequently when their supply began to run low they refused to accept other orders. This was unfair to the general public, as one who had an order for six or eight or more tons placed would receive his full supply and the one who had no order placed received none. An order was then issued that one ton of coal was all that could be delivered to anyone (excepting, of course, apartment houses, exceptionally large homes and steam plants) at a time. It was first a question of equitable distribution and later became a question of assisting the dealer to obtain fuel.

A system was perfected to handle each individual complaint or request for fuel. A police order blank was filled out in each case giving the name, address, kind of heating plant (as it was a question of heat not coal), former dealer and how coal was put in. Each one was asked if he had any coal, if there was sickness or small children at home, and was so classified. Sickness and small children were classified as emergency or urgent cases and were immediately taken care of. A call was made on every dealer in each precinct by the officer in charge and the dealer's name was stamped on all orders in his immediate vicinity which he could take care of that day. These orders were then returned to precinct stations and officer sent out to investigate if the cases were as represented. If found worthy, the police order blank was left at the home with positive instructions to present same at dealer's yard whose name was stamped on same and pay in advance for delivery of the fuel. This was found to be the only possible method of handling, as some of the more ignorant class insisted that they should receive only a special coal which it was impossible to supply. This method perhaps seemed harsh, but proved ideal.

It was always the desire of the department to localize the deliveries for the dealer. This gained their co-operation to a great extent, as heretofore they had delivered to anyone anywhere in the city. This threw the burden of delivery where it belonged and, naturally, was a boon to the dealer.

In this manner the department has taken care of 46,685 individual cases, from October 20 to January 1. There have been average daily requests for fuel of 790 cases, and an average of 778 have been filled. JAMES COUZENS.[1]

*

War and Municipal Economy in Troy, N. Y.—Just before the New Year broke, the Troy (N. Y.) *Record* began the publication of a series of editorials on "war and municipal economy." They continued for more than a week and created consternation in that city. *The Record*, although a Republican newspaper, had supported the present Democratic municipal administration during the November campaign and, largely due to its efforts, Mayor Burns had been returned to office by a splendid majority. The editorials, relating chiefly to sinecures and inefficiency in the city hall, although protesting confidence that the officials would meet the issue frankly, were regarded by many as a species of attack upon the new administration.

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[1] Commissioner of police, Detroit.

The tenor of *The Record's* articles was that at least $40,000 could be cut from the forthcoming budget if the committee on estimate and apportionment carried the economy program of the government into municipal affairs; and it intimated that such a course was a far better test of patriotism than speeches, parades, gifts to the soldiers and red fire. Naturally the friends of those denounced as sinecures—for *The Record* cited names—were busy at once striving to discredit the effort. There had been, however, a considerable agitation for a municipal research audit of Troy's affairs; and many insisted that *The Record's* effort was practically a careful survey. This made the campaign for economy a good test of sincerity on the part of the new officials.

The city at best was facing a considerable increase in expenses on account of proper demands from the teachers, the police and the firemen for advances in wages. There were other praiseworthy causes which needed appropriations and without the dropping of many sinecures a heavy increase in the tax rate was unavoidable. Indeed, the estimates of the various departments, when pared down and presented to the board of estimate and apportionment, contemplated an increase of $132,000 in the budget total.

When the estimate was presented to the common council, on February 6, however, it was found that very nearly half the suggestions of *The Record* had been taken and that the total gain in appropriations asked for was but a bare $30,000, practically all of it cared for by increased assessments. As a result, the tax rate, in this year of increased costs of living, will remain practically unchanged. The move of *The Record* was rather daring and won condemnation at first on all sides. The Republicans asked why *The Record* did not support Republican candidates at the municipal election if there was so much waste in the city hall. The Democrats banded together to save their patronage. But public opinion gradually was developed for real economy and the officials were compelled to respect it. The editor of *The Record* states that it made little difference to his newspaper whether the sinecures were abolished or not: if they were, Troy was the gainer; if not, a psychological foundation had been prepared for a campaign for a city-manager form of government.

⁂

The Kansas Plan of Social Surveys.—A group of four cities in Kansas, the county seats of their respective counties, are at present engaged in making social surveys. They are Clay Center, Beloit, Marysville and Minneapolis. Most of the work is being done by local volunteers, from among of the leading business and professional men, city officials, social workers, in fact the leaders of every group in the cities concerned. The results of the survey will be prepared for a three- or four-day exhibit, held in connection with a community institute in each city during the latter part of February and March. This institute and exhibit will be carried on under the combined efforts of the extension division of the University of Kansas, the state health department, and M. C. Elmer of the department of sociology. The various exhibits are prepared by the class in surveys and exhibits of the University.

Last year a similar survey was made in Council Grove, Kan. This year another community institute will be held there, and a "follow up" campaign carried on. While a brief summary of these surveys will be published, emphasis is placed on the exhibit and local newspaper propaganda.

⁂

Russian Municipal Development.—The population of our towns was 16,855,000 in 1897 and is 30,000,000 at the present time. In 1897 there were 20 towns with a population over 100,000; at the present time there are more than 50 towns with such a population. Petrograd counted in 1897 only 1,367,023 inhabitants; now there are more than 3,000,000. Moscow in 1897 had only 1,035,664; now there are approximately 2,500,000. The income of the large towns was 104 million roubles in 1901; in 1912 it was 238 millions and now it is approximately more than 400 millions. The loans of the cities were from 1875 until 1901 only 147,500,000 roubles; from 1901 to 1911 they equalled 265,000,000; they cannot now be fixed accurately, but are certainly not much less than a billion. There is since the revolution an increase in the expenses of the cities.

(Count) Louis Skarzynski.

*

City Planning in Pennsylvania.—Karl B. Lohmann has taken up his duties as town planner with the Pennsylvania bureau of municipalities. He is to be of service in helping to awaken the cities and boroughs of Pennsylvania to the desirability of planning, and so far as possible, to advise or lend a helping hand in the problems with which such communities are likely to be confronted.

He expects to be of special service to the nineteen planning commissions of Pennsylvania to stimulate programs of activities among them, assist in the creation of new planning boards, and where practicable, help in any physical problems of a city planning character that may have arisen out of the necessities of the war.

Following is a list of the third class cities in Pennsylvania which now have city planning commissions: Allentown, Altoona, Chester, Coatesville, Easton, Erie, Franklin, Harrisburg, Hazleton, Johnstown, Meadville, New Castle, Oil City, Pittston, Pottsville, Reading, Wilkes-Barre, York.

*

Vermont State Board of Control.—As a first step in the co-ordination of numerous unrelated administrative boards and departments in Vermont, a board of control has been established (no. 32, laws of 1917). It consists of the governor, state treasurer, auditor of accounts, director of state institutions and a person to be appointed biennially by the governor with the advice and consent of the senate. The board meets regularly once a month. All state boards, institutions, commissions, officers and departments (except judicial officers) report to this board each month on their work for the month. These reports are filed with the legislative reference librarian who publishes abstracts therefrom in the newspapers of the state.

The board has rather wide authority to investigate and to exercise a supervisory control when in its judgment such is necessary. The idea in the governor's mind, as stated in his advocacy of the measure, seems to have been to create a kind of cabinet to the governor and also to centralize the control of the administrative activity of the state.

George G. Groat.

II. POLITICS[1]

Recall Election in Joplin, Missouri.—The Missouri general assembly in 1913 enacted a law permitting Missouri cities of second class to establish, under certain conditions, the commission form of city government. The final enactment of this bill was the result of a struggle on behalf of its different advocates through four sessions of the legislature. One of the leaders in pushing the bill was Hugh McIndoe, of Joplin. When the city of Joplin adopted the commission form of government in 1914, Mr. McIndoe, who had formerly been a state senator, was elected as a commissioner, with the position of mayor. On August 17, 1917, at a special recall election, Mayor McIndoe was removed from office.

Under the leadership of Mr. McIndoe, Joplin seems to have steadily progressed in municipal affairs. A modern and progressive code was enacted which has served as a model for codes of other cities.

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated, the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

His friends bring forward as evidences of good city government the increased efficiency of the police and fire departments; the enforcement of the law; and the rules and regulations regarding various forms of municipal activity. Without an increase in municipal taxes, city officials have considerably broadened the activities of the government and instituted many novel features.

The refusal of the mayor to grant a hearing on charges against the assistant chief of police and a desk sergeant that they had arrested a sign-writer and refused to grant him permission to consult with an attorney or with friends, prompted the movement that terminated in Mayor McIndoe's recall. The sign-writer is said to have been forced to spend four hours in jail after endeavoring to interview one of his employes who had been arrested. He claims to have been mistreated by the police officials, and the Rotary club and the masonic lodge, of both of which he is a member, took up the matter. The latter organization called upon Mayor McIndoe to investigate the charges, and to urge the removal of both police officers should the charges against them be substantiated. The prosecuting attorney, in the meantime, had announced that he would file criminal charges against the police officers. Mayor McIndoe, in refusing to investigate the charges, did not deny that MacPherson had been arrested and detained, but he refused to order a hearing, on the ground that to bring the police officers into the hearing would expose their case, as they would present it when they went to trial in a state court.

This action on the part of the mayor prompted petitions to be placed in circulation calling for an election to vote on his recall. A recall committee of one hundred, headed by a prominent mason and banker of Joplin, directed the campaign against the mayor. The committee provided for no public meetings but placed active workers in every voting district in the city. In addition to the issue raised by the mayor's refusal to investigate charges against the police officials, it was claimed by those who favored Mr. McIndoe's recall that under his administration corporations had been favored; that he had been extravagant and arrogant in office; and had imposed upon the people unnecessary laws. The various forces of discontent in the city were almost unanimous in favor of the recall of the mayor.

Led by Mr. McIndoe, the friends of the city administration undertook vigorously to defend the city government under the commission. Strict law enforcement and the elimination from the city administration of politics and favoritism were, in their opinion, the real causes of the opposition to the mayor. Much interest was taken in the recall campaign, as it was the first one to be held in the state of Missouri.

The result of the election was complete defeat for Mayor McIndoe. The vote to recall him was 2,289; against recalling him, 963. As the total registration in Joplin is 7,831, only 40 per cent of the registered voters participated in the recall election.

Thomas S. Barclay.[1]

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The San Francisco Recall Movement.—On November 1 the California supreme court dissolved an order of the superior court forbidding an election on the recall of District Attorney Fickert. The latter had contended that some of the signatures were not valid and the superior court upheld him, but the supreme court overruled the latter and the matter was submitted to the electorate for decision.[2]

At the recall election on December 18, 1917, the district attorney was re-elected by the following vote:

	1st choice	*2d choice*	*3d choice*
Charles M. Fickert....	46,460	46,690	47,246
Frank P. Haynes......	1,739	4,753	5,020
Charles A. Sweigert....	25,983	26,516	27,052
Scattering...........	10	14	17
Grand total..........	74,192	77,973	79,335
Majority 1st choice....	37,097		

According to E. A. Walcott, the secretary of the commonwealth club of San Francisco: "About two weeks before the election there came a decided swing of public opinion in his favor, not as a good official, but as embodying a more important principle. The feeling that the recall movement was due above everything else to the resentment of the radical elements against any prosecution of dynamiters brought the sober second thought of the community to his rescue. The Mooney crowd have been very quiet since the election, as they learned that they were not supported by the labor people. The strongest labor districts gave them a small majority, but the conservatives among the labor men voted against them or did not vote at all."

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[1] University of Missouri.

[2] See *Bulletin* of the civic league of San Francisco for November, 1917.

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The Oakland, California, Recall Movement.—At the recall election on December 4, 1917, the voters of Oakland registered a heavy opposition to the recall of Mayor Davie and seriously discouraged future indiscriminate recall movements.

The figures are as follows:

For the recall	9,161
Against the recall	23,176

FOR THE CANDIDATES

John L. Davie	20,859
David C. Dutton	5,908
John Calvin Taylor	1,289
Anson B. Weeks	2,566

On the face of the returns Mayor Davie is retained as mayor of Oakland by a majority which, in comparison to the size of the total vote cast, is greater than that he received in 1915 when he was elected mayor by a heavy vote over Frank Bilger. In 1915 the total vote cast was 43,000 and Davie received 27,000.

⁂

A Dayton Removal.—Dr. A. L. Light, health commissioner of the city, has been relieved from duty. While the immediate charge or cause of this removal was one of insubordination, it was felt by those in touch with the situation that it was simply a convenient method of getting rid of a public official who was not in favor with a large number of prominent citizens. It is to be borne in mind that this is the first removal of a public officer named under the present administration in four years, and this of a man who had served during that entire period. One correspondent writes that "it is difficult to keep friendly with hundreds of persons whom one requires to connect their properties with the sewer, to clean up dirty premises, to be vaccinated or quarantined, to protect by glass cases their candy, butter, fruit or meats. It is especially hard to administer the health affairs of a city of 150,000 people with an extensive health program without a secretary or personal assistants in the supervision of over 40 division employes and a complete record system such as a health program requires."

Dr. A. O. Peters has been appointed as Dr. Light's successor.

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East St. Louis Convictions.—As a result of the unremitting and efficient service of Attorney General Brundage, there have been a series of convictions of those responsible for the East St. Louis riots[1]. To date twelve of the participants in the riots have been convicted and sentenced to a term of fourteen years each, and two to terms of fifteen years each and four to terms of five years each. Thirty-two men have been convicted and sentenced to various terms or to pay fines. Five have been acquitted and cases against twelve have been *nolle prossed*. There remains yet to be tried the cases against five police officers and an indictment against Mayor Tollman for misfeasance. In commenting on this recently the Springfield, Ill., *News* said:

"The unsparing probe into the causes of the recent race riots and the evident intention to punish the guilty and to prevent a recurrence of the crime wave, proves the sincerity of East St. Louis and augurs well for its future. Not only is the city preparing to adopt the commission form of government, but it is resolutely undertaking to rid itself of corrupt politics, which has been at the bottom of most of its troubles.

"Attorney General Brundage has done valiant service for the cause of good government in the city by stepping in and demanding the enforcement of law, when local authority broke down. But the future is in the hands of the community. The officials chosen must not be of the sort to compromise with thugs and cutthroats and apparently the people have determined they shall not be."

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 40.

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Los Angeles Referenda.—The results of the election were as follows:

	Proposition	*Yes*	*No*
No. 1.	Anti-saloon	54,447	34,277
No. 2.	Humane animal commission	24,725	41,319
No. 3.	Liquor dealers' ordinance	10,057	69,858
No. 4.	Half-way prohibition	10,704	69,959

The only measure which carried was Proposition no. 1, the no-saloon ordinance, initiated and supported by the united temperance forces of Los Angeles. The causes of the result lie not only in the rising tide of public opinion against liquor, but in the emphasis which the war has laid upon the waste and harm done by alcohol. Los Angeles, having in its limits a large navy training station and coast artillery establishment at San Pedro, felt that the men in the service should be protected against the evils of drink. Doubtless, too, the economic waste emphasized by the Hoover administration had a bearing upon the result.

Seward C. Simons.

Ashtabula, Ohio.—At the first meeting of the newly elected commission, M. H. Turner was elected city manager by the votes of the four members elected through the guardians of liberty.[3] J. W. Prine, who had been city manager since the inauguration of the system in Ashtabula, received two votes. Mr. Turner's choice is highly regarded by those in touch with the situation. He filled the office of director of public works from 1912 to 1915 and was regarded as an excellent public official. In the words of our correspondent, "his administration will probably be marked by no particular brilliancy, but will be honest, tactful and fairly efficient."

◆

Mount Vernon's Mayor.—A very interesting result followed the mayoralty contest in Mount Vernon. On the face of the returns Mayor Edwin W. Fiske was re-elected by two votes. After a canvass by the supervisors his opponent, Dr. Edward F. Brush, won by seven majority. For a time this result hinged on the votes of four members of the rainbow division in France. In the city Dr. Brush's plurality was 58, but the soldier vote of 168 for Fiske and 110 for Brush made the total vote a tie. A number of defective ballots and clerical errors were noted, with the above-mentioned result.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

New York Optional Charter Law.—After a rough passage through the judicial seas, the New York optional city government law of 1915 has been found to be constitutional by the court of appeals in the case of *Cleveland* v. *City of Watertown.* The judgments of the appellate division and of the special term were therefore reversed.[1] In the meantime certain communities acting on these decisions have put themselves into rather complicated situations.[2] Among other things the court said "the main object of the act, as has already been indicated, is to permit the qualified electors of a city of the class named to adopt a simplified form of government, if they so desire, and only such powers as are necessary to accomplish that object are conferred. It may be that when the city proceeds to carry out the object of the act the council will attempt to pass ordinances which it does not have the power to do, but if so the court will not hesitate, when that time arrives, to place its stamp of disapproval upon the same. Unconstitutional ordinances have been attempted to be passed under many charters of cities of the state, but no one has suggested, so far as I know, that by reason of that fact the charter itself is unconstitutional.

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[1] 165 N. Y. Sup. 305; 166 N. Y. Sup. 286.

[2] 166 N. Y. Sup. 923.

[3] See National Municipal Review, vol. vii, p. 29.

"The whole trend of modern thought and recent legislation is toward vesting in each municipality the management of its local affairs and I have been unable to discover any valid reason why the present act, which is a step in that direction, should not be given a fair trial without interference from the court. The act is not an attempt upon the part of the legislature to shirk its duties or to delegate to another body the power vested solely in it. On the contrary, it is to permit each locality to determine for itself the form of government which it will have, based upon modern ideas rather than a form of government which has been tried and in some respects at least found unsatisfactory."

◆

Special Assessments.—In *Schneider Granite Company* v. *Gast Realty and Investment Company*,[1] it was decided by the United States supreme court that where a special assessment to pay for a particular improvement has been held to be illegal, the federal constitution does not prevent the making of the new and just assessment to pay for the completed work. Mr. Justice Pitney said *inter alia* "but whether such new assessment should be made, and, if made, whether it should be done by a court or by an assessing board or other appropriate instrumentality, and whether further legislation was needed for the purpose, were and are matters of state law."

◆

Extension of Service.—In *People* v. *McCall*,[2] the supreme court of the United States has decided that an order of the New York public service commission requiring a gas company to extend service to a small but growing community about a mile and a half from its mains was not arbitrary or capricious, so as to constitute a denial of due process of law. The small community contained 330 houses of an average cost of $7,500 and was served by other companies with water, electric light and telephone service. On the cost of the extension as estimated by the gas company the return would be about 2¼ per cent per annum; as estimated by the commission the return would be about 4 per cent. Mr. Justice Clarke said "corporations which devote their property to a public use may not pick and choose, serving only the portions of the territory covered by their franchises which it is presently profitable for them to serve and restricting the developing of the remaining portions by leaving their inhabitants in discomfort without the service which they alone can render. To correct this disposition to serve where it is profitable and to neglect where it is not, is one of the important purposes for which these administrative commissions, with large powers, were called into existence, with an organization and with duties which peculiarly fit them for dealing with problems such as this case presents."

◆

Municipal Fuel Yards.—The United States supreme court in the case of *Jones* v. *Portland*[3] (Maine) held that a statute authorizing any city or town to establish and maintain a permanent wood, coal and fuel yard for the purpose of selling wood, coal and fuel to its inhabitants at cost, does not take the property of taxpayers for private uses in violation of the 14th amendment, especially where the highest court of the state has declared the purpose to be a public one.

◆

Street Car Fares.—In the case of *Cincinnati* v. *the Cincinnati and Hamilton Traction Company and the Ohio Traction Company*,[4] the supreme court of the United States has sustained the action of the United States district court which granted an injunction against the going into effect of an ordinance passed by the city council of Cincinnati on April 21, 1914, which specified terms and conditions under which the company might operate the street cars. The effect of the ordinance was to reduce fares. Shortly before the ordinance was to become effective, the traction companies, both Ohio corporations, filed a bill in the United States district court claiming the impairment of the obligation of their contracts and deprivation of their property without due process of law. The city denied jurisdiction of the court, but the trial court sustained the jurisdiction and granted an injunction against the ordinance, although it was not to go into effect until thirty days after its passage. The city insisted that no action would be taken prior to a judicial determination. Mr. Justice Clarke wrote a dissenting opinion, concurred in by Mr. Justice Brandeis, in which it was pointed out that there was no jurisdiction in the federal court because there was no diversity of citizenship stated. He said also "it becomes very clear that we have before us an utterly unsubstantial and purely paper attempt to carry into the federal courts a case which, because of its 'many difficult problems arising under local laws' is peculiarly one for first decision in the state courts, with the right of revision in this court as provided for by law. . . . It has been for many years the constant effort, repeatedly declared, of congress and of this court, to prevent the evasion of the constitution and of the laws of the United States, by bringing into the federal courts controversies between citizens of the same state."

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[1] 38 Sup. Ct. Rep. 125.

[2] 38 Sup. Ct. Rep. 122.

[3] 38 Sup. Ct. Rep. 112.

[4] No. 10 Oct. Term 1917.

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Illinois Majority Vote.—The supreme court of Illinois in the case of *People* v. *Stevenson*[1] has held that under article 14, section 2 of their constitution, requiring amendments to be submitted to electors of the state at the next election of members of the general assembly, the adopting of proposed amendments requires a majority of the votes of all electors voting at an election at which members of the assembly are elected and not merely a majority of the votes cast for members of the general assembly. The chief justice and one colleague dissented. The former said: "When the members of a court of last resort disagree upon any construction that should be placed upon any provision of the constitution, how can it fairly be said that a given construction is the only clear one."

⁂

Judicial Power of Mayor.—The charter of the city of Cleveland specifically reserves to the mayor of the city judicial powers conferred upon mayors of municipal corporations by the general laws of the state. This was decided in the case of *State* v. *Davis*[2] where a writ was sought prohibiting the mayor from exercising jurisdiction in connection with a petition filed with him under an act of the legislature against prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors in a residential district.

⁂

Vested Rights in Vice.—In the case of *Dix* v. *The City of New Orleans*, a writ of injunction prohibiting the police from interfering with a resort under the terms of a new ordinance, no. 4656, has been asked on the following grounds: First, that the new ordinance abolishing the "red light" district is illegal, null and void, and destroys vested rights given according to law; second, that the new ordinance will destroy business and property now protected and recognized by law; third, that in allowing only thirty days to abandon the property the act of the city is oppressive and tyrannical, arbitrary and unreasonable.

⁂

Control of Utilities.—The Cuyahoga county common pleas court in the case of the *City of Cleveland* v. *The Cleveland Telephone Company* recently issued a temporary injunction sustaining the full power of the home rule charter city over all public utility corporations within its limits. The telephone company had advanced its rates and refused to recognize the city council and denied its right or power in the matter of rates. The case will go to the supreme court of Ohio.

⁂

Personal Liberty.—A city ordinance declaring that any person found associating with prostitutes or found in company with any such persons should be deemed a pimp was held invalid by the supreme court of South Dakota in city of *Watertown* v. *Christnacht*[1] because it violates article 6, section 1 of the constitution guaranteeing personal liberty, since it would prevent personal effort on the part of citizens to uplift and ameliorate the condition of fallen women.

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[1] 117 N. E. 747.

[2] 117 N. E. 358.

⁂

Civil Service Certification.—Under the Tacoma charter where the duty of the civil service board was to certify three names for vacancies in the service, the plaintiff who was no. 3 but the only one to appear was held as a matter of law entitled to the appointment in *Jenkins* v. *Gronen.*[2] The appointing officer had refused to appoint him, insisting that two others should be certified from the eligible list. The court felt that the certification of three was not for the purpose of giving the officer a choice but to assure the appearance of at least one candidate.

Robert E. Tracy.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

The California Outlook Suspends.—With its January issue the *California Outlook* suspended publication. Most readers of this periodical will remember that it was the successor of two weekly periodicals—the *Pacific Outlook*, published in Los Angeles, and the *California Weekly*, published in San Francisco—established to forward the propaganda of the reform movement that resulted in the policital revolution in California under Hiram Johnson. These periodicals were not organized for profit, and no one of them was at any time a financial success; in fact their publication was made possible only through contributions both of time and money from men and women unselfishly interested in the cause. In announcing the suspension the editor said:

"The time has come when for several reasons it does not seem advisable to continue publication:

"In the first place, the main purpose for the establishment of this periodical has been accomplished. Political autocracy has been overthrown and democratic government firmly established in California. No general reaction seems at this time possible.

"Moreover, the prevailing policy of the great majority of the newspapers of the state has gradually changed, so that now progressive propaganda does not lack adequate newspaper expression.

"It does not therefore seem either necessary or fair further to burden those upon whom the responsibility for the publication has devolved. . . .

"It has therefore seemed appropriate to arrange with Chester H. Rowell's paper, the *Fresno Republican*, to send its weekly edition to our subscribers for their unexpired subscriptions. In that way our subscribers may keep in touch with the most virile expression of the forward movement in this state. . . .

"We assure them that if ever conditions in this state seem again to demand such action, the publishers will not hesitate to revive the publication in order to lend their aid to the holding of California at her rightful place at the head of the column of progressive commonwealths."

⁂

Meeting of the American City Planning Institute.—In New York on Saturday, November 24, 1917, there was held the first meeting of the American City Planning Institute to consider the zoning or districting of cities. In addition to the members from the city of New York, sixty representatives from other cities were present. The zoning commissions of Philadelphia, St. Louis, Cambridge, Mass., and Newark, N. J., were interested and active participants.

The morning session was devoted largely to considering New York's experience with its zoning law. Edward M. Bassett, who presided, went very thoroughly into the procedure of New York zoning and made comments relative to the various problems which the commission had encountered and the success which had attended their solution.

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[1] 164 N. W. 62.

[2] 167 Pac. 917.

Dr. Robert H. Whitten, secretary of the committee on city plan of the board of estimate and apportionment, spoke on "Use District Classification." He spoke of the growing sentiment in American cities demanding protection of the homes of the people against encroachment of business and industries, and particularly the sentiment which had been aroused in New York protesting against the encroachment of a classified business district by certain industries. Relative to housing, he spoke of the methods by which the prevention of mutually antagonistic types of residential use and the prevention of congestion of population might be approached, which he mentioned as being either by the direct limitation of the type of dwelling, by the limitation of the number of houses or families per acre, or the limitations of the percentage of the lot that may be covered and the size of courts and yards. The advantages and disadvantages of these methods were dwelt upon and examples of the procedure in England and certain parts of the United States were illustrated. Business districts and unrestricted districts were dwelt upon and the vital subject of garages carefully discussed.

The evening session opened with the reading of a paper by B. A. Haldeman, entitled "Philadelphia Zoning," in which the progress of the recently appointed zoning commission of that city was explained. The height districts, use districts and area districts were all dwelt upon in turn and the differences between the application of regulations in Philadelphia and in New York were demonstrated. Comment was made on the ordinance prepared by the commissioners of Fairmount park regulating the location, size and use of buildings on the parkway from city hall to Fairmount park and doubt was expressed as to whether these regulations would survive a test of the courts, which would be most unfortunate for zoning not only in Philadelphia but in general, if they should not.

One of the best suggestions was advanced by Mr. Haldeman, advisory engineer to the zoning commission of Philadelphia who, after pointing out the confusion and doubt which would result in the minds of the public and the courts from the present practice of each community devising a different scheme of classification and emphasizing the great need of some uniformity of practice, suggested that a committee of the Institute be appointed to devise uniform methods of grouping—with definite reasons for the organization of each group—and a standard system of definitions in order that the courts in ruling upon any question would have its application of such ruling extended to the regulations of all cities. This suggestion for uniformity in regulations was received with general approval and steps were taken to form such a committee.

William C. Stanton.[1]

✻

American Political Science Association Meeting.—The Philadelphia meeting of the American Political Science Association held during holiday week was an interesting occasion, but the subjects of city, county and state government were practically untouched. At one session the question of the relation of political science to other sciences and its relation to actual government was considered. The subjects of instruction in political science and training schools were also on the program. There was also an incidental discussion of democracy in some of its general phases.

✻

Municipalities and States Co-operate to Fight Cameron Septic Tank Patents.—The National Septic Tank Protective Process League, an organization formed to resist the collection of royalties under a patent granted on October 3, 1899, to Donald Cameron and others, of England, has undertaken by its attorney, Wallace R. Lane, of Chicago, to defend a suit brought against Shelbyville, Kentucky, by the Cameron Septic Tank Company of Chicago. The company claims royalties up to October 3, 1916, from all users of septic tanks, whether of the original one-story or the later two-story (Imhoff) type, who have not already settled with it.

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[1] Secretary, Philadelphia committee on comprehensive plans.

Mr. Lane contends that the United States patent expired with the British patent on November 8, 1909. In a case brought some years ago against Knoxville, Iowa, it was stipulated that, for the purpose of that suit, the English and American patents were identical, and in that case the supreme court held that the American patent had expired November 8, 1909. The Cameron Septic Tank Company now claims that the English and American patent are not identical, and that therefore the American patent runs for seventeen years from October 3, 1899.

The National Septic Process Protective League is a voluntary association of interested cities and towns, and it asks the co-operation and financial support of every municipality in the country that would be affected by the outcome of the Shelbyville suit. Dr. H. M. Bracken, the executive officer of the state board of health of Minnesota, is the president of the league, and Frank G. Pierce, secretary of the league of Iowa municipalities, Marshalltown, Iowa, is the secretary.

Years ago the process claims of the patent were upheld, but the apparatus claims were denied by the United States supreme court in a suit brought against Saratoga Springs. So far as can be learned, the company has never pressed for a determination of the royalties in this case. In like manner, it started and then refrained from pressing a suit against the United States. Hundreds of cities, including many of considerable size, are using septic tanks. In the few known instances where suits have been brought the defendants have been places of a few thousand population.

Frank G. Pierce.

*

The Arkansas Municipal League, an organization of city officials, is interested in laying before members of the constitional convention in that state the facts concerning the provisions in the present constitution having reference to the financing of municipalities and general municipal improvements. The convention has adjourned until July, but several matters have been referred to committees and the members of the municipal league are seeking opportunity to lay the facts concerning them before the committee on cities and towns. It is believed by officials of the league that the new constitution when written will contain provision for sane and careful financing of cities and towns and for issuing of interest bearing evidence of indebtedness under thorough restrictions and ample safeguards.

*

The Dayton Bureau of Municipal Research, established about five years ago, has been discontinued for lack of funds. The board of directors found that owing to manifold financial appeals at the present time it would be unwise to undertake a money-raising campaign to keep the bureau in operation. Fortunately the purpose for which the bureau was established has been largely accomplished. The local city government under the commission-manager plan is conducting the affairs of the city with such a degree of efficiency that the demand for the bureau is not as imperative as it was a few years ago.

Chester E. Rightor, who succeeded Dr. L. D. Upson as director of the Dayton bureau of municipal research,[1] has taken up work with the federal bureau of efficiency at Washington, D. C. Walter M. Matscheck is now secretary of the department of civics of the Kansas City chamber of commerce. In this position his duties will be similar to those in the Dayton bureau. C. B. Greene, formerly the publicity man of the bureau, has become associated with the National Cash Register Company as its publicity manager.

*

Mitchel Officials as City Managers.—One of the big by-products, if one may term it such, of the administration of Mayor Mitchel in New York was the successful training of a very considerable number of men in public service. Tammany's unwillingness to continue men of this type in office has made these men available for civic positions throughout the country. A number of them we are persuaded would make excellent city managers. Those who would be interested in learning more about these men and their capacities can secure information by writing to the secretary of the National Municipal League, 703, North American Building, Philadelphia.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. vi, p. 707.

⁂

Lawson Purdy, president of the National Municipal League, and for twelve years president of the board of tax commissioners, New York city (under the administrations of Mayors McClellan, Gaynor and Mitchel) has been elected directing head of the charities organization society of New York city.

Mr. Purdy has been serving as chairman of a local exemption board in New York city. His work has been of such value to the men that have come before him that they have presented a testimonial of thanks to him. In commenting on the presentation of this testimonial the Rev. Milo Hudson Gates, vicar of the Chapel of Intercession in New York city, wrote a public letter as follows:

"The presentation of a testimonial to the Hon. Lawson Purdy was a hopeful sign, showing that republics are not always ungrateful. Such an occasion deserves something more than passing notice. . . . Every man who has come before Mr. Purdy's board . . . inscribed his name in a book which contains resolutions stating how deeply they have been moved by Mr. Purdy's influence, his sympathy, his tact and his unfailing enthusiasm for America. It is a great event in any man's life when hundreds of people who have been 'drafted' by him feel that he has done them a favor and not an injury, and look upon him as an advisor and as some of the boys said, a second father.

"Those who know Mr. Purdy will understand this, for as one speaker truly said—'Mr. Purdy has been doing these things for this city all his life, and whenever and wherever the city has needed a just, honest, clear-visioned, and patriotic man to do her piece of work, she has called Lawson Purdy, and never found him wanting.' "

⁂

Charles Mulford Robinson, the well-known city designer and author, and a regular contributor to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, died after a brief illness on Sunday, December 30, 1917. Mr. Robinson's several books, "The Improvement of Towns and Cities," "Modern Civic Art," "The Call of the City," "The Width and Arrangement of Streets," and "City Planning" achieved a distinct place in the growing literature on this subject, and gave him a position of authority in the city planning movement. As a specialist in municipal æsthetics and town planning, he made plans for the beautification and improvement of a number of cities, including Denver, Colorado Springs, Oakland, Honolulu, Los Angeles, and Fort Wayne. For five years past he has contributed an annual review of city planning reports, which has been one of the distinctive features of the Review. All his life he was an earnest and acute civic worker, and his notable literary style made his productions not only valuable by reason of his knowledge and interest, but delightful in themselves.

Concerning Mr. Robinson's contribution to the modern municipal movement, *The Survey* declared him to be "a courageous municipal reformer, a true democrat and withal a most lovable character. His approach to civic development originally was that of civic æsthetics, and his first work, 'The Improvement of Towns and Cities,' opened up to architects the world over a new vision of public usefulness. In his later years he became more and more absorbed in the technical and administrative problems of city building, and both in his books and in practical application contributed solutions of far-reaching importance."

⁂

Dr. Henry M. Leipziger.—Systems of free public lectures maintained by public school authorities now found in most important American cities were originated in New York City in 1889, by Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, who died on December 1, 1917. Dr. Leipziger was born in Manchester, England, in 1854. Educated in the public schools and in the College of the City of New York, Dr. Leipziger became deeply interested in the problem of assimilating the immigrant population and was one of the first to advocate industrial education in the public schools. He was instrumental in organizing the Hebrew Technical Institute which was the first public manual training school in the city of New York. As a result of his contact with the problem, Dr. Leipziger early began to advocate the "wider use" of the school-house, and as an outgrowth of this interest he conceived the idea of free lectures as part of the public school system. When the idea was adopted he was at once put in charge of the lectures and since 1890 he had been supervisor of lectures, building up by his energy, ability and enthusiasm a vast and far-reaching system of free popular lectures for the education of adults.

⁂

Captain Jesse D. Burks, U. S. A.—The long fight against Jesse D. Burks, efficiency director of Los Angeles, culminated in a resolution by the city council abolishing the efficiency commission and in the dismissal of the director by the mayor. There was considerable talk of contesting the matter further and of an appeal by Mr. Burks to the civil service commission, but the issue was settled when he accepted a commission as captain in the Officers' Reserve Corps, with the assignment to active duty in the ordnance department. A public reception was given to Captain and Mrs. Burks at the University club on the evening of December 27, after which he left for Washington to assume his duties.

Concerning his work as efficiency director, the *California Outlook* said: "Mr. (now Captain) Burks rendered invaluable service to the city of Los Angeles. From the beginning, however, he met with opposition, and this opposition finally developed a sufficient strength to force his removal. He leaves behind him an unimpeachable record, and he carries with him to his new post of honor the respect and confidence of a host of well-wishers."

⁂

Dr. Katherine Bement Davis, one of the vice-presidents of the National Municipal League, has been made director of the bureau of social hygiene founded by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., at her suggestion in 1911. Dr. Davis at that time was superintendent of the state reformatory for women at Bedford Hills. The bureau established at Bedford Hills in connection with the state reformatory a laboratory of social hygiene under the direction of Dr. Davis. When the Fusion administration came into office on January 1, 1914, Mayor Mitchel appointed her commissioner of correction and when, some two years later, the parole commission was established, he selected her as its chairman at a salary of $7,500 a year.

⁂

John J. Murphy, commissioner in charge of the New York tenement house department under Mayors Gaynor and Mitchel, has been elected secretary of the tenement house committee of the New York charity organization society.

⁂

William H. Maxwell, superintendent of school in New York city since 1898, and chairman of the National Municipal League's committee on instruction in municipal government in secondary and elementary schools for a number of years, has been made superintendent emeritus in view of his continued illness. His salary will be continued undiminished.

⁂

Dr. Robert H. Whitten, after five years' work with the New York heights of buildings commission and as secretary of the committee on building districts and restrictions and the committee on city plan of the board of estimate and apportionment, has been relieved of his various offices by the Hylan administration. He has opened an office for consulting work on city planning and zoning at 277 Broadway, New York. Prior to his work on city planning, he was with the New York public service commission for the first district. Dr. Whitten recently made a report for the United States shipping board on the housing and transportation conditions for shipyard workers in the yards adjacent to Newark bay.

◆

Seward C. Simons, secretary of the Los Angeles municipal league, has enlisted for active duty in the aviation service of the signal corps.

◆

Henry C. Wright, who was assistant director of the department of public charities under the Mitchel administration, has been appointed secretary *pro tem* of the New York charities state aid association in place of Homer Folk now absent in France directing the department of civil affairs of the American Red Cross.

◆

Robert Emmet Tracy, secretary of the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research, who has been contributing the notes on judicial decisions to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW since January, 1917, has been elected secretary of the recently organized bureau of government research in the Indianapolis chamber of commerce, assuming the duties of his office on February 15.

◆

C. A. Bingham, city manager of Norwood, Massachusetts, has been elected city manager of Waltham, Massachusetts, at a salary of $5,000 a year.

◆

Leroy Hodges, director of the Petersburg, Virginia, bureau of municipal research, and a member of the Virginia efficiency commission, has been appointed secretary to Governor Westmoreland Davis of Virginia with the title of colonel. The appointment of Colonel Hodges was made wholly on merit and without regard for political affiliations, Mr. Hodges having voted at the primary for John Garland Pollard. This action of Governor Davis is taken as an indication of his desire to select men of a high type in the interests of the state and without regard to politics.

◆

Frank B. Williams, chairman of the New York city club's committee on city planning, has been retained by the Akron, Ohio, chamber of commerce to prepare a report on the legal phases involved in the carrying out of the Akron city plan. He rendered a similar service last year to the Bridgeport planning project.

◆

Harrison Gray Otis, who has been the successful city manager of Beaufort, South Carolina, and is secretary of the City Managers' Assocation, has been chosen city manager of Auburn, Maine.[1] He entered upon his duties February 4.

◆

Richard C. Harrison has been elected secretary of the New York city club in succession to Robert S. Binkerd. Mr. Harrison is a graduate of Columbia University with the degrees of A.B., A.M., and LL.B. For three years he was assistant counsel of the public service commission of the first district, for two years an examiner on the executive staff of the president of the board of aldermen when Mayor Mitchel occupied that post, and for four years and a half has been deputy commissioner of the department of docks and ferries.

◆

Edmund R. Bates, who has been assistant purchasing agent of Dayton, Ohio, has been appointed to the head of the department to succeed Fowler S. Smith who has retired from office to assume other duties.

◆

Hornell Hart, formerly secretary of the Milwaukee city club, has resigned from the social unit organization and is now connected with the Helen Trounstine foundation of Cincinnati, as a research worker in sociological statistics.

◆

Porter R. Lee has been elected director of the New York school of philanthropy to succeed Dr. Edward T. Devine, whose duties as chief of the Red Cross bureau of refugees and home relief will keep him abroad indefinitely.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 92.

[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 104.

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1917–1918

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John A. Lapp, State House, Indianapolis, Ind.
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Frederick Rex, City Hall, Chicago, Ill.
Samuel H. Ranck, Public Library, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Leo Tiefenthaler, Municipal Reference Library, Milwaukee, Wis.
Joseph Wright, Widener Library, Cambridge, Mass.

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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Ordinarily the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW should be in the hands of members and subscribers within a week of the first day of the months of publication, to wit, January, March, May, July, September, and November. The extraordinary conditions of the last six months, however, have resulted in numerous delays. If the magazine is not received by the 15th of the month of issue, the Editor will be greatly obliged if a postal to that effect is sent to his office, 703 North American Building, Philadelphia.

A MUNICIPAL PROGRAM FOR EDUCATING IMMIGRANTS IN CITIZENSHIP

BY JOHN MERRIMAN GAUS[1]

Boston, Mass.

THE concentration of immigrants in cities has given rise to more than one serious difficulty. The existence of so large a number of immigrants of voting age in our urban communities constitutes not only a social, but a political problem.[2] No comprehensive plan of social and political betterment can ever be carried through with success unless this great body of embryo voters has become politically assimilated, and this political assimilation demands a constructive program for the education of these people in the principles of American citizenship. This alone can supply a basis for fitting into a better American life those who have come from lands where very different ideals and methods of government prevail. And the burden of this task must inevitably fall upon our evening schools. Private agencies can help to some extent; but the satisfactory solution of the problem demands that it be taken in hand as a public enterprise, financed from public funds, and carried on as one of the regular educational functions of the municipality.

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[1] Mr. Gaus is a graduate of Amherst College. Since graduation he has pursued post-graduate studies in municipal government at Harvard University and has been associated with Dr. Robert A. Woods in the work of the South End House, Boston.

[2] In 1910 there were 13,345,545 immigrants in the United States. Of these no fewer than 9,761,427 were in the cities. The percentages of the foreign-born and their children were in Boston 74.2 per cent; in Cleveland, 74.8 per cent; in Chicago, 77.4 per cent; and in New York city, 78.6 per cent. More than 25 per cent (or 6,646,817) of all the males of voting age in the United States are foreign-born; and of these 55 per cent (or 3,612,700) are naturalized. See Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Bulletin* no. 16 (1916), and *Publication* no. 11 of the division of reference and research, department of education, New York city (1915).

THE URGENCY OF THE PROBLEM

The greatest obstacle in the way of developing a system of evening classes for immigrants has come from the general public's lack of knowledge as to the urgency of the problem, its extent and its importance. In several states there are no provisions for aiding these schools from the public funds, a situation which is due largely to the fact that the laws relating to school finance were framed long before the need of such schools had been felt. But the need is now serious. The United States Bureau of Education has given its opinion that "For those of 21 years of age and unable to speak English, the problem is acute and distressing. With 2,565,612 foreign-born whites who fall within this age group in the country in 1910 suffering from this disability, and only 35,614 foreign-born white adults in school, or 1.3 per cent, it is evident that practically no aliens are making any systematic effort to acquire the English language." State school laws have been passed in many states, notably in the chief immigration states, which provide for evening schools, but too often such legislation has been merely permissive and as a matter of fact but few schools have been established as a result of such legislation. In the principal immigration states, namely New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, California, and Wisconsin, according to figures up to March 8, 1916, at the Bureau of Education at Washington there were 272 evening schools for a total of 591 urban centers with over 1,000 foreign-born whites. These figures are only an earnest of the fact that the people have been slow to appreciate the necessity of providing for evening schools in which immigrants may receive an education in the English language and in American government and history. It is, accordingly, with a view to offering some constructive suggestions as to the best organization and methods that this paper has been written.

ADMINISTRATION

No system of immigrant education will be successful unless those in charge of it are keenly aware of its special importance, requirements, necessities, and demands. At the head of the work for immigrant education the city should place a director of evening school work for immigrants, under the superintendent of evening schools, who should have charge of the work of his division. In small cities where a special officer cannot be appointed because of the extra cost involved, I think it wiser to place these duties in the hands of a teacher of immigrants rather than give them over to an official who is not only overburdened already, but who will not give the work the emphasis and attention it deserves.

The duties of such an official should comprise mapping out of the work of his division, co-ordinating the efforts of the several schools, suggesting methods, lectures, special classes, and the conducting of a normal training class for teachers of immigrants. In small cities much of the actual teaching, or at least some part of it, may be done by volunteer workers, and this class especially need thorough training in the special task assigned to them. Buffalo and Rochester have officials whose duties roughly correspond to those I have outlined. An especially important part of the director's work should be the co-ordination of the work of the city school with that of the federal courts, the Bureau of Naturalization, and the other federal bureaus such as the division of immigrant education in the Bureau of Education.

The chief of the immigration bureau of the city of Cleveland[3] numbers among his duties that of "promoting the teaching of English and of citizenship among immigrant men and women in co-operation with the board of education." In this way the general city work among immigrants has been linked up with an adequate system of education for naturalization, and it is in this field of the work that a special supervisory officer is not only useful but essential.

TEACHING

Cities have generally recognized the necessity of obtaining specially trained instructors for evening school classes for immigrants, and this demand has resulted in the establishment of normal classes for teachers of immigrants. Such classes are conducted in a few cities by the directors of immigrant work, in normal schools, and in colleges. Cornell University and Teachers College both have courses for those specializing in this work, and in the fall of 1916 the university extension department of the Massachusetts board of education held fifteen weekly conferences at the Lowell normal school under the supervision of Mr. Herlihy, director of the Cambridge evening schools. A course was also taught by correspondence under the auspices of this department. The regents of the University of the State of New York have issued a syllabus of a course for teachers of immigrants, and the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior publishes suggestions and outlines for immigrant educational work to be used by principals and teachers. There are now many opportunities to obtain a training in this field, and educators who have studied this subject are in agreement with the conclusion that immigrant instructors should have preparation for this work. The Massachusetts commission on immigration reported in 1914 upon their investigations of the general subject of immigration in that state, and stated their conclusions on this point as follows:

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[3] For an account of the work in Cleveland, see an article in the New York city board of education's Report, previously cited, by R. E. Cole, formerly of the Cleveland immigration league.

> When it is remembered that the evening school follows a long day of hard work; that a large number of those who come are unable to read and write in their own language; that the class is often made up of representatives of many different nationalities; that while the immediate acquisition of a working knowledge of English is enormously important, the ambition to acquire much more than this must be stimulated; and that however eager the immigrant may be the period of his attendance must relatively be short, it is at once apparent that a high degree of professional skill, as well as of special aptitude for this kind of teaching, is necessary. But the very general belief that evening classes are only an unimportant adjunct to the school system has meant that the teachers generally have not measured up to this standard.

This conclusion is also voiced in the federal bureau's report which I have already quoted on other matters, the New York city report, and by practically every committee which has studied this phase of the work. It is apparent that teachers for immigrant education work should be selected from a civil service list based on a special education and training in immigrant instruction and on professional skill. This can come, of course, only with public recognition of the importance of immigrant education. The recent spread of facilities for the further training of such teachers would seem to indicate that the city, state and national governments are preparing to accord this branch of evening school instruction the importance it deserves.

The question as to the advisability of having the teachers use the language of the pupils seems to be a much mooted matter, and has heretofore been determined by the special circumstances of particular schools and cities. Speaking generally, the possession by the teacher of the ability to use languages other than English serves to establish a sympathy on the part of the instructor with the pupils, and it is of course of especial benefit to those pupils who speak little or no English. The North American Civic League for Immigrants has demonstrated the wisdom of lectures in the native language of the immigrants on such matters as factory laws, rates of wages, regulation of hours of work, foreign exchange and postal savings department of the post offices, health and sanitary regulations, and on various other matters which prove of use to the newcomers. The Massachusetts commission on immigration (1914) commended such lectures strongly. The use of an interpreter should be provided for in the evening schools in any event, and this would remove in some measure the necessity of the teachers knowing foreign tongues.

In general, one may say that teachers should be required to possess certificates showing a special training for the work, either from some normal school or college of recognized standing, or from a course conducted by the director of evening school work for immigrants. Weekly conferences should be held with the director, in order to keep in touch with the larger views of the work which is conducted in the city, and to be continually acquainted through the director with the development of the work in other cities and states. It is obvious that the pay should be sufficient to attract teachers willing to take the time and pains for this special preparation. The Massachusetts commission, while deploring the use of day school teachers in evening schools, suggested that teachers in part time afternoon schools for those students employed part of the day might well serve in the evening also.

ORGANIZATION

The pupils should first be grouped so far as possible according to their knowledge of English, and secondly according to their nationality. After this is done, age, sex, and previous education should be used as bases for further classification. These classes are held of course largely in the evening, but for those immigrants who are employed in night labor, afternoon sessions should be provided. Boston has a class for waiters and other night workers that meets at a downtown building in the afternoon, and is well attended. The school term has been in most cases much too short, lasting only through a few winter months at most. The heaviest immigration, however, comes from March to June, and these most recent newcomers should be provided for in summer sessions before the early desire to learn our language and customs wears off. Los Angeles with its nine months' term should be emulated, while New York city conducted classes in the summer of 1913–14 with a large enrollment.

EVENING SCHOOL CERTIFICATES

Louis F. Post recently said in a public address: "I hope to see the possibility of a certificate of the common schools of the country accepted by the courts, because they have reason to give forth to them a full and complete certificate or proof of the Americanization intellectually and morally, if necessary, of the alien applicant for citizenship." Fortunately the way is paved for the adoption of this measure by the action of the federal court in Los Angeles, where the judge accepted the certificate of evening school work of the applicant as sufficient evidence of his educational qualifications for citizenship. In so doing the immigrant is enabled to attach his early enthusiasms to an American institution which offers to him opportunities for becoming a citizen. The whole process becomes more visible and tangible, and his introduction to citizenship comes through the finest channels and under the most favorable auspices. The reaction upon the school itself is favorable also, since the school organization must then of necessity adapt itself to the important task of supplying a comprehensive system of education of immigrants in English, American history, and American government. The hopes of the immigrant are then transferred from a political club or ward leader to a corps of specially trained instructors whose sole aim is to help him in every way as much as possible.

The following is a copy of the certificate now accepted by the federal and state courts in Los Angeles.

LOS ANGELES EVENING HIGH SCHOOL

Department of Civic Education of Immigrants

This is to certify that .... has completed the course and passed the examination in United States Citizenship as approved by the Superior Court of the State of California and the United States District Court, having jurisdiction of naturalization in Los Angeles County.

.........*Principal.*
..........*Director.*

Date..........

Director Kelso of the department of civic education of immigrants, Los Angeles, says in a circular entitled "Civic Education of Immigrants":

> The civic education of immigrants is one of the fundamental requirements, and great credit is due the courts of Los Angeles for recognizing the work of the schools as they have done by accepting certificates of the work of the schools as evidence of mental qualifications for citizenship. Presiding Judge J. P. Wood of the superior court first recognized the better preparation of applicants who have been in the citizenship classes of the public schools and the advantages of accepting such certificates, and secured the approval of the federal authorities. Accordingly school diplomas certifying that an approved course has been pursued, are accepted by the federal and state courts, and those who present them are excused from public examination in court. As this is done with the approval of the federal naturalization authorities, the way is open for the adoption of the same method anywhere in the United States.

PUBLICITY

It is unreasonable to provide an elaborate equipment for evening school work for immigrants and then not have this equipment and organization used. A proper system of publicity is necessary to achieve the best results. I have already indicated the usefulness of a supervisor in this respect, for he should conduct the publicity campaign. The schools must co-operate with every possible agency to advertise the time and place of these classes, in languages used by the immigrants of the city. The Federal Bureau of Naturalization is co-operating by sending to school authorities the names of those immigrants who have applied for their first papers, and by informing the applicants of the existence of evening schools. The director should keep in touch with the local naturalization authorities and courts to obtain the names of applicants. He should further place posters in factories, libraries, halls, poolrooms, stores, stations, saloons, street cars, and every public place available. Children should be given messages to take to their parents telling of the evening school classes. Announcements in the moving picture theaters, shop talks, addresses to local clubs and national organizations that are to be found in immigrant districts, notices in pay envelopes—all these aid in bringing the opportunity to those who should use it. In some schools, councils formed from the various nationalities represented have served to good advantage in advertising. One city, Buffalo, employs a special visitor. Local chambers of commerce are always willing and ready to serve in a publicity campaign, and in Detroit such a combined effort resulted in an increase in evening school attendance of 152 per cent.

LIBRARIES

The libraries have been among the first of our city institutions to respond to the new demands created by immigrants. Many have placed an emphasis on their foreign language departments in co-operation with evening school principals. They have advertised citizenship classes through bulletin board announcements and by placing announcement slips in books drawn by foreigners. In some of the branch libraries citizenship classes have been conducted, and while this work may well be transferred to the local evening school there is still left a wide field in which they may assist by supplying good books on American government and history adapted to immigrants. Mr. John F. Carr, director of the Immigrant Publication Society, reported recently a very wide use of the libraries in American cities in connection with the general movement for the instruction and naturalization of immigrants.[4]

SOCIAL CENTERS

The establishment of centers for immigrant education adequately organized and financed marks a new development in facing the immigrant problem. The immigrant will no longer come with ideals that are only to be crushed out in the complex and disheartening life of the typical immigrant quarter, but will be met by the city schools with their opportunities to learn the English language and American government and history. The hopes and aspirations which draw so many to America will no longer be repressed, only to seek expression later in lawlessness and vice, in attachment to improper political organizations and local bosses who prostitute these sources of political life, but will find cordial welcome in neighborhood centers of education and recreation. The spread of the movement to provide for neighborhood clubhouses of which settlements are an earnest is not due to mere sentiment, but to a growing realization of the importance of assimilating both the foreign and native elements into normal, healthy city life. "The prosperous classes have begun to find that a demoralizing political régime, bred in the midst of an alien, ill-favored way of life, is getting its hold upon the affairs of their pleasant residential districts, and even threatens at times important downtown business interests."[5] The problem must be met by a city program combining the educational and recreational opportunities which shall insure the immigrant a fitting integration into American life.[6] The problem is too vast, too complicated and too crucial to be left to the spasmodic efforts of private agencies.

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[4] *Some of the People We Work For*, Immigrant Publication Society, 241 Fifth avenue, New York city.

HOW ZONING WORKS IN NEW YORK

BY HERBERT S. SWAN[1]
New York

THE adoption of the zoning resolution in New York marked the inauguration of a new epoch in American city planning. Prior to its enactment, public restrictions regulating the height, use and area of buildings had received but scant consideration in this country. In most cities such regulations were absolutely unknown. Only a few cities like Boston, Los Angeles, Minneapolis and Washington, had had any experience with them at all.[2] Since its enactment, New York has become a Mecca for pilgrimages of citizens and officials who would have their cities profit by her example. Its adoption by New York gave zoning considerable impetus. Fresno, Oakland, Newark, Jersey City, Niagara Falls, Cambridge, Philadelphia, Milwaukee and St. Louis have appointed commissions that are now at work on zoning plans for their respective cities. Berkeley and Sacramento adopted ordinances regulating the use of buildings while the subject was under discussion in New York.

The purpose of this paper will be to chronicle the developments that have occurred in the New York use district regulations up to the end of 1917. As the erection of high buildings has all but ceased on account of the war, the effect of the height and area restrictions has not been very noticeable.

NON-CONFORMING BUILDINGS

In the establishment of residential and industrial districts it is clear that it would be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible,—and if possible, most inequitable, to treat existing buildings that did not conform to the proposed regulations in the same manner as those that conformed.

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[5] *Americans in Process*, R. A. Woods. Boston, 1902.

[6] For many of the suggestions here presented I am indebted to the *Immigrants in America Review*, published by the Committee for Immigrants in America.

[1] Secretary, zoning committee, New York.

[2] For a full description of the restrictions in these cities see articles by the writer in the report of the heights of buildings commission, New York, 1913.

Any existing use should as a general rule be allowed to continue. All existing uses have been established under the sanction of existing or past laws and are therefore entitled to protection. To disturb them would cause much dissatisfaction in the affected quarters and might jeopardize the whole zoning scheme. But changes or extensions of non-conforming uses are to be treated in a manner different from the continuation of such uses. A new use or an extended use has not acquired a vested right to exist. To prevent its introduction into the district, therefore, presents no question of equity like that of continuing an existing use.

In laying out use districts two principles should be observed so far as changes or extensions of uses in existing buildings are concerned:

(1) Buildings situated in restricted districts and conforming to the use regulations of their district should in the future be obliged to continue to conform to these regulations; and

(2) Buildings situated in restricted districts and which do not conform to the regulations of their use district, when having their use changed, should be obliged to have it changed in so far as possible in conformity with the regulations of the use district in which they are situated. Where conformity is impossible, the change should be as far as possible in the direction of conformity.

The original section of the resolution treating of non-conforming buildings was so ambiguous as to make it exceedingly doubtful whether it observed either of these principles. In fact the situation was so critical that it threatened the early breakdown of the use district regulations in many built-up portions of the city unless speedily corrected. The amendment adopted by the board of estimate on December 21, 1917, remedying these defects is the most far-reaching one yet made to the resolution.

THE AMENDMENT OF DECEMBER 21, 1917

In the first place, it settled a question that had given rise to probably more misunderstanding than any other in the resolution, viz., Could buildings situated in business districts, designed for business or residence purposes, but which contained a limited amount of manufacturing on July 25, 1916, have their manufacturing use extended throughout the building? The commission on building districts and restrictions clearly intended to keep these buildings in the same class as new buildings erected in business districts, *i.e.*, to limit the manufacturing use of such buildings to 25 per cent of the floor area, but not to a smaller floor area than the lot area in any case. If the manufacturing use in these buildings might be extended throughout the building, then the protection of the Fifth avenue district against the introduction of more manufacturing in buildings already constructed was practically *nil*. The amendment makes it plain that buildings which conformed to the regulations of their use district on July 25, 1916, will have to conform to these regulations in the future.

Another serious weakness in the resolution was that it allowed existing nuisance uses to be extended at the expense of non-nuisance uses. With this provision in the resolution there was nothing to protect a restricted district against steady deterioration. If this situation had been allowed to remain, it would to a large extent have offset the benefits arising out of the prohibition of new nuisances in restricted districts.

A third defect in the resolution of scarcely less danger than either of those described was that it allowed manufacturing and business uses to be extended at the expense of residential occupancies in residence districts. The amendment has the effect of preventing the encroachment of stores and factories situated in the basement or ground floor of dwellings and apartment houses upon the space now used for residential purposes.

A fourth question, which was more or less mooted and which the amendment clarifies, is what changes of use will be allowed when accompanied with structural alterations. The different nuisances are subdivided into forty-four different groups. For the purpose of continuing a nuisance use structural alterations are allowed to the extent of 50 per cent of the value of the building, exclusive of foundations. There may, however, be no extension of the nuisance. A change of one nuisance into another nuisance included in the same group is treated as a continuation of the same use. A change of one nuisance into another nuisance not included in the same group is treated as a change of use in which case no structural alterations are allowed.

The amendment also undoes the mischief done by the non-fireproof garage ordinance passed by the board of aldermen in July, 1917, in so far as it affects the zoning resolution. A construction placed upon the resolution by the board of appeals permitted public stables to be changed into garages without a public hearing, provided the cost of the structural alterations did not exceed one-half the value of the building exclusive of foundations. The commission on building districts and restrictions intended that no stable which required structural alterations should be changed into a garage except after a public hearing. Before the adoption of the non-fireproof garage ordinance by the board of aldermen this rule followed by the board of appeals did not make any great material difference as the fireproofing provisions of the building code were so stringent that very few stables, if any, could be so altered without a larger expenditure than that allowed by the resolution. The new garage ordinance and the rules adopted under it by the board of standards and appeals, however, reduced the fireproofing provisions of the building code to such a degree that practically any stable less than fifty feet high could be changed into a garage. The amendment remedies this situation by requiring the board of appeals to hold a public hearing in each instance.

The intention of the framers of the resolution was to permit any existing use to continue undisturbed whether or not it conformed to the regulations of the use district in which it was situated. "Any existing use," however, appeared in the resolution, when passed, as "any existing lawful use." Correctly understood, this difference in phraseology should have made no difference in the administration of the law, the board of estimate, of course, having no power to declare lawful any use which the legislature had made unlawful. But many persons, including certain officials charged with the enforcement of the law, construed the word "lawful" as being synonymous with the word "legal." As the legality of an establishment frequently depends upon a technical compliance with the statutes or the municipal code of ordinances, the effect of this interpretation, had it been consistently applied to the administration of the law, would have been to exclude a large number of non-conforming uses in the restricted districts. A garage, for instance, which had not paid its license fee would have been obliged to discontinue. So would a factory upon which a violation had been filed. The absurd length to which this conception of the law was carried is illustrated by the attempt of an adjoining owner to eject a long-time squatter under this provision of the resolution. The amendment drops the word "lawful" and allows any non-conforming use existing on July 25, 1916, to continue.

The resolution also allowed a use which contravened the regulations of its use district on July 25, 1916, and which had since been changed to conform with these regulations at any time to be changed back again into a use contravening the regulations of its use district. The amendment corrects this weakness of the resolution by providing that any existing use, which violated its use district regulations at the time of the passage of the amendment and which at any time thereafter is changed into a use that conforms with its use district regulations, may not be changed into another use except in accordance with the provisions of its use district.

GARAGES

Another amendment adopted on December 21, 1917, treats of the erection of garages and stables in business districts. The decision in the case of *Beinert* v. *Miller*[3] left the powers of the board of appeals in a somewhat doubtful position with reference to garages. The framers of the zoning resolution intended to authorize the board to allow, after a public hearing, the erection of a garage or a stable upon any block which contained a garage for more than five motor vehicles or a stable for more than five horses, the permission to extend to both sides of such a street. The decision in this case, however, seemed to limit the discretion of the board to allow such structures only on the same side of the street. The amendment rectifies this error and makes it plain that a stable or a garage may be erected on either side of a street between two intersecting streets that contained a garage or stable on July 25, 1916.

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[3] New York Law Journal, June 18, 1917, p. 1045.

The amendment also clearly defines on what streets the board of appeals may allow a garage or a stable to be erected in a business district. The resolution limits this discretion of the board to such streets as contained a "public garage or public stable" on July 25, 1916. What constituted a "public garage" or "public stable" was not defined. The board has, however, construed a public stable as one sheltering more than five horses and a public garage as one containing more than five cars. The amendment incorporates this definition into the resolution.

Another amendment adopted to the resolution by the board of estimate on September 21, 1917, authorizes the board of appeals to permit in a business or residence district, after a public hearing, the erection of a garage provided the petitioner files the consents, duly acknowledged, of the owners of 80 per cent of the frontage deemed by the board to be immediately affected by the proposed garage.

This amendment is designed to take care of the garage problem in the outlying sections of the city. In Brooklyn and Queens, for instance, there are large restricted districts that are situated at a great distance from an unrestricted district, or from a business district containing a public garage or a public stable. These sections, which are being developed with private houses or apartment houses, of course, need public garages. This amendment is designed to afford them this convenience at the same time that it protects them against the garage nuisance. Before this amendment was passed the only way in which these neighborhoods could obtain a garage was by petitioning the board of estimate for the extension of the unrestricted districts and this usually opened up a whole street for invasion by every prohibited nuisance.

An effect already noticeable from the adoption of this amendment has been to lessen the number of changes petitioned for in the zoning maps. This is despite the fact that only two appeals have been granted under the provisions of the amendment during the first three months of its operation.

PERMITS ISSUED PRIOR TO ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION

The resolution when passed on July 25, 1916, gave owners to whom building permits had been issued prior to the adoption of the resolution until one year after the approval of their plans, but not later than October 25, 1917, to complete their buildings up to the second tier of beams. This permission applied to all buildings for which permits had been issued whether or not they complied with the particular height, use and area districts adopted by the board of estimate. Permits for buildings on which this amount of work had not been done by the stipulated date were to lapse. In other words, such buildings if erected after October 25, 1917, had to conform with all the requirements of the zoning resolution. This concession was granted to afford those owners who had entered into contracts with architects for drawings or with builders for labor or materials the full benefit of their plans. The board of estimate did not wish any one who had entered into *bona fide* contracts for the erection of buildings to suffer financial loss on account of the enactment of the resolution. One year was, however, assumed to be sufficient time for the demonstration of this *bona fide* intent.

When this period of one year was almost ready to expire a few owners, who had obtained permits for the erection of prohibited buildings within restricted districts before the passage of the resolution, petitioned the board of estimate for an extension of time. To have given a blanket extension to all would have been most unfair to the restricted districts. The civic organizations interested in the enforcement of the resolution at least considered it as a direct attack on the law. On October 19, 1917, after the matter had been hanging in the balance for almost five months, the board of estimate solved the problem in a very satisfactory manner by extending the time one year for the completion of such buildings, the construction or fabrication of which would in the opinion of the board of appeals have been completed on time but for the intervention of conditions beyond the owner's control and impossible for him to foresee. This compromise instead of extending the time of an unknown number of buildings in all parts of the city, at least over a hundred buildings, affected but two buildings.

This solution, needless to say, did not satisfy the defeated owners. They next attempted to get the board of estimate to extend the time of such buildings as violated the height and area restrictions but not the use restrictions. In this attempt, too, they failed, the board of estimate turning the proposition down on December 14, 1917.

MAP CHANGES

Up to November 20, 1917, the board of estimate had acted on 53 proposed amendments to the zoning maps. Of these, 47 affected the use maps and 6 the area maps. The board declined to grant 20 of the amendments petitioned for to the use maps. All of the amendments proposed to the area maps were adopted. Of the 27 amendments made in the use maps, all but four were in the nature of a relaxation of the restrictions. These four changes extended the residence restrictions at the expense of the business restrictions. The remaining 23 amendments involved 26 changes in the use district boundary lines as one of the amendments effected three changes and another two changes. One change extended the unrestricted district at the expense of the residence district; eight the business districts at the expense of the residence districts; and 17 the unrestricted districts at the expense of the business districts. The new unrestricted districts were probably in most instances created for the purpose of allowing garages. Of the six amendments made to the area district maps two were in the nature of a tightening of the restrictions.

No special significance is to be attached to the fact that most of the changes made in the zoning maps relaxed the restrictions. The changes, practically all of which affected very small areas, were, as a general rule, necessitated by a mistake in the imposition of the restrictions.

The few amendments to the zoning maps adopted by the board of estimate in the way of tightening the restrictions, however, demonstrate the futility of voluntary restrictions. If zoning is to be left to petitioning property owners there will be very little zoning done. Zoning to be effective must be carried out at the initiative of the city itself.

THE BOARD OF APPEALS

One of the most satisfactory provisions of the zoning resolution is that which authorizes the board of appeals to administer it so as in exceptional cases to obviate unnecessary hardship. A rigid application of the law without regard to existing property lines or to surrounding conditions would often prove arbitrary and instead of conserving property values would actually cause their decrease. A mandatory law which treats exceptional cases in the same manner as it treats average cases cannot be nearly so drastic in its provisions as one which allows discrimination and good judgment to be used in enforcing it under peculiar circumstances.

Vesting authority in the board of appeals to vary the use district regulations to meet the needs of these exigencies permitted the adoption of a much broader and more comprehensive plan than would have been possible had all property been subjected to the same restrictions regardless of mitigating conditions.

At first the board considered merely the abstract question whether it would or would not allow an exception to be made. This method proved very unsatisfactory as it clogged the calendar with hypothetical appeals brought, not by really interested parties, but by enterprising real estate men. In one case, for instance, the owner appeared as a protestant against the granting of an appeal affecting his own plot! The courts, however, helped to solve this difficulty. In *Beinert* v. *Miller*, *supra*, it was decided that the board, being of an appellate character, cannot exercise original jurisdiction in the disposition of matters which must first be submitted for the decision of other departments, even though such departments have absolutely no discretion. Its authority is strictly limited to reviewing decisions of administrative officials. It cannot entertain abstract propositions. In the case of new buildings, for instance, its action is limited to a consideration of the particular plans rejected by the building superintendent. The board may approve or disapprove of these plans or it may indicate modifications and changes necessary to have the plans meet its approval. It cannot anticipatorily and decisively act upon plans not before it.

Two or three illustrations may be given of the conditions imposed by the board to safeguard the character of the restricted district. In one instance an appeal was granted for an extension of an existing factory on the condition that not more than ten persons were to be employed in the building at one time. In another instance an appeal was granted for the extension of a business building in a residence district on the condition that no show windows or entrances would be placed in that part of the building within the residence district. In a third instance an appeal for the erection of a garage in a business district was granted on the condition that the front of the building should have the appearance of a business building rather than that of a garage. In granting appeals for the erection of garages in restricted districts the board very frequently inserts a condition prohibiting exits or entrances on certain streets.

The first appeals granted by the board did not limit the time within which the building operation had to be completed. As the board might grant an appeal under existing conditions to-day and decline it under changed conditions two or three years hence, it was deemed best to impose a time limit upon the life of all appeals granted. At the present time each appeal is granted on the condition that the necessary permits for the work be secured within nine months and that the work be completed within eighteen months of the date of the granting of the appeal.

Up to December 31, 1917, the board of appeals had disposed of 483 building zone appeals. Of these 216 were granted; 114 denied; 96 dismissed; and 57 withdrawn.

VIOLATIONS IN EXISTING BUILDINGS

The fire commissioner is charged with the enforcement of the use district regulations in all existing buildings except tenements. Under this authority the commissioner has taken prompt action on all violations complained of by citizens. Some fifty complaints have thus been acted upon during the past year. Most of these involve garage violations; but others involve rag shops, tailor shops, dry cleaning establishments and factories which have invaded restricted districts.

The commissioner has done everything in his power to encourage citizen complaints on violations of the resolution. Announcement of his willingness to act on complaints has been published several times in the newspapers. In addition to this he has also had 50,000 circulars printed for distribution among taxpayers, civic and neighborhood associations and home-owners asking them to make a prompt report of any violation of the restrictions. To enable him to enforce the law more readily, the tenement house commissioner has made an exact census of all the non-conforming uses located in tenement houses throughout the city.

ZONING IN THE COURTS

The attitude of the courts thus far toward zoning has been most favorable.

Rotterdam Holding Co. v. *Hunts Point Garage Co.* and *Grant* v. *Hunts Point Garage Co., Inc.*,[4] were both motions *pendente lite* restraining the defendant from erecting a garage in violation of the resolution. As the court held that the permit obtained for the erection of the garage was perfectly legal, the question of constitutionality was not considered.

Anderson v. *Steinway & Sons*[5] was an action to enforce the specific performance of a contract for the property known as No. 112 West 58th street. The contract of sale contained the usual covenants and warranty conveying the fee simple of the premises free from all incumbrances. The purchasers, Steinway & Sons, acquired the property with the intention of improving it with a warehouse, but nothing was said of this intention in the written contract. Between the making of the contract and the date set for the delivery of the deed, the resolution was passed, restricting the block in which this particular plot was situated to residential purposes. On the ground that they could not erect their projected warehouse, Steinway & Sons refused to fulfill their part of the contract. The seller brought action for specific performance claiming among other things that the resolution was unconstitutional.

The special term of the supreme court, in deciding the case, held that Steinway & Sons were obliged to take title whether the resolution was constitutional or not, as the resolution did not constitute an incumbrance or restriction within the meaning of the contract. The court held that an incumbrance or restriction which could justify a rejection of title must be one imposed upon the property, not by act of law, but by some affirmative act of the grantor or his predecessor in title, or in consequence of a violation of law on their part, through an act of omission or commission, for which they were responsible. The resolution, moreover, did not in itself render the title unmarketable as the marketability of property has reference only to a defect in or a doubt to the title. An unexpected intervention of a law restricting the use of the premises to residential purposes, therefore, did not prevent the seller in this case from delivering the deed nor the buyer from accepting the deed.

The defendant appealed from this decision. In reversing the judgment of the lower court, the appellate division of the supreme court refused to be drawn into a discussion of the constitutional point. The court held specific performance to be inequitable whether the resolution was valid or invalid. If the resolution was valid, the defendant could not erect his warehouse; if it was of doubtful validity the defendant would have to establish its invalidity through a lawsuit. The opinion of the appellate division has been affirmed by the court of appeals.

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[4] New York Law Journal, December 22, 1916, p. 1068.

[5] New York Law Journal, January 23, 1917, p. 1446.

Lincoln Trust Co. v. *Williams Building Corporation*[6] involved a real estate transfer entered into after the enactment of the resolution. The plot was sold in fee simple free from all incumbrances. Nothing was said in the contract about the residential restrictions imposed by the resolution on the parcel. The question presented to the court was whether these restrictions imposed by the resolution constituted an incumbrance which would absolve the purchaser from his contract. The special term of the supreme court held that it did not. The zoning resolution, the court said, is in the nature of a governmental regulation subject to which all property is held and all contracts and conveyances are made. Locally it is the law of the land; all titles are held and enjoyed in subordination to it, and all persons who enter into contracts for the purchase or sale of real estate must be deemed to have contracted in accordance with the limitations imposed by it.

Albany Heights Realty Co. v. *Vogt* came up in the special term of the supreme court. This case also involved a suit for specific performance in a real estate transaction entered into after the adoption of the resolution. In this instance the buyer had purchased the premises in question for the purpose of conducting a riding academy. The property was situated in a business district. The board of appeals granted the buyer permission to erect his riding academy but this decision of the board was immediately attacked by neighboring property owners who in a *certiorari* proceeding claimed that the board had no authority to permit a riding academy on these particular premises. The claim of the neighboring property owners was upheld in the case of *Beinert* v. *Miller*. Nothing was said in the contract of the buyer's intention to erect a riding academy. But when he was barred thus by the courts from erecting his riding academy he maintained that the omission of all reference to this intention in the contract was due to a mutual mistake by the contracting parties. He therefore answered the suit for specific performance by petitioning the court to reform the contract. The defendant's claim of mutual mistake was supported by the testimony brought out at the trial and the court accordingly reformed the contract. This released the buyer from his purchase.

The effect of *People ex rel. Beinert* v. *Miller*[7] has already been discussed.

Whitridge v. *Park*[8] disposed of an application for an injunction to restrain the maintenance of a restaurant at No. 47 Fifth avenue. This restaurant had been established in a residential building in a residential district, in violation of the resolution. The injunction was applied for by neighboring property owners. The case was tried before the special term of the supreme court. The court decided that the injunctive power is not available in behalf of a private individual in enforcing the zoning resolution. This decision was based on two grounds: first, that a violation of the zoning resolution does not injure adjoining property in such a manner as to warrant a differentiation between the injury suffered by it and that suffered by the remainder of the community; and secondly, that equity does not undertake to restrain an act which violates a municipal by-law or ordinance unless the act is a nuisance *per se*. The lower court has been sustained in this opinion by the appellate division of the supreme court.

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[6] New York Law Journal, July 20, 1917, p. 1368.

[7] New York Law Journal, June 18, 1917, p. 1045.

[8] New York Law Journal, February 19, 1917, p. 1808.

ATTITUDE OF PUBLIC TOWARD ZONING

The best supporter the resolution has is the man who has built in accordance with its provisions. Having put up a building that conforms to the law, he has more than an academic interest in seeing others live up to it. The strength of this force is cumulative, each additional new building adding to it, until in time it will become one of the strongest bulwarks against the resolution's overthrow. Zoning is rapidly becoming a well-established institution in New York. Being almost solidly back of it, property owners show little or no inclination to litigate it in the courts. Owners generally appreciate the immense advantages resulting from its adoption. Their one regret is that zoning was not put into effect years ago.

THE PROBLEM OF CITY GOVERNMENT IN CHINA

BY FREDERIC C. SZE
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THE problem of city government in China is not so new as to stand in danger of being misapprehended for a novel question in the science of government; nor is the problem so old as to convey to the mind of the reader definite ideas of its nature, importance and solution. To be sure, China had begun, almost a decade ago, to lay the foundations for an efficient system of local government based, for the most part, on principles brought from other countries and had made repeated attempts toward an earlier adoption of the new method; but it was not until 1912 when the monarchy was overthrown that the people undertook a radical scheme for governing themselves. In the summer of 1914, a reaction came and the old order was re-established. Three years had hardly elapsed before another reaction occurred, which resulted in the widespread demand for the reinstallment of local self-government. However, the whole interest of the people is now being concentrated in the drafting of a permanent constitution and the struggle between the centralizing influence of a strong national administration and the decentralizing influence of provincial or local autonomy is yet to be fought out. On the result of that struggle will depend the form of city government to be ultimately adopted throughout the land. It may, therefore, well be said that the origin of the problem is comparatively recent. To my mind, the problem of city government in China is essentially and emphatically a problem of efficient local self-government.

THE ANCIEN RÉGIME

Before proceeding to an examination of the several attempts at municipal reform, it will perhaps be advisable to give some attention to the political principles, the forms and the machinery of the *ancien régime* in China. For this purpose an analysis of the character of the government is more essential than a minute description of its organization. At the same time a simple account of the theory and practice of local government in small communities will serve as an introduction to the municipal problem.

The foundations of the Chinese political structure date from time immemorial and remained substantially the same until the outbreak of the revolution. The emperor stood at the head of the government as an absolute and unlimited monarch, in theory at least. He appointed all the officials of the empire, but as a rule, the actual choice in the lower ranks was made by the superior provincial officials. A complete hierarchy of officialdom existed under the defunct Manchu dynasty.

According to the Confucian philosophy, which has been the foundation of Chinese political thought, the emperor and his representatives, the officials, were looked upon as the fathers of the people, and the submission to parental authority was a duty to be strictly observed by all. In the long Chinese story, however, the people are the real heroes; for as Mencius, a disciple of Confucius, said: "The people are the most important element in the nation; the spirit of the land and grain are next; and the sovereign is the least." "Heaven sees as the people see; and Heaven hears as the people hear." The nation is the tree, the dynasties were but the leaves. National government and responsibility must be shared with the people; for if the millions in China were not satisfied with the existing rule, nothing would be easier for them than to unite and overthrow it. The influence of the Confucian Classics has been great and far-reaching. "On the one hand they have curbed the multitude in their radical tendencies and on the other acted as bulwarks for the people against unwarranted governmental encroachments."

The practical efficacy of the system in promoting the welfare of the people and maintaining the peace and order of the country depended primarily upon the district magistrates. They were in close touch with the people. Speaking of the district magistrate, one writer says: "The magistrate is the backbone of the whole official system"; and "to a great majority of the people, the embodiment of all the essentials of the government." As a matter of fact, he was in a position of great independent authority. Briefly put, China had a very loose political organization. Although it appeared to have elements of stability, it was often practically weak in the very points where it most needed strength, namely, in its capacity to put forth powerful and sudden measures.

EARLY TRADITIONS OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

In the eyes of many foreign observers, China appeared to be a land of contradictions. No matter on what other ground that view might be based, it cannot be denied that the fundamental antithesis between imperial autocracy and local autonomy as it existed under the Manchu dynasty contributed greatly toward the creation of that belief. China was reputed to have one of the most absolute governments in the world. The government, though patriarchal, was not paternalistic. It did not wish to be bothered with local problems and had no thought of meddling in them. So all matters of local concern were left to the people and were consequently managed by the headmen and elders who obtained their positions by and with local popular approval.

Every town or city had several headmen, whose duties were many and varied. They were called upon "to settle disputes, to represent the people in the case of litigation in local courts, and, in general, to be the intermediary between them and the civil power." The headman had to report whatever of importance occurred within his ward or constituency. The district magistrate, who was coroner as well as land registrar, depended largely upon him for fulfilling his multifarious duties.

Another factor which played an important part in local government was the gentry and merchant guilds. "When Chinese from one province of China settle in another, one of their first acts is to establish a guild or guilds in the centers where they reside. These, formed primarily for protection, gradually assume municipal functions, and for many reasons, chiefly financial, are looked upon with favor by the local authorities. They can be relied upon for contributions, and are also useful bodies when any scheme of betterment is propounded from without. The opposition of the gentry and guilds can always be cited as a powerful lever to block reforms and to palliate inaction."

Besides these guilds, there were also guilds of native merchants, which exercised the municipal duties of maintaining the streets, drains, and bridges, providing food and extra clothing to the poor, keeping in order the ponds and wells for the water supply, guarding commonalties and supplying theatrical performances and other entertainments. These unofficial gentry and guilds together with the *ti-pao* or local constable really constituted the executive board of the city or town.

Certainly in more instances than one, the democratic element was detected in the habit of local self-government. No restrictions were placed upon the right of assemblage by the people upon the consideration of their own affairs. The government had no other security for itself than espionage and by a graded responsibility was able to hold all its subjects under strict control.

In short, the government of China was nothing less than a unique combination of democracy and autocracy. Perhaps in no other large state has the principle of local autonomy and *laissez faire* ever been as consistently observed so far as municipal affairs are concerned as in the Chinese political organization.

MUNICIPAL REFORMS

So long as China was left to herself, the system of government just described was fairly satisfactory, though not conducive to progress. When pressure began to come from without, when it became necessary to meet the aggression of foreign nations, both the central government and the people realized that reforms of all sorts, especially in the line of government, must be introduced to keep pace with the advancement of world civilization. A reform of the system in the sense of defining exactly the scope of authority of the existing organs of local administration has been going on since 1906. By the program of reform schemes drawn up by a special commission and sanctioned by the emperor on August 27, 1908, the introduction of local self-government was to be begun in 1909, so that the establishment of local self-government institutions for cities, towns and villages might be completed in 1913. Regulations to that effect were promulgated in 1909 and 1910. Some of the main features were: (1) Each city to have a city council as a deliberative body and an executive board. (2) The members of the municipal council (the number varying from 20 to 50 depending on the population) to be elected by delegates chosen by the electors directly for a term of two years; while the members of the executive board (in number equal to one twentieth of the total number of members of the council) are to be elected from the ranks of the electors by the municipal council; from four to twelve honorary members to be included in the board; all members of the board to be approved of by the government authorities. (3) Supervision over the actions of the municipal administration as regards its regularity and legality to be exercised by the local authorities, who, in this connection, should forward detailed reports of the proceedings of local self-government institutions to the governor-general or governor of the province. The Ministry of the Interior to possess supreme control. (4) All people who are Chinese subjects, not less than twenty-five years of age, who have resided in the city for three consecutive years and pay a direct tax or contribute not less than two dollars for local public needs, to be electors, with the right to vote for, and to be elected as, members of the municipal administration. Persons attached to local officials, as well as officials at local police establishments, to lose the franchise and to be ineligible for election; teachers in elementary schools to be eligible for election but not to vote.

These regulations, based largely on the European model and drawn up to suit the peculiar needs of the country, did not come into effect until toward the end of the Manchu *régime* when the emperor was obliged to satisfy the popular demand for the early adoption of the new system of government. Consequently representative legislative assemblies were instituted in provincial cities.

STATES' RIGHTS VS. LOCAL AUTONOMY

Scarcely had that system had a fair trial when the revolution of 1911 broke out, resulting in the overthrow of the Manchus and also of the monarchy. It is not our purpose here to go into the immediate and remote causes of that epoch-making event. Suffice it to say that the revolution was not only a protest against corruption, misrule and inefficiency on the part of the ruling family but also a conflict between states' rights and local autonomy on the one hand and a policy of national control on the other. The forces of centralization and decentralization were at work and found an issue in the question of nationalization of railways.

A period of confusion and turmoil followed the establishment of the republic. In all matters, there was no standardization; uniformity was the exception, local regulations the rule and elasticity invariably apparent. Most administrative officials became elective and many of the provinces were fast slipping from the control of the central government. The torch of excessive liberty illumined the whole country. Time, and the collapse of the revolution in 1913, enabled Peking to regain and strengthen its authority. In 1914 all local legislative bodies were dissolved and all officials were appointed directly by the central government. The outlook for democratic government was certainly unpromising. The Yuan administration favored gradual introduction in place of excessive responsibilities which, as the first result of the revolution of 1911, devolved upon the shoulders of the people. Another new municipal code was drafted and promulgated, similar in nature to that proclaimed by the Manchu emperor. It consisted of five sections of thirty-eight articles. An ordinance provided that the provisions would go into effect only after two successive stages of investigation and preparation. Although the code has not been carried out, and probably will not be tried owing to the accession of the progressive party to power after the death of former president Yuan Shih Kai in June, 1916, it deserves more than passing interest.

THE MUNICIPAL CODE OF 1911

The municipal code treats all municipal units as *chus* or divisions of self-government. The mayor and the members of the municipal council are appointed by the *Hsien Chih Shih* or district magistrate from the nominees selected by the voters. The council meets twice a year, each session lasting twenty days. The scope of the council's deliberations is limited to affairs of sanitation, philanthropy, education, communication, agriculture, trade and industry. The council is also empowered to consider ways and means to raise revenue, to pass the local budget, to manage the local public property and to propose prosecution. On the other hand, the mayor prepares the resolutions, executes the ordinances of the council which have been confirmed by the district magistrate, the orders of that central official and national laws, and determines the way to carry out the provisions of the council's ordinances.

The power of the district magistrate is surprisingly great. Everything has to go through his hands, even the budget, before it goes to the council for passage. Whatever may be said against the code, there are of course a few merits, the chief one being the intense, if not excessive, central administrative control. It would have been interesting to have seen how the code would work; but it met the same fate as the former code.

Dating from the suspension of all local legislative bodies to the present moment, there has been no local self-government. All municipal powers have been concentrated in one person, the district magistrate, appointed by the Minister of Interior through a competitive civil service examination. He is assisted by his chiefs of administrative departments, who are responsible to him alone. Only recently the provincial assemblies have been restored, but the subordinate local assemblies are yet to be found. The whole country now watches with strained attention the activity of the Li administration in its efforts to improve local self-government.* As to what course it will take, it is very hard to conjecture at present, but we may be pretty sure that much of the central control as found in the former municipal codes will be retained.

PROBABLE SOLUTIONS

Having painted a picture of the Chinese system of government and the various attempts at municipal reforms, we come now to the real issue of the problem—how can it be solved? In attempting to answer that question, we find ourselves involved in a network of other problems. Before we can find a proper solution, we must determine, first of all, how the city shall be controlled, whether by the people themselves or by the central authorities.

As stated previously, the problem of city government in China is essentially and emphatically a problem of efficient local self-government. To attain this end, central administrative control is absolutely necessary. Past experience shows that decentralization and the habit of independence in the Chinese political structure proved a source of hopeless weakness. The district magistrate should therefore be given as much power as the French prefect, if not more. The French model of municipal government will appeal more than any other to the Chinese people as a good example of local self-government with a high degree of central administrative control. The mere fact that the city serves as an agent of the national government makes it necessary that the district magistrate should see to it that all national laws are properly carried out by the city officials and that no local regulations or ordinances are in conflict with the existing national laws.

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* This was written in January, 1918.

As an organ of local self-government, the Chinese city should be allowed to manage all affairs of purely local concern under the supervision of the district magistrate. In this case, the magistrate should act rather as an adviser and critic, thereby carrying out the old principle in the traditional institution. The city official should be made responsible primarily to the people, but in putting orders from above into operation, he should necessarily be made responsible to the central authorities.

As to the municipal machinery, a mayor and a small council would be sufficient for the Chinese city. The mayor would serve as an executive head and the council sit as a deliberative body. They should be elected at large by the voters subject to the approval of the district magistrate. This power of approval would be in accordance with the old practice which required the confirmation of the headmen of the city or town by the Hsien magistrate.

In the matter of suffrage, it would be advisable to keep the requirements as provided in the early municipal code. For the present at least, the franchise should be restricted as a safeguard against abuses. The introduction of universal suffrage should be the ultimate end, but not until the great mass of the people should have been educated to an appreciable and intelligent understanding of the true principles of democracy.

Finally comes the legal position of the city. Under the old RÉGIME there was no distinction or separation between judicial and administrative powers. This separation was, however, brought into being during the first years of the republic. A city should stand as a legal corporation. It must necessarily be so. It follows then that a city should be enabled to sue and to be sued, and to exercise the rights of a legal person.

CONCLUSION

The activity for reform in China has of late become so intense that it has affected various branches of the government, and the old organization of the state with its time-honored traditions has been making way for another modelled after western nations. Since the establishment of the republic, every movement has been accelerated; and as each year passes, the solution of the municipal problem becomes more urgent. This is the time when the Chinese municipal chemist should cast the refractory ore into his crucible and ascertain its various components. The development will perhaps be slow and gradual, but it is only by successive stages of adjustment and readjustment that we may attain a reasonable degree of perfection.

The natural thing for the Chinese to do is to turn to other countries to learn what methods they have adopted and how they have solved these problems. But the study of all progressive nations is not equally instructive. We cannot graft with equal certainty of securing fruit the institutions of all other countries upon those of our own. France and Germany might teach us valuable lessons, but the methods in those two countries will not necessarily produce reform if transplanted to China. It is of inestimable value to us nevertheless, to know what methods have worked successfully in those countries with which China has something in common. Care should be taken not to repeat the mistakes they have made; but when we speak of adapting the French or German method to Chinese needs, we touch upon a subject on which it is well-nigh impossible to theorize very much. The only way is to discover by actual experience with the Chinese people in the matter of municipal government, just what to add, to discard or to modify. It is gratifying to note that efforts are being made to introduce the ideas and ideals of foreign nations. The results of these experiments will be awaited with interest.

In a year or two, another new municipal code will be drafted and as the cities grow in size the municipal movement will most likely assume new forms. It would be well for the framers of the code to keep in mind two watchwords: simplicity and efficiency. It is also imperative that they should weave into China's future the noble texture of her past. Development can come only through time; human progress can come only through experiment.

AN AUTOCRATIC MAYOR OR A REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

BY HARVEY N. SHEPARD
Boston

As a natural reaction from disappointment in the working of our doctrine of divided powers, a council of two distinct and independent chambers, and a mayor with a veto, the whole executive control was placed in the hands of the mayor, and the council shorn of almost all its influence. The mayor in fact was made a dictator, the "czar mayor" as he was called; and for the time being, and within a prescribed territory, he became a Cæsar, responsible to no one for the exercise of his authority. The earnest advocates of this change used the argument, employed by apologists for autocracy all over the world: concentration of responsibility. It was declared to be "the most important gain in municipal reform in our time." But this method of government has been a failure, and its advocates cannot claim now the improvements which they promised to us. The alleged responsibility to the people is a vague and uncertain shadow.

The quality of the officials, appointed by the mayor, has not proved to be better than that of those elected by the council, and neither has the tenure of office turned out to be longer or more secure. Merit and capacity have not counted for more in determining appointments than they did in the days when the council possessed the patronage. Aside from party obligations, the temptation to any mayor, who alone is responsible for the administration of the city, to make new appointments is irresistible. He never can feel so much confidence in the appointees of his predecessor as he will in persons whom he chooses himself.

A serious defect has developed from secrecy in the matter of contracts, inasmuch as they have been entered upon in the office of the mayor, or of one of the heads of a department, without the knowledge of the community. The contract of 1909, between the city of Boston and the Edison Electric Illuminating Company, for the lighting of the streets, is a significant illustration; an important contract, binding the city for a term of years, was considered and executed in secret. In contrast to this, when contracts were made by the council, there were debate and ample notice in the newspapers; and, of course, information to the people.

The commission form of government, where the powers of the city, both legislative and executive, are placed in the hands of a small council of five or more men, of equal authority among themselves, has an advantage in that its council is a single body; and that, though one of its members is called the mayor, nevertheless, he has no more power than the other members, and of course no veto. The commission-manager plan, giving the advantage of a single-headed administration, escapes some of the evils of autocratic power, because the manager is not independent, but is subject to instant correction, or even discharge by the commission, and therefore the city need not suffer long from his personal whims or prejudices.

But the commission form of government is undemocratic; and the arguments in favor are the same arguments which would prove an absolute monarchy to be the best form. While, like other changes, this form at first appeared to be successful, it is mere seeming and but for a time. Besides, it invites interference by the legislature, as it is not in accord with public sentiment to leave the determination of policies to small bodies.

THE COUNCIL IN CONTROL

Since we are committed to democratic institutions, the fundamental principle of which is the elective assembly, the only method to bring about good city government is to put the council in control. It cannot be said this method has been tried and has failed, because at no time in our history has the council actually been in sole control. For nearly an hundred years it was hampered by the two-chamber system, and by an independent executive, especially so when the mayor was given the power of veto. The power and influence of the council ever since has diminished steadily; its important powers have been transferred to the mayor or to state officials; and in many cases its control over the budget has been limited by statutory provisions, and in some cases it has been taken away. Deterioration in the quality of the councilmen has followed, and is a result rather than a cause of the weakening of its power.

The practical elimination of the council from city government has led to the assumption of its former powers by the state legislature, not responsible to the people of the city. The council becomes a debating society. If then home rule is of any importance, we must reconcile ourselves to the existence of the city council, and set to work to organize it in the best possible manner; and until this is done, we shall continue wandering in the wilderness.

COUNCILS USUALLY TOO SMALL

Our councils generally have been too small to be fairly representative of a large city: Glasgow has seventy-seven, Manchester an hundred and twenty-four, Liverpool an hundred and thirty-seven. No one ever has questioned the efficiency of these governments.

Also, if we would concentrate responsibility, the election should not be at large, but by districts. The term of ward politician has been made a matter of reproach; but it need not be so, and no one would think of electing all members of the legislature upon a ticket at large. We recognize that we secure a better legislature when they are chosen by districts.

The choice by districts is not because the district has definite interests necessarily separate from those of the city at large, and therefore each district requires a special spokesman, but in order that the people may know the man for whom they are called upon to vote. If the council be large enough so that the district is small, then the voters make choice only of one person, a simple matter. In Great Britain the election by wards is considered by many to be one reason for the integrity and efficiency of the councilmen, as it is evident the voters can use more care in the choice of one official than in the choice of many. Moreover, it is easier for a constituency to hold its representative to account, when he is its only representative, and the constituency is small enough so that all its members may know him.

The American city has been treated as a mere administrative division of the state; and the expression, city government, has been a mere figure of speech. While a private corporation can do anything pertinent to the purposes for which it is chartered, a municipal corporation can do only the things especially given it to do. It must ask permission for everything. A city should have the power, the same as is given to a corporation, to do everything, which, in its opinion, is necessary for the good of the city, provided, of course, that the action be consistent with the purposes of the corporation; and it is essential also that this power be exercised with freedom, with no interference from the legislature, or from any other body. A city must do something more than to be a mere organ of administration. We must recognize that civic patriotism is not developed by the mere machinery of administration; but by what is done for the welfare and enjoyment of the people. Men love a city which cares for them; and the pure business administration, of which we hear so much, never awakens any enthusiasm or devotion.

LONDON'S EXPERIENCE

The experience of Great Britain shows that good government can be obtained by a council; and the argument, commonly advanced, that, as most of the city's work is executive, it should therefore be vested in an executive office, is refuted by the experience of foreign cities, which admittedly are well governed under their councils. So large and important a community as London, with six millions of people and a budget of millions, is controlled by a council, elected by the people, and directing all its affairs. There is no supreme executive, with the powers for the time being of a despot, but merely a presiding officer, and council committees for the several departments. The other municipalities of Great Britain, though on a smaller scale, do equally well. The council may establish any administrative system which it deems wise and may alter it at pleasure. While, therefore, the framework is the same for every city, the administrative organization of each city is what its council chooses. The various departments of the city are managed by the committees of the council, and, when any new project is begun, there is no occasion for an amendment of the charter, but only for the appointment of a new committee. This system of administration through committees possesses the advantage of extraordinary adaptability to cities of diverse sizes and needs. Everything, which comes before the council, is brought up in the form of a report from a committee, or is referred to a committee for consideration. The gas committee, for example, is virtually in the same position as an executive or managing committee of a gas company. There are similar committees for water supply, electricity, tramways, baths, and wash houses. In a large city each of these committees is managing an huge business, which involves a great deal of work and responsibility, and sometimes the employment of large numbers of men.

THE ELECTION OF ABLE MEN

Year in and year out, without reform spasms or civic awakenings, these cities across the water elect able men to office. The division of authority, with which we are familiar, between the council, the mayor, the departments, and commissions, does not exist. The voter only has to fill one office, that of councilman. All others are appointees of the council; the mayor, the aldermen, and everybody else in the city. All responsibility is concentrated in the council. There is no second chamber, the concurrence of which is necessary to enact an order, and there is no mayor with a veto. While he may be the chief magistrate of the city and the ceremonial head of the local government, he is not the all powerful executive, whom no one can gainsay. He serves on committees, and is chairman of some of them, and thus takes an active part in administration.

While everyone, who has made any study of the matter, is ready to acknowledge the excellence of British municipal administration, some object that we cannot expect the same result, with a similar method here, because the conditions of suffrage are so dissimilar. The limitations in Great Britain are so low no one practically is debarred from voting.

Then it is said that in Great Britain a city is considered from its business aspect, and that they are business men who look after its affairs. This is only in part true; and one reason why the city is attractive to business men is because the city itself does so many things which are taken care of here by private corporations, and therefore the same kind of men, who are found here in our public service corporations, are found there in the city councils, because they have similar duties.

MUNICIPAL REFORM PROCEEDS HALTINGLY

In the United States, because we have no definite ideals, our country being the only country without a uniform system of city government, nothing is final. The city government at any time is simply one of a series of legislative experiments. Every little while some new scheme is brought forward to remove the admitted evils of our present complicated system; and they all finally have failed, because, in place of making the system more simple, they have added to its complications. They have failed also because they are untrue to democratic principles, in that they would limit control by the people, and impose good government, the idea of many, but which does not work in our communities, as sooner or later it breeds discontent and legislative interference. No sincere believer in a government by the people ever will tolerate any system, which unnecessarily hampers their right to control their government at every step, or the selection of their officers. We may consider their choice wise or unwise, but the right to make it is theirs, and they should have the power to use that right.

In marked contrast is the stability which prevails in Europe. Each country has worked out for itself, or has borrowed, a practicable system of organization, strong enough and elastic enough to endure the growth of population and the fast increasing list of city undertakings. In Great Britain, for nearly a century, there has been no change in the form of administration of municipalities, and the same is true of all the progressive countries of the Continent. No scheme of city government is worth while which will not develop effective and general interest among the voters themselves in the actual conduct of the affairs of their city. There is no way to train a people in government except by the practice of it.

REMOVALS OF CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYES[1]

BY WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE
Richmond, Ind.

WHILE the Special Committee of the National Municipal League was engaged in elaborating The Model Charter, a proposition was submitted for a rule giving to the civil service boards (or commissions) in cities and states exclusive power over the removals of all officers and employes embraced in the competitive system. This proposition was contained in a proposed model civil service bill drafted originally by Mr. Robert Catherwood, former president of the Cook county (Ill.) commission and presented for consideration by the National

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[1] In connection with this article it will be interesting to read the report of the joint committee of the National Municipal League and the National Civil Service Reform League on the selection and retention of higher public officials, to be found in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. I, p. 646, also Mr. Foulke's annual address as president of the National Municipal League appearing in the October, 1912, issue, p. 549.

Assembly of Civil Service Commissioners. According to this bill the commissioners themselves were no longer to be appointed by the political authority of the state or city but by competitive examinations and were to hold office indefinitely. Whenever there was a vacancy the governor was to appoint a special examining board of three persons, first, a member, secretary or chief examiner of some civil service commission; second, a man who had been engaged in selecting trained employes for positions involving professional or technical skill; and third, a judge of a court of record. This board was to hold an examination and prepare an eligible list and the governor was to appoint the person standing highest upon that list to the office of commissioner. The state civil service commission was in like manner to conduct examinations for the appointment of municipal civil service commissioners. No commissioner was to be removed except for malfeasance, neglect of duty or incompetence and only upon written charges (which might be filed by any citizen) and after an opportunity to be heard by a trial board consisting of two *nisi prius* judges and a third person selected by the two. The decision of this board was to be final. The commission was to classify the service, fix salaries and prescribe standards and tests of efficiency. It was to cause charges to be filed against delinquents. No person was to be removed except for cause upon written charges (which, however, might also be filed by any citizen or taxpayer). Such charges were to be investigated by the commission or by some trial board appointed by that body. The decision was to be final. Mr. Catherwood's proposed bill was an elaborate one containing many other details which need not be considered here.

TRIAL BOARD REMOVALS

The proposition to give a civil service commission exclusive jurisdiction over all removals by means of a trial board, was not adopted by the League in its Model Charter, but it has been and still is urged with such persistency by the *Civil Service News* of Chicago, by some members of the Chicago civil reform association and by others and it is probable that further efforts will be made to incorporate it into the competitive system. In my opinion it is fraught with such infinite disaster to this system that a record ought now to be made of the facts and the reasons showing why it should not be adopted, and this is the purpose of the present article.

According to the proposed model law the man managing a department or perhaps a whole city can *neither appoint, suspend, transfer or remove a single one of his subordinates.* He has not the slightest power over any of them except the power which every citizen has of making complaint to the commission.

What means are left to enforce his authority and command the respect and loyalty of his employes? What assurance is there that the civil service commission will co-operate with department heads in carrying out their plans and enforcing their ideas of efficiency and loyal service? When a man whom the head of a department knows is dishonest or insubordinate is retained by the commission, what is the department head to do? He has made his charges and he has been turned down. What is his authority over his own force thereafter?

The commission is not to be elected by the people or even appointed directly by the people's representative, but chosen as the result of a competitive examination and cannot be recalled or removed by the people nor by any superior officer whatever, but only after trial by a tribunal specially organized for the purpose. The commission is therefore responsible to no one for its decisions, yet it removes or retains employes for whose conduct another is responsible.

Dayton is one of the largest cities which has adopted the manager form of government. It is governed by five city commissioners who selected an expert from another city, Henry M. Waite, to administer their municipal affairs. In answer to my inquiry as to what he thought of this proposal and after showing him the provision of the "model" law affecting removals, he wrote: "Discipline could not be maintained. Your civil service board had better operate, your results would be more likely to attain success than under the proposed idea. I cannot see how any person who desired success could afford to attempt to operate under such a rule. Certainly I would not."

SUCH REMOVALS A CHECKMATE TO PROGRESS

If a deliberate effort were made to checkmate the present course of municipal progress in securing business management for cities it could not be done more effectually than by securing the passage of a law taking from the expert managing officers all power to control their subordinates.

The leaders of the movement for civil service reform have expressed the conviction that the power of the responsible superior officer to remove his subordinates ought not to be taken away. Over and over again did George William Curtis declare this principle. In his address before the American Social Science Association, September 8, 1881, and again in his address to the fifth annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League, August 4, 1886, he said: "Removal for cause, if the cause were to be decided by *any authority but that of the superior officer*, instead of improving, would swiftly and enormously enhance the cost and ruin the efficiency of the public service by destroying subordination and making every lazy officer or clerk twice as lazy and incompetent as before."

Carl Schurz, in his discussion before that league at its Newport meeting in 1886, said: "I would leave to the appointing officer the entire discretion of removing subordinates, but I would oblige him in all cases to state the reasons. The reasons would fall under either misconduct or inefficiency."

Dorman B. Eaton thought that the league's condemnation of removals should be limited to removals for partisan reasons or for the purpose of making place for another, and accordingly the resolution of the league so provided.[2]

Two years later the league expressed officially in its formal resolutions, without dissent, the following principle[3]: "An office holding class and a permanent tenure are practically impossible *so long as the power of removal remains unimpaired.*"

In 1896, its resolutions declared "the league fully recognizes the importance of *preserving to responsible superior officers the power of removal of their subordinates* whenever in their judgment this power should be exercised in the public interest."[4]

LIFE TENURE

What is a life tenure? It is not that the official or employe is absollutely irremovable. Federal judges are not irremovable, yet they have a life tenure. The essence of it is that they cannot be removed by the executive or by any superior officer, but only after trial by some independent body and that they are therefore themselves independent. This would be true of employes in the civil service if the proposed law were enacted.

It is asked, "Why are you unwilling to take away the power of removals from heads of departments and yet insist that the power of appointment shall be taken away by competitive examinations? The answer is that the latter is necessary to protect the service against political appointments, while discipline can be maintained, no matter who makes the appointments, only so long as the power of removal remains unimpaired.

It is said the lack of permanency of tenure will discourage the best men from competing. Has it discouraged them? Are we not getting all over the country, men of higher and ever higher qualifications, who are quite satisfied with the same kind of permanency which exists in private corporations, where every applicant knows that his tenure depends on giving satisfaction to his employer?

CLAIMS FOR THE PROPOSED SYSTEM

The argument in support of vesting the exclusive power of removal in the civil service commission as urged by the advocates of this system were these: I. It follows the system adopted in our great industrial organizations. II. It is approved by our most eminent publicists and civil service reformers. III. It is necessary to protect the service against the evils of a trial in court and it avoids expensive and dilatory legal procedure. IV. It has been justified by twenty years of satisfactory experience in Chicago and Cook county and by a number of years of successful experience in the state service in Illinois.

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[2] Proceedings, 1886, p. 32.

[3] 1888, p. 32.

[4] Procedings, p. 41.

I. As to the first claim we were referred to the great railways of the country, to Marshall Field and Company and to the International Harvester Company.

PRACTICE IN INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES

As to the railways, the secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League wrote to the superintendent of nine of the principal systems,[5] and found that in every case but one (the Pullman Company) the managing officer had the final authority; and I found that in that company also the action of the central employing agency could be overruled and set aside by the executive and general officers of the company.

In answer to an inquiry addressed to the president of Marshall Field & Company I received the following: "Our practice in most cases is to place the power of removal with the *departmental managers*, the executive staff, however, having knowledge of such removals and the causes leading up to them. If a departmental head is to be held responsible for the efficiency of his organization he should have control within certain limits of the personnel of his staff and without the power of removal he could not assume such responsibilities successfully."

I enquired of George W. Perkins in regard to the International Harvester Company, and learned from him that the ultimate right to remove subordinates remained in the operating officers; that they could not conduct their business in any other way. He considered removals by an independent employment agency impracticable.

After all the instances of business management cited had shown exactly the reverse of what was claimed, another case was brought up, that of Wm. Filene Sons' Company in which it was urged that something resembling the proposed law was adopted.

It appears that this company put the decision as to all dismissals in the hands of an arbitration committee appointed by its employes, who might by a two-thirds vote reinstate any man dismissed. But at the close of the instructions given by the directors on November 1, 1912, authorizing this committee, was the following significant paragraph: "The above instructions are subject to amendment, alteration or repeal by the board of directors."

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[5] Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul; Chicago, Burlington & Quincy; Lehigh Valley, New Haven; Baltimore & Ohio; Southern Pacific; Delaware, Lackawanna and Western; Delaware & Hudson, and the Pullman Company.

The Filene Company also allowed its employes four members in a directorate of eleven. Still the ultimate power remained in the directors who represented the stockholders. Four directors cannot outvote seven and if any obnoxious employe should be reinstated by the arbitration board a complete remedy was held in reserve, the directors could amend or repeal the instructions and abolish the arbitration committee.

The proposed model law was entirely different. The civil service commissioner was to be appointed, not by employes but by an independent mechanical device,—a competitive examination—and could be removed only by another independent tribunal. Neither the governor of the state nor the mayor, manager, nor council of any city would have the reserve power so necessary to discipline nor could the action of the commission be controlled if it were to do the thing which would destroy all subordination in the service. If the Filene Company had established a rule that they would reinstate any man whom some independent officer decided should be restored and if they had taken away from their own directors all right to repeal or amend the power thus conferred upon this independent tribunal the analogy would be closer.

THE DISCIPLINE IN THE MILITARY AND NAVAL SERVICES

It is said that this proposed model law is in line with the discipline in the military and naval service, that an officer cannot dismiss a soldier or sailor but must bring the case to the hearing of a court martial. Yet the finding of a court martial is always subject to the approval of a commanding officer. The ultimate authority rests with the executive official. Whatever the form, that is the vital principle. It is the reserve power to make the final decision which is necessary to maintain proper discipline and subordination.

OPINIONS OF PUBLICISTS

II. It was claimed that this removal plan was approved by our most eminent publicists and civil service reformers. On the contrary their opinions were the other way. The declarations of George William Curtis, Carl Schurz and Dorman B. Eaton have already been given. President Lowell of Harvard was referred to. He wrote me: "In section 48 of the Model City Charter we agreed that officers might be removed by the city manager or head of the department and I do not believe that an administration could be made to work well otherwise."

Charles J. Bonaparte, who had been chairman of the Council of the National Civil Service Reform League, wrote me November 16, 1915, "I am inflexibly opposed to anything amounting to a trial for a subordinate removed or disciplined by a superior unless the latter thinks something of the kind is needed to guide his own judgment."

The two men in America who have had the widest experience in the federal service, Colonel Roosevelt and Professor Taft, are utterly opposed to this measure. Mr. Taft wrote, "I am very much opposed to any civil service law which takes from the managing and operating officers the power of dismissing subordinates and gives it to an independent body." Mr. Roosevelt wrote, "I regard the proposed law as seeking to establish a condition much worse than the spoils system. If the proposal or any proposal resembling it is adopted, I shall resign and shall state that nothing proposed by Tammany during my lifetime has begun to approach in mischief this proposal. . . . Proposals such as this tend hopelessly to discredit the cause of civil service reform among sensible people and nothing more mischievous could be imagined."

Seth Low, former mayor of Brooklyn and afterwards of Greater New York wrote, "I am unreservedly in sympathy with the objections you make to the proposed section of the model law which would transfer the question of the removal of employees in the public service from the responsible officials to a civil service commissioner or commissioners. No man who understands the first principles of sound administration would be willing to accept responsibility under such a system. Nothing can do the system as a whole so much injury as to have its friends stand for such a proposal."

General Winkler, the venerable president of the Wisconsin civil service reform association, wrote, "If the League adopts the model law as its platform, I was going to say I should cease to be a civil service reformer, but I will only say that the very little I shall be able to do will be on the outside of its folds."

(*To be concluded in July issue.*)

BACK OF THE MAN AT THE FRONT[1]

BY RICHARD H. DANA

Boston

THE sudden creation of 200,000 "government jobs" presents certain temptations to those in high places who have political or personal friends hungry for a place at the public trough. A similar kind of emergency, though much smaller, arose in 1898, and one reason why that war was fought so wastefully and so scandalously was that the emergency was made the excuse for placing incompetent political favorites in important positions in the departments of the Treasury, War and Navy and especially disastrous was it in the divisions of ordnance, commissary, and surgeon-general. As a result, we had the scandals of embalmed food, misfit ammunition, and the great amount of disease and unnecessary suffering. For example, let us take the instance of typhoid fever. The per cent of cases and deaths from typhoid fever during the continuance of the Spanish War and one month after, during all of which the sources of that epidemic were understood by the medical profession, was greater than in the corresponding months of the Civil War when so little was known of typhoid prevention.

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[1] Paper read by Richard H. Dana, president of the National Civil Service Reform League, before the National Municipal League, Friday, November 23, 1917.

CIVIL SERVICE EXEMPTIONS IN 1898

The chief excuse given for exempting large numbers of positions from the civil service law in 1898 was the necessity for haste in making the appointments. As a matter of fact it took far longer to make the appointments under the spoils system than under the civil service laws. For example, the clerkships exempted in the War Department were distributed to members of Congress as patronage—so many to each representative and so many to each senator. There followed a long correspondence and many interviews and 1,200 persons had to be tried out before 600 were finally selected to do the work, and those 600 were later officially reported as inferior to those sent by the civil service commission. As to speed, the civil service commission has supplied as many as 300 tested employes in a single day, all of whom proved satisfactory so that in this race for swiftness civil service has beaten spoils out of sight. In Canada at the beginning of the present war, we are informed, they suspended the civil service act hoping to get quicker and better results. Their experience is a warning. Not only did they get poorer men and take more time, but it was found that some of those who got into the service were disloyal and even spies. Under the civil service system, with the 3,000 examiners in the employ of the United States Civil Service Commission scattered all over the country, it is very easy to find out a man's local reputation not only for character and ability but for patriotism.

In the present emergency here, however, things have happily been somewhat different from 1898, or in Canada. There have no doubt been instances that recall 1898, but for the most part the emergency employes of the government have been selected by the United States Civil Service Commission after proper examination and investigation into their ability and loyalty. And the results show that, thanks to this system, we are doing a big job better to-day even allowing for delays, than we did a little job in 1898.

Now if our army is raised speedily, well armed and well equipped; if ships are found to carry our men and their equipment to France; if every fighting man in his trench finds that he has the organized resources of the American government behind him, it will be largely because we have at home here, in our various government war organizations, a force of trained men who do their work skilfully and thoroughly.

Before a soldier can get a rifle or a ration, twenty or a hundred civil employes have got to function. It involves raising money, making contracts, inspecting goods, securing transportation; it involves bookkeeping, drawing specifications, checking, inspection, correspondence. The failure of one link makes the chain worthless.

It would therefore not only be national short-sightedness to place untrained men at the desks where these matters are done; it would be a crime against the men we are sending to France. We have no right to ask a man to drill and fight unless we are ready to stand behind him loyally and effectively. His life depends on the skill of those behind the line who tell him what to do and are charged with supplying him the material with which to do it.

UNASSEMBLED INVESTIGATION OF CAREERS

Among the persons required for the extra civil service during the war are many experts, specialists, and professional men. The so-called "unassembled investigation of careers," which is a part of the civil service system, has come into unusually active play. As so few even of those who favor the merit system understand this, let me say in a word that for a number of years many hundreds of positions in federal, state, and municipal service requiring executive and organizing ability as well as special education and training, with salaries all the way up to $10,000 a year, have been filled by this method. It means an investigation into past education, training, achievements of life and all cases of employment with salaries received based upon the statements of the candidate and of those for whom he has worked; published pamphlets and books, plans and blue prints are annexed as exhibits and for important managerial positions a thesis on how best to conduct the bureau is required. On all this evidence, the candidates, without leaving their homes, are graded by persons of their own calling, acting as special examiners.

This is vastly different from the common idea of a high-school-examination-kind of civil service reform. Its results have been most encouraging. Professional men are not kept away. They prefer to enter the service in this manner than through letters of recommendation, pull and personal appeals, while the greater stability of positions under the civil service and the increased freedom from political intrigue and pressure, make positions, filled in this way, more attractive to the high-minded experts whom we need to secure.

During the war a certain amount of unnecessary red tape has been cut without in any way injuring the merit system. For example, the apportionment rule has been suspended so that better persons can be secured more promptly than by sending for an eligible with less ability from some far western state that happens to be behind in its quota. And again, especially in the case of experts and professional men, where the demand is greater than the supply, instead of waiting to establish an eligible list, as soon as the candidate has shown the necessary qualifications he is immediately appointed, and the investigations are practically continuous.

RECRUITING SPECIALS AND EXPERTS

The difficulty of recruiting specialists and experts has been very great. They have not applied in sufficient numbers to the ordinary advertisements and official bulletins of the departments and of the civil service commission, and the National Civil Service Reform League, at the special request of the Civil Service Commission and of the Ordnance Department, has, through special articles in the press, through solicitating employers personally to sacrifice some of their subordinates during the war, and through the aid of educational institutions, been able to supply many of the government's needs. The League has practically turned its New York office for the time being into a civil recruiting bureau. Fortunately the National Civil Service Reform League had raised about $30,000 a year for increasing its activities before our country had entered into the war. This fund has enabled it to do these things, and it is raising still more money to extend this recruiting work in other parts of the country to fill the gaps.

We don't know how long the war will last, but we do know from the measures that already have been taken that this country is not going to escape without feeling the pinch. Already enormous sacrifices have been demanded of the American people. They are asked to pay billions in taxes and loans; they are asked to deny themselves luxuries, and to economize on necessities; and they do it gladly. But they have a right to demand in return that their money shall be spent properly. They have a right to demand that the treasury shall not be used to pay political debts; and this they do demand.

There is a general impression prevalent throughout the country that the "spoils system" has been abolished, and that talk about civil service reform is therefore largely academic. Nothing could be more untrue and more unfortunate. A time like the present, a national emergency, is the favorite moment for the spoils-hunters. They take advantage of the fact that the public is too much occupied with the war to keep watch on its doors and windows, just as the favorite time for sneak-thieves is during the annual police parade.

SPOILS BILLS

There have been several "spoils" bills introduced in the present Congress, one of them at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury, and it has required ceaseless vigilance to defeat these bills. Besides this, some of the state legislatures in the ten states, where alone there are civil service laws, have been kicking over the traces, and *they* have had to be held in line. In spite of everything, there have been some runaways, and there will be more unless the people are on the alert.

Our immediate task is to win this war, and to do it in the shortest possible time. For that purpose we need all the people, all pulling in the same direction. We need national efficiency and state efficiency, and we can realize this only by having trained and fit men in every public office.

As to the effect of the war on a trained public service, so far the war has not broken down the merit system. The National Civil Service Reform League secured larger appropriations for the Civil Service Commission to do its work, interviewed congressmen, cabinet ministers, and leading members of the advisory commission of the National Council of Defense, and has had articles in the press especially in Washington and New York in favor of a highly trained public service. Altogether the general sentiment now prevailing in Washington is in favor of the principles of the League.

The very appreciation of the need of trained officers in the army has had its indirect effect upon the need of trained experts in the civil service that backs up that army, and when the war is over I feel confident that the effect on the trained public service will be to increase the demand for abolishing political influence in appointments, securing experts in all purely administrative and operating departments, and to have politics confined to the purely policy-determining part of our government, national, state, county, and municipal. If this effect is produced, we can then appoint to the ultimate triumph of democracy, namely, a democracy, strong and efficient.

"WILL THE CITY-MANAGER FORM OF GOVERNMENT FIT ALL CITIES:—LARGE CITIES,—MACHINE-CONTROLLED CITIES?"[1]

BY GAYLORD C. CUMMIN,

City Manager, Grand Rapids, Mich., and President, City Managers' Association

THE discussion of the question was opened by Richard S. Childs, who answered the question in the affirmative, basing his statement on the ground that the size or condition of the city in question simply called for different detailed organization, but did not affect the general principles upon which the city-manager plan is based. He called attention to the city manager charter proposed for Chicago, with a commission of thirty-five elected from wards, a variation from the plan as usually regarded, and specifically allowed by the model charter of the National Municipal League.

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[1] Being an epitome of the luncheon discussion at the Detroit meeting of the National Municipal League, November, 1917.

"The plan has that much flexibility. It doesn't matter seriously just how you create your commission, or how you adapt it to the size and the character and the geographical disposition of the community." This quotation brings out an important point which is often overlooked by those studying the commission-manager plan, and time and energy are consumed in fighting about some definite plan of creating the commission, because people are inclined to believe that the selection of a small commission at large is essential to the city-manager plan, whereas, it is merely a desirable feature of any plan.

Attention is also called to the fact that the same basic theories of organization used by corporations apply equally well "whether it is a corporation to run a peanut stand, or a corporation to run the United States steel industry." That the state lays out in skeleton form the organization that all corporations under its laws must follow, "a form of organization that provides for the election by the stockholders of a board of directors, who, in turn, appoint the other officers of the company. The reason that the state lays out a skeleton form is because it knows that that form is the one which most clearly defines responsibility for what is done, be it good or bad."

"Complexity is the refuge of the scoundrel, and, simplicity is the thing he has reason to be afraid of."

The city-manager plan "as the simplest form of government, furnishes . . . the ideal battle ground for the forces of good government in any community, no matter what the present state."

KEEPING IN CLOSE TOUCH

The present writer, agreeing wholly with Mr. Childs, tried to make the point that the city-manager plan was even more desirable in a large city than in a small one, because as the complexity of functions and administration must necessarily be greater in large cities, it becomes increasingly important to simplify and co-ordinate the form of that organization as much as possible. It has been urged that we do not know the details of the administrative machinery necessary to keep the executive of a large city in close touch with what is transpiring throughout his organization, but that is, in the writer's opinion, a matter of detail that can and will be worked out when the definite problem presents itself. It has been done in large private corporations, and can unquestionably be done in public ones.

Results will be slower in the large city because of the size and increased complexity of the problem. One could reorganize a corner grocery in a week, but one couldn't reorganize the Pennsylvania Railroad in the same length of time.

CHECKS AND BALANCES

In regard to the application of the city-manager plan to machine-ridden cities, we are brought to the question as to whether or no the time-honored system of checks and balances gives protection against dishonest and inefficient government. It certainly does not prevent dishonesty, and as certainly does prevent efficiency. Due to the fixing of responsibility, we will get better results with a machine-managed city-manager plan than with the present divided responsibility. Our experience in common life is that fixed responsibility is the best way to get honest and efficient service.

One of the most interesting addresses was made by George B. Harris, chairman of the Republican county committee of Cuyahoga county, Cleveland, Ohio, who, after prefacing his remarks by stating that he did not know exactly what the city-manager plan was, proceeded to give his objections to it as a satisfactory form of government. The points made by him proved rather conclusively that his prefatory statement was correct, and are points brought up many times by opponents of the plan.

Mr. Harris made the statement that the people do not want a "business kind of government," that this has been proven by their refusal to support that kind, that all our governments, municipal, state and national, are notably extravagant and inefficient, and that this is the penalty that democracy pays for freedom.

Mr. Harris has fallen into a very common pitfall by confusing the efficiency that is urged by advocates of the city-manager plan with an entirely different kind. The efficiency to be secured by this plan is administrative efficiency. The city-manager plan interferes in no way with the people getting just what they want. The commission are the people's direct representatives, and they lay down those policies which the people desire. Under any form, the policies are made by the legislative body. The efficiency aimed at is efficiency in carrying out these policies inaugurated by the people's representatives. The writer differs most decidedly with the idea that the people do not want their policies and ideas carried out with the minimum of expenditure, and the maximum of result. That is all that we mean by efficiency.

If the writer felt that extravagance and inefficiency are the penalties that democracy pays for freedom, he would indeed despair of democracy, especially at this crisis in the world's affairs, but he believes democracy can and will be efficient, and as efficient as any autocracy that ever was. Whenever a democracy is faced by a real emergency, it rises to the situation, and after many mistakes and false steps, at last brings results that transcend those secured by autocracy. Does Mr. Harris believe that in the long run better and more efficient results can be obtained by slaves than by free men? All history says no. Efficiency in a democracy comes by agreement and understanding, and not by fiat.

BUSINESS GOVERNMENT

Mr. Harris somewhat softens his statement by stating that eventual education of the electorate may develop the desire for a "business government," and eventually the city-manager plan may become what the people want. If he will keep in touch with the statement of those really familiar with the plan, he will discover that they urge that no community accept the plan unless its people are thoroughly convinced that it is the best form of government for their conditions. In other words, democracy may become efficient through education, in which we seem to agree.

Mr. Harris claims that the plan in Dayton is not democratic, and the city commission not representative. While not agreeing in the premise, it would certainly appear that this would be very peculiar if true, as the city commission of Dayton has been sustained by the voters three different times, and if it is not representative or democratic, it would occur to the writer that it would be the people of Dayton, and not the city-manager plan, which was at fault. This plan does not contemplate the urging of the people of any community to elect a legislative body which is representative in the opinion of students from other cities, but leaves it to the judgment of the community's own voters.

Mr. Harris then makes the point that politics cannot be eliminated from city government by the city-manager plan. This is probably true in the sense meant by him, and would be in many respects objectionable. All that the city-manager plan hopes for along this line is the elimination of national party politics from city affairs, and the elimination of all kinds of politics from the administrative branch. It is admitted that city politics should exist in the legislative branch, but should not be tied to national politics. Also it is realized that this cannot be done at once, that when the people feel strongly enough on this point it will be accomplished, and not before, and the plan merely gives a vehicle for such results, and whatever the theory may be, the results are being obtained.

Mr. Harris refers to the Cleveland plan as the ideal, with an elected mayor as administrative head, but as this is simply a city-manager plan decentralized one step, and administered by a representative instead of a trained man, it is plainly a very distinctive step on the road to what our experience in other lines points out as the best, and simply means that his community is not educated to the best, but must accept a compromise.

MR. CARR'S VIEWS

The next speaker, Ossian E. Carr, city manager of Niagara Falls, pointed out that the same general troubles faced the city manager in both large and small cities, but that the man in the smaller city has the more difficult position because he has no one to whom he may delegate minor troubles, and in a sense stands alone in his community. The city-manager plan makes for simplicity. It eliminates expensive boards working independently and often at cross purposes. A large part of the success of this form is due to the fact that the city manager has no other interests and can know far more about the real needs of the city than can any group of a dozen or fifteen men who are working on private enterprises all the time, except about one hour per week spent on the city's affairs.

Mr. Carr also points out that there are over a hundred city-manager plan cities, all operated somewhat differently in detail, but being alike in having a small legislative body and an appointed manager, and that one of the statements made by Mr. Harris in claiming that the commission would interfere in administrative affairs, was a tendency which had already caused trouble. The new charter of Norfolk, Va., attempts to handle this by providing that any commissioner who attempts to interfere in the administrative affairs of the city, automatically eliminates himself from the commission.

"The large city, the small city, the machine-controlled city, are going to cast about for the means to make the most of their citizenship, simply because, greedy or gainful, we are all at heart Americans; we know that waste in any form is becoming a most welcome contribution to our enemies. The best known guard that we have against waste in our city is the city-manager plan."

MR. WAITE'S VIEWS

City Manager Henry M. Waite, of Dayton, Ohio, took up the point made by Mr. Harris, that if reform government did not take the electorate into consideration, they would not succeed. In agreeing with this he pointed out that the City Managers' Association has always emphasized the point that no community should ever attempt a government that could not be supported by its constituency. Mr. Harris, in pointing to the defeat of Mayor Mitchel in New York as proof that the people did not wish efficient government, if the analogy were completed, would prove that the Cleveland government was not efficient because it had been successful. He says that he will prophecy that if Cleveland's government, which is a long step in the direction of the city-manager plan, proves the success claimed by Mr. Harris, it will be but a very short time, and a short step, before they go the whole distance and accept the city-manager plan.

"The commission-manager plan does not cover all evils, and no plan will, and a government must not, get ahead of its people. If you can't keep an interested public behind your government, it is doomed to failure."

William E. Boynton, city commissioner of Ashtabula, Ohio, elected by proportional representation, made a plea for the advantage of proportional representation for electing commissioners in a city under the city-manager plan, and gave a most interesting account of the developments in his city, and the results accomplished, which showed the inherent stability of the city-manager plan under this most interesting experiment in representative government.

George W. Knox, commissioner at Niagara Falls, contributed a most interesting letter, making the point that the city-manager plan would be a most dangerous tool in the hands of a political machine, if the people of the community had no more public spirit than to prevent such a state of affairs, and that the success of this form depends upon a wide awake interested electorate. This is, of course, absolutely true, and it has been pointed out time and again that there is no royal road to good government, and its advocates must be prepared to fight for it, or they will have bad government under any plan.

THE ORGANIZATION OF A MUNICIPAL HEALTH DEPARTMENT[1]

BY M. N. BAKER[2]
New York City

IF YOU are going in for an old-fashioned scheme with a mayor and a city council, with more or less overlapping powers, and a whole bunch of boards and commissions, each pretty much independent of the other and of the mayor and council as well, than I should suggest that you have a board of health of five members appointed by the mayor and not subject to confirmation by the city council or anybody else. I would suggest that such a board be given absolute powers within its field, except as regards expenditures. Possibly it might be provided that the board of health should be given some stated sum per capita per year for health purposes, but even this would seem to be questionable. In any event, the board, in common with all other city departments, should be rigidly required to submit a true budget every year which would comprise an estimate of its needs for the ensuing year alongside its actual appropriation for the current year and its actual expenditures for three to five previous years, all these to be itemized in accordance with a classification which would show the relation of the expenditures to the objects to be achieved. That is, the classification should be functional and should be most carefully designed to show what of the expenditures really had a relation to public health and what had not. I really do not think that such matters should be gone into in a city charter for each department, but that they should be covered in a general way for every department of the city.

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[1] In response to an inquiry by the secretary of the Akron charter commission, Mr. Baker wrote a letter which so concisely stated the situation that the editor believes it would be of help to others interested in charter revision, and so it is reproduced herewith.

[2] Associate editor, *Engineering News-Record;* chairman, executive committee, National Municipal League.

If in place of the old and haphazard scheme of city government you adopt the commission plan, then perforce the health work of the city must fall into some one of the various five so-called departments, so that the really responsible head will have health to look after in common with a lot of other things.

If you adopt the commission-manager plan, then you would simply have a single-headed health department under a man named health officer, presumably, though the name does not particularly matter, except to bring it in line with common practice, which is to use the term health officer.

Under the old commission plan, of course, all health ordinances would be enacted by the commission. The same would also be true under the commission-manager plan. If you had the old mixed system of government, with council, mayor and various boards, then, as I think it must be clear from what I have already written under that head, the board of health, and not the city council, should have all legislative power.

There must be a health officer or some equivalent under any of the three plans that I have mentioned. These should in any case be vested with absolutely all executive powers—except, of course, that this is impracticable or out of harmony with the straight commission plan and should not be attempted under that plan.

Whatever you do, I sincerely hope you will limit the health department to strictly health protective work. That is, do not load it up with plumbing, street cleaning, garbage disposal, and a variety of other things that have little or no direct relation to the public health. Plumbing should go to the building department. The other things mentioned should be in the engineering department.

You raise a question regarding housing. This is so largely an economic matter, with various ramifications, that unless your conditions are exceptional, I should strongly advise keeping it entirely outside the health department. A health bureau and a housing bureau might both come within a larger department. This would naturally follow under the straight commission plan, and of course might be practised under either of the two.

If your charter finally provides for a board of health, by all means do not make it compulsory to have the board composed entirely of physicians or of any other professional or industrial class. The ideal board of five members might well be composed of two physicians, one sanitary engineer (or, if a sanitary engineer is not available, then of a sanitary chemist or sanitary biologist if either of those could be got), one lawyer and one business man. I do not feel sure that any such specification should be laid down in the city charter, especially one for a city no larger than Akron.

It is very important that the charter should not restrict the choice of a health officer to the medical profession and that it should distinctly provide (although that should be covered in some general provision relating to all executive officials) that non-residents may be engaged. The charter should provide that the health officer should be chosen with a view to getting a man whose education and training fit him for his work. It might say that the health officer must be a physician, a sanitary engineer or some other professional man whose education and experience particularly fit him for the position.

If Akron were a larger city, I might advise that the charter should be so framed that the health officer should be chosen primarily for his executive ability, but in a place no larger than yours the health officer will doubtless have to do things himself which will require specific training for his immediate tasks; that is, he will not be able to pick out specialists who will bring their special knowledge and training to merely carry out the policies decided by the health officer.

If you should decide upon the straight commission plan of government, then you will be up against it so far as any assurance that the department head under whom health matters fall will have any fitness whatever for his work in that field—or, as far as that goes, in any field requiring technical knowledge. Saying this is equivalent to saying that I hope you will not adopt the straight commission plan. That plan means electing executive officers and that in turn means failure of municipal government sooner or later—in spots if not all over.

I do not see how I can advantageously refer you to any literature that will help you very much in this matter, unless you or somebody for you is going to devote two or three years' time to making a study of all the branches of municipal government; or unless you are going to single out the health features of the charter for more particular study than is given to the others.

You doutbless have or will get six or ten of the best books dealing with municipal government and municipal charters in general. This I should think would be as far as you would be able to go. I could make up a list for you, but doubtless that is quite unnecessary as very likely you already have the books in hand or have taken steps to get them.

Permit me to suggest that, if you have not already done so, you talk over this whole matter with Mr. H. S. Morse, your new director of public service. As you doubtless know, he was connected with the bureau of municipal research at Cincinnati and with the bureau of governmental research at Detroit, and before that had practical experience in the engineering department of the city of Cincinnati.

MUNICIPAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PURVEYING OF FOODS.

BY EMERSON P. HARRIS[1]
Montclair, N. J.

IS IT not time that municipal responsibility should be recognized and assumed for the proper distribution of food supplies to the people at proper prices? When the subject is examined more than superficially, it will be seen that there are about the same reasons why the city should supervise the supplying of foods that there are for assuming control over public utilities. And these reasons apply in as much greater measure as the cost of foods is greater than the cost to the citizens of public utilities.

We have always taken for granted that competition would insure to the consumer good goods, satisfactory service and equitable prices. We now see that this is not so. Perhaps the most conspicuous admission that competition absolutely fails, when it comes to protecting the consumer, is afforded by the attitude of the U. S. food administration when it humbly begs of the dealer, or arbitrarily orders him to deal fairly with the consumer. It is assumed all the time that competition does not insure this.

The Harvard Graduate School of Business Research finds some retail grocers selling goods at a profit as low as 14 per cent, and others charging 28 per cent. It is quite probable that the large "public markets" like those at Providence, Lynn, Worcester and Brockton, buying practically all their goods of producers, thus doing their own wholesaling, and selling for a total profit of around 16 per cent, get goods from producer to consumer at one-half what the average consumer pays for such service.

Is it not a pertinent question for the city father to ask whether the citizens of his town are paying for purveying, double what the work could be done for? When we look around and see that there are many times as many stores as there should be, each with its own fixed charges to be paid by the consumer, we see that this is essentially a local question.

How many useless delivery wagons, milk wagons, ice wagons, each going over the same route, pass your house? Competition, here far from protecting, heavily burdens the consumer. Competition works crudely and in this case ineffectively.

But competition would be a very efficient thing if the number of distributive agencies were to be limited to the real needs of the town, and these operated by those who would bid to do the work best and at the lowest price. What if the municipality were to build one or more really modern stores for the distribution of all food materials and lease it to a responsible party, or co-operative society which would guarantee best goods and service and lowest prices? It would mean cleaner, safer food, fresher, more sanitary, and better goods, and a cash saving to consumers of enough to go far toward paying their municipal taxes.

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[1] Author of "Co-operation, the Hope of the Consumer." Macmillan.

Dr. Williams, of Rochester, N. Y., has discovered that the distribution of milk in that city costs in travel, and labor cost, more than double what it should. Why should not the distribution of milk for all producers be taken over by a single distributing company, or by the city itself? It would probably mean a saving of at least 10 per cent in the cost of milk at no sacrifice or inconvenience whatever to anyone.[2]

How many ice trucks, with their heavy melting load, pass through and serve people on a single block? Undoubtedly if the city were served by a single company—or districted, if a large town—the people could be saved one fifth or more on the cost of ice.

These things must be done sooner or later. Why not now while real economy is under discussion and is sorely needed?

THE NEW NATIONAL PARTY

BY JOHN SPARGO

New York City.

THE newly formed National Party, the result of a coalition of various social and political reform groups, presents a platform which is in some ways unique and possesses many features of interest to the student of political affairs.

In the first place, the platform is wholly constructive; it is affirmative throughout. There is not a single word of protest, of denunciation or destructive criticism. This is quite unusual in political party platforms, and especially in the platforms of radical minor parties.

The arrangement of the platform is also unique. It is perhaps the most scientifically constructed document ever issued as a platform by an American political party. It is divided into three parts, each of which is logically dependent upon the other. A brief preamble states "Our aim is the attainment of democracy in government, and in industry, and in our international relations." In conformity with this aim, part one of the platform is given up to measures necessary for the realization of political democracy; part two to measures designed to democratize industry;

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[2] The results of the work of Dr. John R. Williams, secretary of the milk commission of the medical society of the county of Monroe, Rochester, N. Y., have been published in pamphlet form under the title of "The Economic Problems of Milk Distribution in Their Relation to the Public Health." This abundantly illustrates and demonstrates, if further demonstration were needed, the necessity for a reorganization of the distribution of milk in our cities.

and part three to the heretofore almost neglected field of democracy in international relations.

DEMOCRACY IN GOVERNMENT

Under the first of these divisions we find the usual demand for woman suffrage together with some other suffrage reforms not heretofore regarded as good material for political platform building. There is a strong plank demanding the "enforcement of the laws which give the right to vote to American citizens of negro descent." This demand is accompanied by a further demand that there be a special effort made to fit negroes and others to vote intelligently by means of federal aid to common school education, to the end that illiteracy may be abolished. Another demand is for the "restoration of self-government to the District of Columbia, and of the electoral franchise to its citizens, male and female." Finally, under the head of suffrage there is a demand for "the abolition of all property qualifications for the franchise or for election to public office."

The new party stands for the initiative, referendum and recall, "with adequate safeguards against their abuse." For state and municipal elections it favors the short ballot and a greatly increased centralization of responsibility, "this to be coupled with the right to recall elected officials as a safeguard against possible abuse of power." It advocates proportional representation in all departments of government.

There is a strong plank favoring the executive budget in municipal, state and national governments. This reform has not before been regarded as of sufficient importance to be included in a political party platform, but the platform of the National Party clearly indicates that careful and serious students of our municipal problems had a hand in the making of it.

Other political reforms of interest and far-reaching importance advocated are the amendment of our election laws in such a manner as will make it possible for qualified voters, absent from their homes, to vote by affidavit, wherever they may be, and the establishment of cabinet responsibility. This latter reform means that the members of the President's cabinet are to have seats in Congress, but without votes, and be subject to direct interrogation by the members of congress. By this method it is hoped to make the government departments immediately responsible to the elected representatives of the people.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Under the head of industrial democracy the following planks are of special interest to students of municipal problems:

Public Ownership. Public ownership, operation and democratic control of steam and electric railroads, shipping, telegraph and telephone systems, coal and metal mines, water-power, natural gas and oil wells, light and power plants, timber lands, terminal warehouses and elevators, packing plants and flour mills, and all other public utilities and basic industries which depend on franchises, or require large scale operation on a non-competitive or centralized basis.

Municipal Ownership. Municipal ownership, operation and democratic control of all public utilities, and all services essentially monopolistic in nature.

Democratic Taxation. (a) The gradual and progressive transfer of taxes from improvements and all products of labor to land values, so as to break up land monopoly and to increase opportunities for production. (b) Rapidly progressive taxation of incomes and inheritances, with heavier rates on incomes from investments than from personal services.

The platform makes a strong appeal to farmers and wage-earners. The agrarian program is substantially that of the farmers' Non-Partisan League, and the labor program is substantially that of the American Federation of Labor. The new features are planks in each of these sections of the platform demanding direct governmental assistance to co-operative producing and trading associations. The theory is that the government should give direct assistance to farmers' co-operatives as a means of stimulating agricultural production and stabilizing the industry, and to the co-operative producing and trading associations established by working people throughout the nation, "to the end that the workers of the nation may be increasingly enabled to control the economic conditions of their own lives."

The new party is seeking to build up a large membership of people who agree to pay an annual membership fee of one dollar or more. It has already provided for five separate divisional headquarters in as many sections of the country, and proposes to carry on an aggressive agitation and to participate in the forthcoming congressional elections.

MUNICIPAL FARMING—THE LATEST ENTERPRISE OF BRITISH LOCAL AUTHORITIES

BY JOHN CABBURN[1]
London, England

IN CONSEQUENCE of the submarine menace, the municipalities of England have had placed upon them responsibility for ensuring the adequate cultivation of the land, a departure which they never expected would be thrust upon them. However, since the war they have become so accustomed to doing those things which municipalities never expected to have to do that they have settled down as agriculturalists almost as a matter of course.

As is known, agriculture in England has for generations been allowed to go under and consequently the acreage of grass lands is tremendous. Now it is imperative that grass land shall be put under cultivation and it is for the municipal authorities to see that this is done.

They have commenced, but they were too late to do much this year and so the great municipal agricultural scheme will be in operation next year (in 1918) when the government expects the authorities to see that three millions of grass lands are put under cultivation.

Some of the farmers are anxious enough to get the land to yield as much food as possible, but individual farmers are unable to do much and that is why the Government has thrown the burden on the municipal authorities. For example, few farmers are able to invest in machinery for the cultivation of these grass lands. The government has bought motor tractors which are placed at the disposal of the county authorities who, by arrangement with farmers and land owners, plough the land. Numbers of these motor ploughs are at work but there are huge quantities to be provided and next year great things will be accomplished.

The authorities send the government schedules of their requirements in the way of farming implements and these are supplied when the implements and machinery are available. Next year, therefore, England will once more be an agricultural country for every acre will, with municipal assistance and surveillance, be under cultivation.

The powers of local authorities are immense. The main idea is to get food out of the land and in this connection they are empowered, whenever necessary, to render assistance in every possible way, even to the extent of arranging for financial assistance to farmers.

Labor is a great problem and here the authorities have released roadmen and other employees having knowledge of agriculture for service on the land. The National Service scheme, now abandoned, proved of some assistance, for, being managed by the various authorities, it was possible to recruit workers for the land.

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[1] Associate editor, *London Municipal Journal.* This was written in the year 1917.—EDITOR.

Authorities have established classes for training women to work on the land and thousands have already been so placed. Quaintly enough, in some parts, farmers have a prejudice against female labor and have declined the proferred assistance of these emergency-trained women. Others, however, have been glad to welcome them. The education authorities have allowed school children to quit school earlier than the legal age limit in order that they may do something, for even children are of service in these times of labor shortage. The government, realizing the importance of agriculture, has ceased to gather in farm hands as army recruits. Soldiers too have been lent to render assistance during harvest, but in this connection some farmers have complained that many of the soldiers so lent had no knowledge of farming whatever.

To conserve food supplies, the authorities have organized rat and sparrow clubs, in order to help farmers to get rid of rats and sparrows which do so much destruction to the crops.

Every county now has its war agricultural committee, appointed by the county council and working in direct conjunction with the board of agriculture. Thus, the complete aid of the municipalities has now been obtained to see that England is tilled to the best possible advantage.

A NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WAR HOUSING

BY ELINOR WOLF[1]

New York

TO WHAT extent shall war workers be housed in temporary barracks—in permanent homes? Shall houses for war workers be rented or sold? Shall we provide for the housing of many women workers? What is the best way to house the woman worker? These questions, which are questions of policy arising in connection with projected government housing operations in shipbuilding and munitions centers, were the subjects of the live discussions which characterized the first American conference on war housing, held at Philadelphia February 25, under the auspices of the National Housing Association.

The conference, presided over by Lawrence Veiller, secretary of the association, was attended by manufacturers, real estate men, architects, city planners, contractors, builders, labor leaders, civic and social workers, and housing experts to the number of 244 from 17 states. There was no reading of papers—five-minute discussions only were permitted, as a result of which a much more general and conclusive expression of opinion was obtained.

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[1] Assistant secretary, National Housing Association.

More or less of the administration viewpoint on the several questions raised was expressed by Frederick Law Olmsted, city planner, who for months has been in Washington on emergency construction work, and by Philip Hiss, chairman of the sub-committee on housing of the advisory commission of the Council of National Defense. English experience as furnishing a criterion for American policies was described by Thomas Adams, adviser to the Canadian commission of conservation and Frederick L. Ackerman, architect, of New York city. Joseph Richie, general organizer of the American Federation of Labor, spoke for the workers.

Permanent as against temporary construction in government operations was endorsed.

Mr. Olmsted pointed out that the sole interest of the government in housing, at the present moment, lies in its bearing upon the shipping and munitions industries. Housing, in this connection, is purely a means to an end and that end is the quick concentration and stabilization of the labor supply in important centers. Government interest in the type of construction is concerned chiefly with the elements of speed and salvage value, provided the housing is good enough to secure the welfare and contentment of the workers.

Speaker after speaker, however, emphasized that the welfare and contentment of the worker demands permanent construction—or a type of temporary construction that would offer little advantage as to speed and less as to salvage value.

"Shipyard workers and munitions workers are generally men with families," said Mr. Richie. "They are a group of men who want to be housed permanently. If you make a temporary home for a man, you make a temporary job and we don't want men considering that they have a temporary job in the shipyards at this time."

English experience as described by Messrs. Adams and Ackerman adds weight to this statement, for in many cases where England permitted the plea of expediency to justify makeshift construction, she found it necessary, for the sake of stabilizing the labor supply, to undo much of her work and do it over on more substantial lines. She found, moreover, that "the worker must have more than a shelter for his head, and the wastes disposed of; he must play and be recreated," and that "housing" means not merely houses but all the amenities of the modern community.

It was shown, furthermore, that consideration of community as well as individual welfare adds another count in favor of permanent construction. Temporary housing, as demonstrated repeatedly, too easily deteriorates into slum conditions, while permanent houses of good character would tend to elevate the standards of the community.

The objection that there exists, in the zeal of those advocating permanent housing, the danger of building beyond the capacity of the community to absorb, was answered first, by the argument that industry tends to seek those communities in which the housing is adequate and, second, that in the readjustment which will follow the war, the probabilities are in favor of the occupancy of the better houses and the vacation of the unfit, thus automatically eliminating undesirable conditions.

Discussion of the question, "Shall houses for war workers be rented or sold?" arose from the fact that the American Federation of Labor holds itself opposed to the selling of homes to workers on the ground that it interferes with the mobility of labor. Mr. Richie, however, held that, in the last analysis, that question is up to the individual—that provision should be made for both renting and selling, though at present the high cost of living militates against home ownership.

Speaking to the question "Shall we encourage or discourage the 'Take a roomer' campaign?" Mr. Veiller voiced a protest in behalf of the National Housing Association, pointing out that for years the association has waged an up-hill fight against room overcrowding and the lodger evil which inevitably will be badly aggravated by a campaign which places no restriction upon the number of roomers to be taken or the sanitary conditions under which they may be taken.

The spirit and conclusions of the conference are perhaps best summed up in the words of Thomas Adams: "Take a large view of this question. Establish these new communities upon a permanent basis. Create garden cities now because you have an opportunity you never had before, and recognize that in this country you are increasing your population 20 or 25 million every 15 years and that if you build houses with 100 or 200 million dollars of government money, you are only building one sixth of the yearly demand for new houses in this country and you need have no fear of the danger of having an excessive supply after the war. Do not fail to recognize that you had a housing problem before the war and that you are going to have a housing problem after the war quite independent of the conditions created by the war. That, I think, ought to have a considerable influence upon the method of approach and the consideration which you apply to this question of war housing conditions."

THE CITY AND COUNTY OF DENVER

By PROF. WILLIAM B. GUTHRIE
College of the City of New York

Being a paper read at the Detroit Conference,
National Municipal League, November, 1917.

Copies may be had on application to the offices of the League,
703 North American Building, Philadelphia.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

Where the Great City Stands. By C. R. Ashbee. London: The Essex House Press. Pp. 165. 21s.

"A Study in the New Civics" is the most appropriate sub-title of this abundantly and adequately illustrated volume from the pen of the well known English architect, designer and craftsman. It is an "after the war" book written during war times and with a full and pressing realization of the dangers of the present and the possibilities of the future. The very first question he asks is "How much of the constructive effort of the last fifty years shall we save from the wreck of the war," and then proceeds to indict that development as falling far short of reasonable achievement. In his answer to the question how we are to check the disintegration of society which he believes was in process before the war, and which he further believes the war is hastening, Mr. Ashbee writes: "What is the real way of checking it? Is it by blind negation, and such resistance as we in England have shown during the last two decades to all new constructive enterprise, to all new ideas? By no means. It is by setting up, within our disintegrating society, new groups among the working people themselves, having a new creative purpose. That purpose must be *standard and quality* in men and things; in short, the method of the arts. It is only by the method of the arts that the disintegration of society can be checked, and the finer reconstruction brought about. A little of this method, and the hope that inspired it, I have tried to set forth in the following pages."

He then proceeds in a series of short stimulating chapters to set up some of the standards which he believes must be achieved if the great city is to stand four square with its opportunities and possibilities. Here are the titles of some of the chapters which give one a fair idea of the scope of the work and the author's argument: How the art influences of our time have come to us; the pre-Raphaelite inspiration; the idea behind the arts and crafts movement; the impressionists; the growing regard for amenities and the preservation of history; what William Morris stood for; the idea behind post-impressionism and futurism; the housing and town planning movement; the garden city idea; the city center zones, lungs and open spaces; dirt, noise, and the menace of mechanism; poverty, disease, drink, privilege, and the glut of wealth; waste in education; waste in industry; co-ordination in the city as against competition; the coming of the expert; the guild idea and the idea of competitive militarism; standardization and standard; should men make "profit" out of the arts; simplification of life and public grandeur; the reaction of town and country; foresight and the utopian habit of mind.

This book is frankly dedicated and intended for the civic idealist and is stimulating as such. It is not without value and helpfulness, however, to the practical civicist for its pertinent and ripe comments upon American and British reports and undertakings based as they are on personal observation, investigation and study. To those who are searching for new ways of building up a better state, his advice and suggestions and his apt observations will be of undoubted help.

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Good Housing That Pays. By Fullerton L. Waldo. Philadelphia: The Harper Press, 1917. Pp. 126.

The first question in writing a book of this kind is, "To whom shall it be addressed, the professionals or the general public?" Mr. Waldo decided in favor of the general public, perhaps inevitably as he himself is not a professional. The book tells what he, a sympathetic and interested layman, learned about the Octavia Hill Association of Philadelphia, its work and the spirit of its work by reading its reports, going over its books, talking with its founders and its staff and accompanying the latter in their daily routine.

While Mr. Waldo is not a professional housing worker he is a professional writer and the book bears evidence to the fact. It is interesting. It is easy reading. And at the end the reader has a clear idea of the aims and the accomplishments of the corporation which owns and manages, or manages for other owners on a commission basis, several hundreds of dwellings in the poorer parts of Philadelphia. Perhaps Mr. Waldo is a little too much impressed with the philanthropy that asks only a 4 per cent return on its investment. The professional housing worker these days is as strongly in favor of a fair commercial return upon housing investments as he is opposed to a large speculative return and is inclined to believe that if the Octavia Hill Association paid 6 per cent instead of 4, the magnitude of its work would be many times multiplied and the social value no whit decreased.

But times change. When the Octavia Hill Association was started, philanthropy and 4 per cent was accepted without question as a promising method of solving the housing problem. Moreover, at that time it was thought possible to buy and rehabilitate old houses and by force of example compel other owners of houses in need of rehabilitation to do likewise. Sad experience has taught us better. The disease of the slum is too deep rooted for any such easy cure. So the Octavia Hill Association, progressing with the times, has begun to build new houses on which it can and does earn a fair return. But its work in past years has been of the greatest social value. It has demonstrated that good houses are a powerful factor in the production of good citizens. It has demonstrated that good management, while costing more, produces a greater revenue because of greater steadiness in payments and fewer vacancies to say nothing of lessened depreciation. This demonstration that good management, like advertising, pays, has been its great contribution.

John Ihlder.

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Rural Planning and Development. A Study of Rural Conditions and Problems in Canada. By Thomas Adams, Town Planning Adviser, Commission of Conservation. Published by the Commission of Conservation of Canada, as a report to the Governor General, from the office of the Commission in Ottawa.

It is impracticable within the necessarily brief limits of a review to give an adequate idea of the importance, breadth and quality of this monumental work, which, while it is basically adapted to Canada, is equally necessary if any democratic community anywhere is to accomplish its aim.

Mr. Adams came to Canada some years ago after a ripe experience in Great Britain, where he had been president of the Town Planning Institute and general planning inspector to the Local Government Board of England and Wales, and the secretary and manager of Letchworth Garden City. He has since his arrival in Canada become, at least as the writer looks upon him, a very able citizen of America, including both Canada and the United States. He has been ready at the instant of call to do loyal service in the United States, and his wise words, broad thought and fine experience have joined to make him a man of the utmost usefulness and importance in all problems relating to the sane handling of urban and rural living conditions.

The book in question is considerably more than a discussion of rural planning. In its first paragraph the problem is rather clearly stated. This reads, "After the Great War European nations will need restoration and reconstruction, but Canada will need conservation and development. There never was a greater opportunity for wise statesmanship—for the exercise of prescience and sound judgment by the men who lead in national affairs."

Mr. Adams in this great volume discusses not only the best methods of planning and developing land, but the promotion of "scientific training, improved educational facilities and means of social intercourse, and the establishment of an efficient government organization" to secure "co-operation, rural credit and development of rural industries."

The book cares for systems of surveying and planning, for transportation and distribution, for the land development problems, for rural life and rural industries, for government policies and land development, for the handling of returned soldiers, and for the proper legislation to effect all these high aims. All this rich gathering of facts, illustrated copiously with diagrams and pictures of the most emphatically pertinent character, is focused in Chapter X, "Outline of Proposals and General Conclusions." These propositions relate themselves intimately to things done and needing to be done in the United States as well as in Canada, and it is apparent all through the book that, as has before been suggested, Mr. Adams is a true citizen of America.

It would be better, perhaps, had the volume been more broadly named in accordance with its scope. It may well be cited as the best present literature of authoritative nature on that orderly, logical and wholly economic development without which, despite the outcome of the Great War, democracy cannot be the success its facilities predicate for it.

J. Horace McFarland.

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Co-operative Marketing. By William W. Cumberland. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. Pp. 218.

This is the first thoroughly complete and satisfactory description of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange. The importance of the work may be appreciated in view of the undoubted fact that the exchange in question is the biggest and best organized of any agricultural marketing company in the United States, and one of the greatest in the world. Thus a careful and detailed account of the workings of this company is very acceptable.

The most conspicuous fault in the book is its title. While virtually a monograph it bears a generic name and so purports to be more than it is. The first chapter is a little over ambitious and promises more than it fulfills. Neither is it altogether accurate. For example, the author says that co-operative marketing has received "relatively slight consideration" as compared with co-operative production or co-operative buying. The amount of material at hand describing co-operative marketing can hardly be called relatively slight. It is hardly true that "the great staples which absorb so large a proportion of the social income are left to find their way to market in the old aimless and expensive fashion," even though only a respectable beginning has been made toward reform.

The author is hoping for rather too much when he says, "The need is for a comprehensive system of distribution, based on principles of efficiency, capable of universal application," while his essentials for a successful plan (page 8) are hardly comprehensive enough. The monograph really begins with Chapter II. It traces the history of co-operative efforts in the marketing of California citrus fruits. The author writes like one who has seen the things he describes, and what he has to say bears all the marks of a penetrating comprehension of the complex processes. It is a story worth telling and is well told. The most striking facts brought out are: that the citrus fruit growers are a superior type of men; that they were all but compelled to co-operate; that in co-operating there is left an element of competition, each group having the right, and the incentive, to outdo other groups in making sales; and that they recognize the value of leadership and are willing to pay for it.

The importance of the exchange is told in a paragraph: "It is evident, therefore, that the exchange system has accomplished the purposes for which it was organized. Marketing expenses all along the line have been reduced, distribution has been equalized, and consumption of citrus fruit enormously expanded. Based on achievements, only one verdict is possible in passing judgment on the exchange system. Without the system the California citrus fruit business could never have developed." It is a pity the book which so excellently sets forth these facts could not have borne a name descriptive of its contents, such as: The Co-operative Marketing of Citrus Fruit.

B. H. Hibbard.

University of Wisconsin.

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The Food Problem. By Vernon Kellogg and Alonzo E. Taylor of the United States Food Administration. With a Preface by Herbert Hoover. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 212. $1.25.

After briefly reviewing the food situation of the Western Allies and the United States and discussing the general subject of food administration, the authors tell how England, France and Italy are controlling and saving food and about food control in Germany and its lessons. This comprises "The Food Problem and Its Solution." A second part, "The Technology of Food Use," deals with the physiology and sociology of nutrition and with grain and alcohol. Concluding pages discuss patriotism and food. The book is interesting and convincing. Strange to say, while advocating garbage utilization by the reduction process, no reference is made to the far simpler and less expensive plan of feeding garbage to hogs, which is much more feasible for the majority of cities.

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The Psychology of Citizenship. By Arland D. Weeks. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company.

In form and content this small book with its brief discussion of many separate topics is calculated to give students of government many "first aids" in thinking and working. If 100 readers of the National Municipal Review or even 10 would put aside for one month short notes under headings treated in these 145 4 x 7 type pages, an invaluable handbook on practical uses of the psychology of citizenship would result.

Helpful "jolts" follow:

In order to relate effort for public welfare more fully to laws of mind, it is profitable to view our mental nature as it shows up against a background of civic and economic questions.

Constituents are proudly triumphant when their representatives force through a bill compelling railroads to bulletin the time of arrival and departure of trains, but are not particularly curious as to the relation of freight rates to the cost of living.

The classical scholar tends to be but partially scientific. Sucker lists are compiled from college catalogues.

Too much emphasis can hardly be placed upon the actual character of the information which society permits to circulate or deliberately diffuses through agencies under state control.

To have a voice in government is not more important than to have a voice in the business with which one is connected.

The historical student sees objections to reforms which less informed men accomplish through unscholarly optimism.

The diffusion of constructive civic ideas is fundamental to social betterment.

A rogues' gallery of modern evils, supplemented by constructive suggestions pictorially represented, would have possibilities.

New journeys must be made by seeming to follow old routes where familiar guide boards stand.

The fullest confidence is not reposed in public agents because so much of their work is not generally known. It is necessary to develop agencies which will have the effect of placing public servants on a platform of observation and in a light which leaves nothing to the darkness which evil loves.

Misunderstanding of congressmen is due less to the incapacity of constituents to understand language than to the absence of authentic, skilful, and ample reporting.

The miscarriage of modern politics is probably due more to lack of civic publicity than to lack of mentality or character.

The universities should train men and women in the technique and ideals of civic journalism.

Voters should know the subject matter of elections . . . should be admitted to the exercise of their function only upon proof of competence. The man who conscientiously follows political questions should not have his part counteracted by one indifferent to public affairs.

Surely the right to vote should be contingent on the correlated duty to know upon what one is voting.

A vast amount of futile talk would be displaced by the simple expedient of trying proposals for improvements in civic administration.

The community which would cavil at paying a public servant three thousand dollars a year pays uncomplainingly perhaps ten thousand dollars to the president of the local bank and beholds with equanimity the gathering in of the unearned increment on a township of land by a prominent citizen amounting to scores of thousands of dollars annually.

If the writer of this book would take concrete every-day experiences of field workers and give us a "case method" elaboration of this suggestive treatment of the psychology of citizenship, he would make it easy vastly to improve our contact with our constituencies.

W. H. Allen.

New York City.

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Community Civics. By R. O. Hughes. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. Pp. 505. $1.25.

Mr. Hughes of the Peabody High School, Pittsburgh, has published a text book which runs to nearly 500 pages. After the manner of the last century it might almost be called a compendium of indispensable information. The diction, however, is conversational, almost colloquial at times. The lessons bear the mark of live class-room discussion and if they occasionally lack that finish which comes from well considered pruning and polishing, there is sufficient compensation in the appeal they make to the every-day experiences of young citizens.

Mr. Hughes treats first the "Community Life." He builds on this, the need for government and the rights and duties of citizens. Under "Elements of Community Welfare," he presents the principles of city planning, health, recreation and education together with the protection of the community by police and fire departments. "The Mechanism of Our Government," formal and informal, federal, state and local, is presented in some detail.

In general the treatment is sane, searching and stimulating. Occasionally, however, Mr. Hughes has not escaped the didactic,—a fault we are all prone to commit in dealing with current reforms. It may be that the next generation of Americans, housed in sublimated apartments, filled with automatic contrivances to reduce the business of living to the lowest common denominator, will smile at the statement:

"Yet whatever conveniences even the best apartment house may afford, it can never possess the spirit and sentiment that are associated with the old cottage in the Green Mountain village or even the little home in West Philadelphia where every house looks like the next one."

On the other hand they may agree and still repine.

Certainly the text book is along the right lines. Good community teaching can, of course, never be confined to a general treatise. In this regard Mr. Hughes is particularly helpful in suggesting fruitful lines of inquiry.

Harlean James.

Washington, D. C.

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Universal Training for Citizenship and public Service. By William H. Allen. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

The Dawn of a New Patriotism. By John D. Hunt. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. $1.25.

Americanization. Compiled and edited by Winthrop Talbot. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. $1.50. The Hand Book Series.

Dr. Allen is always stimulating and his most recent volume is equal to his best. He points out how the phrase "until after the war" is a qualification for all our thinking and planning, and that one of the great problems for all countries will be how "while removing war's wreckage, to guarantee the permanence of its benefits and to direct its momentum toward rebuilding what war has torn down, and realizing ideals which war evils have disclosed." It is not always easy to grasp the full meaning and significance of the short, snappy sentences which characterize Dr. Allen's books, but they do stimulate, sometimes by irritation, which we are told is good pedagogy. Among the most interesting chapters for readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are those dealing with training for leadership in civic work and for entrance to civil service.

John D. Hunt, who is the clerk of the executive council of Alberta, has written a book which, although designed for Canadians, has a significance and value for the United States of America. Its sub-title "A Training Course in Citizenship" only partly discloses its purposes; for as our author himself in his preface says:

"While this book is adapted for the use in our public schools and colleges, it is also intended for the instruction and inspiration of the men and women who are now in possession of the franchise. The cultivation of good citizenship provides common meeting ground for all sections of the community. . . . If there is in existence in the community a suitable organization such as a Canadian club, a literary society, a citizens' club, a home-makers' club, or a local union of the farmers, advantage may be taken of such organization to introduce this book as the basis for a series of studies, discussions and entertainments."

Further on he says: "Freedom is not guaranteed to us. Every generation must fight for it, and every individual must win it for himself, and it is in the struggle that good citizenship is developed." And again in his chapter on "The Meaning of Democracy" he says: "Democracy is a government, in which every man, by virtue of his manhood alone, has an equal voice in the common affairs of the common country. . . . Democracy also stands for the economic freedom—the duty of the state to preserve an economic condition that will afford opportunity to every honest and willing worker to gain a fair and equitable living. . . . Remember, for this is the kernel of the matter, that the theory of democracy assumes a far higher level of good sense, judgment, honest purpose and devotion to the public welfare in the citizen of a free country than is either looked for or needed in the subject of a despotic monarchy or of an oligarchy."

In addition to a large mass of well articulated quotations and references we find numerous practical suggestions as to procedure.

Dr. Talbot's volume is even more of a quilt (to use Mr. Hunt's phrase). To change the simile it is a "service book" which will prove useful for classes in Americanization. It has fewer original comments and observations than Mr. Hunt's and therefore is of less interest to the general reader, but it brings within handy scope a mass of excerpts and information of great usefulness in these days when a solid front of Americanism is an essential.

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ON THE ENFORCEMENT OF LAW IN CITIES. By Brand Whitlock. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. Pp. 95. (New Edition.)

Because of the author's splendid service in Belgium and because of the rapidly changing attitude in the United States toward the always present subject of vice control—a change that is due in part to war psychology and war needs—it is of especial interest to review Mr. Whitlock's open letter to representatives of the federated churches of Toledo. This letter was written in the far-back year of 1910. Upon its subject one may ponder without end, but unless one be bigoted one may seldom conclude more than tentatively.

One may or may not agree with some of the author's points of view. In treading upon worn but almost unprovable ground, he is never bigoted. He is dealing in a few words with a large and ramifying social subject. Of scientific fact there is little; of unscientific speculation upon human frailty and relationship there is much. But whatever else may be said, this letter is moving literature; it is full of spirit, of rebuke, of tolerance, and of high hope for better things.

A considerable part of the letter is devoted to sustaining the thesis that our laws are in advance of our ethical standards and, being thus, must produce urban difficulties. We have had more emphasis upon this aspect of the subject than upon the fact that laws not only reflect public opinion but also assist in its making. In respect to much of our vice legislation there is a positive favorable sentiment, a positive oppositional sentiment, and a large negative sentiment. Difficulty lies chiefly with the latter. How may this passivity best be galvanized into positivity—by laws which lag behind or press beyond an actively favorable public opinion? That is doubtless an open question. Mr. Whitlock's letter is no guide to its solution. But it is very well worth reading and serious contemplation.

Howard Lee McBain.
New York City.

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Principles Governing the Retirement of Public Employes. By Lewis Meriam. New York: D. Appleton and Company. Pp. 465.

The official and the citizen familiar with public employment and the unfair and financially unsound pension funds frequently provided for school teachers, firemen, and policemen, will find an amount of satisfaction in Mr. Meriam's common sense discussion of the retirement situation. The author does not pretend to approach the problem with preconceived notions of what should constitute proper retirement methods, nor does he attempt to base his conclusions upon present practices. Rather, after a comprehensive discussion of the entire retirement situation, there follows a detailed discussion of the principles underlying the retirement of public employes, with the writer's conclusions.

An early chapter deals with the objects sought in establishing retirement systems, and in which is reviewed the familiar difficulties affecting public employment,—character of employes, underpayment, retarded advancement, superannuation, etc. There follows a review of present systems with a statement of the problems, which they raise. Of greater length and importance is the discussion of the solution of these problems and the methods establishing a sound retirement system.

The citizen who believes that public business can be conducted with the same efficiency as private business, would do well to read the early chapters of the book, if for no other reason than to learn that conditions surrounding public employment are entirely different from those in private life and that these unusual conditions must be met by unusual precedents. Such a reader should also review the final chapter on conclusions, which summarizes the reasons for a retirement system and the basis upon which they should be placed.

This book is not one for the person who is only casually interested in the government, but for the student and the official who is compelled to meet technical problems of administration. It is most carefully written and includes a mass of detail concerning the different problems which can have only a limited field of attention. However, the conclusions, which the writer draws so excellently, summarize the results of his careful study and discussion. These findings result from such evident proof of the necessity for a method of retiring public employes, and involve such sensible proposals for accomplishing this end, that it is unfortunate that this one section cannot obtain the widest circulation among not only officials and civic agencies, but among citizens in general.[1]

Lent D. Upson.
Detroit, Mich.

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[1] This volume is one of the series in the Principles of Administration prepared for the Institute for Government Research.

The Book of New York. By Robert Shackleton. Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Company.

This book deals with the life and genius of our American metropolis in an illuminating way. While not pretending to be in any wise a historical contribution, it is full of historical references which are helpful and suggestive. Some chapters are notably so, for example, the one on Greenwich Village. It deals, however, with old memories and artistic points of interest rather than with civic conditions. Indeed it deals not at all with the seething population and their problems, and we have no mention of that local institution by which the old village is now perhaps best known—Greenwich house, where Mary Simkhovitch and her friends and colleagues are doing a work which has achieved, and justly so, a country wide fame. The same is true of other portions of the book. In the description of clubs, we find no reference to the City club which now for a generation has been a rallying point for the forward movements of the greater city. Our author's interests are evidently not civic in the sense that readers of the National Municipal Review use that term, but he has given us a readable and interesting book within the limitations which he has set for himself. The illustrations, which are abundant, are much more modern than the author. Nevertheless he has caught the spirit of New York as is shown in many a fine paragraph of which the following is an example:

"There is the greatest and most reckless spending in the world, and there is the most pinching economy. You may stand beside some wealthy woman who negligently orders furs or gowns costing thousands, and in a few minutes may be in a shop where you will hear a poor child, who is buying a loaf of stale bread and a penny's worth of cheese say to the clerk, 'Mother wants you to cut it with the ham knife to give it a hammy taste.' "

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

American City Progress and the Law. By Howard Lee McBain. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. 269. $1.50.

The American Year Book. A Record of Events and Progress for 1917. Edited by Francis G. Wickware. New York: D. Appleton & Company. Pp. 822. $3.

Co-operation: The Hope of the Consumer. By Emerson P. Harris, assisted by Edgar Swan Weirs and Florence Harris. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 328. $2.00.

Household Management. By Florence Nesbit. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. Social Work Series. Pp. 170. 75 cents.

Relief from Floods. By John W. Alvord and Charles B. Burdick. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. Pp. 175. $2.

Plan of Minneapolis. Prepared under the Direction of The Civic Commission, 1917, by Edward H. Bennett and Andrew Wright Crawford. Minneapolis: The Civic Commission. 1917.

The Soul of Democracy: The Philosophy of the World in Relation to Human Liberty. By Edward Howard Griggs. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 158. $1.25.

The State Tax Commission. By H. L. Lutz. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. $2.75.

Tuberculosis: Its Cause, Cure and Prevention. By Edward O. Otis, M.D. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. Pp. 328. $1.50.

Two Towns—One City: Paris-London. By John F. MacDonald. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. Pp. 246. $2 net.

War Time Control of Industry. By Howard L. Gray. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 307. $1.75.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Publications of the American Judicature Society.—Two publications of the American Judicature Society,—"A draft of an act to establish a model court for a metropolitan district" and the "Second draft of a state-wide judicature act"—are of value to persons and organizations interested in the reform of the state and municipal judicial machinery. In our states and in our large cities the court systems have been more or less like Topsey, they "just growed" out of old frontier court systems suitable to only rural or semi-rural communities. By these drafts the authors are pointing the way to bring order out of this generally unsatisfactory condition.

There has been among lawyers such an awe of the court as an historic institution that no one has dared to lay violent hands upon abuses that have grown out of the lack of flexibility and the lack of proper administrative machinery to handle the ever increasing bulk of work piled upon the courts. In most cities and states the only way in which this has been met has been by appointing additional judges for the over-burdened courts, or by creating new courts or divisions of courts to handle special classes of cases. Little has been done to provide logical and flexible means for handling the increasing and diversified business of the courts.

The most commendable feature of the proposed acts is the flexibility provided by making possible the transfer of judges from one court or division to another as the volume of work demands it. Such a scheme would do a great deal to relieve the congested calendars, especially of the so-called higher courts. With the courts under one administration much time and expense could be saved, much of the legal red tape that has grown up could be done away with, and the litigants in the civil courts and the defendants, witnesses and complainants in the criminal courts would be saved the hardship and annoyance of delay. In the end justice would also be much better served.

These schemes are deserving of very careful study. At present they must be considered ideals toward which to work rather than practical systems to be adopted in blanket form. Each city and each state has its own peculiar situation that must be met. In most cases where legislation looking toward this ideal is sought, the scheme must be modified to suit existing public opinion and political conditions. In most cases it will undoubtedly have to be done piecemeal. An attempt made a few years ago to put all of the inferior criminal courts of New York city under one jurisdiction met with so strenuous objection, not only from the politicians, but from the more conservative members of the bench and bar, that it was possible to realize only a part even of this modest aim. This would most likely be the experience of other communities if general blanket schemes of state-wide or metropolitan district judicial reforms were sought by legislation.

The first act provides in suitable terms for the general organization of all courts, both criminal and civil, under one judicial system. The staff of judges in this court consists of a chief justice, presiding justices for the various branches of the work and junior associate judges, and "masters of metropolitan court" whose duties are similar to masters in chancery and referees.

The chief justice is given large administrative powers as the head of the administrative machinery of the court system. The judicial council, composed of the chief justice and the presiding justices of the various branches, has wide powers. The plan provides for five divisions of the court, as follows:

(1) Equity division, (2) probate and domestic relations division (including children's courts), (3) civil jury division, (4) civil non-jury division, and (5) criminal court division.

The proposed act further provides for the manner of assignment of judges to various branches of the work, for meetings of the board of justices, for the organization of a clerical staff and the appointment of jury commissioners, etc. The scheme is carefully worked out and is quite radical in its proposals.

The second draft of the state-wide judicature act provides a model system of courts for a state along lines similar to those for courts of the metropolitan district. The staff of courts is as follows:

(1) A court of appeals, (2) superior courts, and (3) county courts. Magistrates are provided for as subordinate to the county court judges.

Provisions are made for masters or referees and jury commissioners and for a clerical staff. A judicial council and yearly meetings of the judges to discuss and determine matters of policy are provided for. The state-wide plan seems much less practical and feasible than the plan for metropolitan districts. In reading the two acts one is inclined to feel that those who had to do with the drafting of them were more familiar with the problems of court administration of a large city than with those of a state.

Bulletin No. 10. "The selection, tenure and retirement of judges," is an excellent discussion of these important questions. The document points in an effective way toward the necessity of making judges appointive rather than elective and giving them a long tenure of office.

George Everson.[1]

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Proposed City-County Consolidation in Los Angeles.—The California taxpayers' association proposes in a very exhaustive report[2] on the city and county government of Los Angeles that the two units combine under a single organization which would unify the city planning, highway system, local transportation, public utility management, sewage disposal, water supply, flood control, harbor management and many aspects of public health and morals. In framing a plan to attain this object, the association felt the need of a council of moderate size—possibly of from 17 to 21 members—whose functions should be legislative only. Concerning the chief executive, the report firmly asserts that he should be chosen by the council; that he should hold office without definite tenure and that he should have power to appoint and dismiss at will all heads of departments, with a few specified exceptions.

The plan recommended would realize the ideal of the short ballot in a very thoroughgoing way. By consolidating all the local governments into one, and by vesting all administrative and legislative authority in a council composed of one member from each district or ward, each citizen would exercise all his voting power for local purposes by his ballot for councilman from his district or ward.

Concerning the organization of the judiciary, another interesting proposal is made. At present the electors of Los Angeles county choose twenty superior court judges and a great multitude of justices of the peace. As a remedy for this particular evil the report suggests the election of one or more superior judges and the appointment by them of more superior judges of inferior courts. This recommendation is not final, however, in view of the many constitutional and other legal obstacles in the way of reorganization.

The municipalities of Los Angeles county, including the county itself, in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, disbursed $32,131,194.58. By adopting the proposed plan of consolidation it is estimated that an annual saving of $2,688,519.00 could be effected in salaries, maintenance and operation expenses, and the purchase of supplies, while at the same time better service would be rendered all along the line and a more representative government established.

Los Angeles is a rather typical metropolitan community—the big city, a fringe of independent suburban communities and, superimposed upon all, a county government which, in spite of reorganization a few years ago, is still far from satisfactory because of the complexity of the general plan of local government. In practice it means duplication of effort and attendant waste, as well as varieties of standards, particularly in the matter of assessment and collection of taxes. Twenty of the twenty-six municipalities within the county in the fiscal year 1916 maintained their own assessors and tax-collectors—an item of $125,690.10 thrown away for the sake of permitting localities to violate and evade the constitution and statutes which require property to be assessed in proportion to its full value. In the auditing of accounts and in the administration of fire protection, public health, charities and roads, are to be found the same sort of duplication in the appropriation of funds and a complete absence of planning.

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[1] Executive secretary, committee on criminal courts, New York Charity organization society.

[2] City and county consolidation for Los Angeles. Report prepared by taxpayers' association of California. October, 1917. 194 pp.

The plan proposed in Los Angeles follows in many respects the recommendations of the Chicago bureau of public efficiency for the reorganization of Cook county municipalities.

H. S. Gilbertson.

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How Baltimore Succeeds without County Government.—The interesting address of S. S. Field, city solicitor of Baltimore, on this subject at the twenty-fifth national conference of the National Municipal League and other organizations has been printed in the *Municipal Journal* of Baltimore dated March 8. This publication is an official one.

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The City and County of Denver.—Professor William B. Guthrie, of the College of the City of New York, read an exhaustive paper on this subject at the Detroit meeting of the National Municipal League[1] which has been published in pamphlet form and can be had upon application to the offices of the National Municipal League, North American Building, Philadelphia.

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Municipal Association of New Zealand.—New Zealand has a municipal association with 153 member municipalities. The "Rules" of the New Zealand Association are strikingly similar to the constitution and by-laws of many such municipal leagues and associations in the United States. The general objects are stated to be "to watch over and protect the interests, rights, and privileges of Municipal Corporations; to take action in relation to any subject affecting municipal bodies or municipal legislation; to procure legal opinions on matters of general interest to municipalities; and to promote the efficient carrying out of municipal government through out the country."

In addition to pursuing the general objects the rules state that the association will undertake test cases of a nature affecting municipalities generally, the cost of such litigation to be prorated among the members of the Association. At least one of the state leagues of municipalities in the United States (the New Jersey league) is now engaged in contesting an application before the board of public utility commissioners, the expense of which is prorated in the same manner.

The rules also provide for "steps to be taken toward establishing and maintaining a dominion library of municipal works of reference; receive papers of interest on special subjects relating to municipal government for submission to conference; compile and collate statistics, and take such other steps as are deemed necessary for the dissemination of useful knowledge amongst the municipalities represented on the association." This association has a schedule of dues of member municipalities which they call "annual subscriptions," based, as are the dues of leagues of municipalities in the United States, upon population. Their four large cities Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin pay an annual subscription of £10, 10s., boroughs having a population of 1,000 or over pay £8, 8s. and the graduation proceeds downward to town districts of under 1,000 which pay £2, 2s.

An interesting statement from the report of the president reads: "The committee has acceded to a request from the Union of Canada Municipalities to join the International Municipal League for Friendly Intercourse."

Claude H. Anderson.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. vii., p. 122.)

Municipal Association of Victoria.—Municipal Associations, leagues or unions are by no means confined to the United States. We find that a municipal association has existed in Victoria, Australia, since 1879, which seems to have been consistently active throughout all these years. The association held its twenty-fifth annual session, October 17th and 18th, 1917, with more than 150 delegates present. These delegates represented the cities, shires, boroughs and towns of Victoria and came from their largest cities, such as Melburne, and their smallest boroughs. It seems that the Association is not merely an association of the municipal officials, but that the municipalities are members as such, as is the case with many of the state leagues of municipalities in the United States. The voting is done in the name of the municipality and all motions are recorded as having been made by the municipality represented by the official making the motion, rather than the official himself. Interesting subjects discussed and acted upon by the 1917 convention of the Victoria Municipal Association were the following: Preferential voting at municipal elections, prohibition of touting for votes, municipal finances, rating of absentee land owners of unimproved land, regulation of traffic, cost of street construction, position of telegraph and telephone posts. C. H. A.

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Social Agencies of Alameda County.—A survey of the social agencies of Alameda county, California, which includes Lakland, Berkeley, and several other suburbs of San Francisco, was made for the county board of public welfare by Jean Howard McDuffie who had the coöperation of leading social workers and of students in the University of California. The report[1] is an imposing volume of 56 pages, each 12 by 18 inches in size. The stated purpose of the study was "to give to the social workers of the county a hand-book of information as accurate as it has been possible to obtain; to give to the public an accounting of the social work attempted—by whom, at what cost, and with what results; to give to the organizations carrying on this work a picture of the whole, so that they may view their own activities in relation to those of other groups working in the same or related departments; to encourage the keeping of uniform records for public information, and to help in the study of the causes of dependency, sickness and delinquency, with a view to their elimination; and, last, to lay the foundation for future and better surveys which shall record progress as a program of constructive social work is year by year developed to meet the needs of Alameda county."

Thus the survey does not claim to be intensive. It is pre-eminently extensive. In regard to most of the groups of agencies studied, a few general recommendations are made, but in the main the report will not serve as a basis for any very important changes in the methods of work of the various organizations. It is best described as an elaborate social service directory of the county, with special articles by leaders in each field of work. There is also a digest of laws relating to social conditions, which should prove valuable to local social workers.

Of chief interest to students in other parts of the country are the rather extensive tables in which the work of each group of organizations is expressed. For example, for each public and private agency engaged in the distribution of general relief an attempt was made to show its name, its headquarters, the date of its founding, the territory it covers, its administrative board, its staff, its activities, a statistical summary of the service it renders, and a financial summary showing its cost to the state, county, and city, and its receipts in fees, dues, fines, subscriptions, donations, entertainments, endowments, etc. For each agency engaged in the care of needy children the following special items are shown: the special class of children admitted, the age and sex of admitted, procedure to be followed, the capacity of the institution, the average number admitted in 1916, the average length of stay, whether mental, medical or dental examination is required and to what extent, the educational and industrial opportunities offered, the final disposition made of the children, and the charges, if any, made for those cared for. These tables give a comprehensive outline of the more important factors in each line of work and should prove of decided value to any one wishing to study the work of any or all such organizations in other cities.

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[1] Survey of social agencies of Alameda county, Cal. (based on 1915–1916 reports). Prepared by Jean H. McDuffie for the board of public welfare and published at its request by the board of supervisors. Edited by Porter Garnett. 1917. 56 pp.

One is surprised to note the expensive series of maps which the report contains, each printed in three colors and each showing the distribution of the population in the county in comparison with the location of agencies in the particular group described. In regard to most agencies so many factors besides that of population should control the location of buildings or offices that the maps, at least to an outsider, tell little that is of value. It would seem that this considerable cost might have been saved for a more useful purpose.

Fred S. Hall.

New York City.

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"Humanizing the Greater City's Charity" is the title of an attractively illustrated pamphlet of 144 pages published by the public welfare committee which was organized to promote the re-election of Mayor Mitchel by showing the citizens of New York the results accomplished by the Fusion administration through the reorganization of the department of public charities.

It is a hopeful sign that a city in which centers the world's money market should set for itself such a splendid program. Under its newer and truer conception of the purpose of public welfare work, the city of New York has established a program of service which is both scientific and humane and which builds for to-morrow as well as for to-day. It attempts to prevent crime, to rebuild human lives, to prevent continued and developed delinquencies, to stop the ravages of disease and to build up an efficient body politic. Its program for to-morrow, looking far ahead, contemplates provision for the basic necessities of normal life, such as food, shelter and clothing, and aims to bring its charges to a state of self-dependency, by helping them to stand upon their own feet and secure for themselves the common necessities of life. To those who stand on the border-line of poverty it proposes to reach out the helping hand and save them from the abyss. Above all, it has a heart which is sensitive to the humane and benign motives which should ever characterize welfare work.

Following such a program, New York will yet become a city of hope and health and the fullness of life, where all that ministers to the welfare of man is found—a city where social justice and the common welfare are the highest objectives of human aspiration and hope. This pamphlet will serve a splendid, inspirational purpose in leading other communities to follow in the same line of public welfare work.

D. F. Garland.[1]

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Industrial Housing.[2]—The housing collection which has been assembled by Dr. James Ford at Harvard has been the source of considerable valuable information to students during the past few years, and this pamphlet by Mr. Hamlin indicates that it may be made to serve immediately practical purposes as well. Here in small compass is gathered most of the available information as to the experience of companies that have recently built small dwellings for wage-earners. Row houses and multiple dwellings or tenements are not included in the study.

According to the author, adequate housing involves (1) shelter; (2) sanitation; (3) provision for family life; and (4) æsthetic pleasure. With these in mind he presents the experience of a number of companies that have sought to provide them in low cost houses. He sets

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[1] Director of public welfare, city of Dayton, Ohio.

[2] Low-cost cottage construction in America. A study based on the housing collection in the Harvard social museum. By Winthrop A. Hamlin. Publications of the department of social ethics in Harvard University. No. 7. 30 pp.

$2,000 as the approximate cost of the dwelling, though the wide variations in labor and material prices in different parts of the country make anything more than an approximation impossible. Moreover, as the figures he quotes are for different years, some of them as far back as 1903, they are of comparative rather than of actual value to one who is confronted with the high prices of 1918.

Mr. Hamlin takes up the different building materials—frame (with a sub-division on ready-built frame houses), brick, hollow tile, concrete (with a sub-division on the poured concrete house), and stucco—and under each lists its advantages and disadvantages so far as they have yet become manifest. A large number of pictures and floor plans of the houses described add to the value of the pamphlet. At the end is a chart containing tabulated data on twenty nine developments.

John Ihlder.

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Industrial Survey of Cincinnati.—*Garment-making Industries.* The Cincinnati chamber of commerce which is making a systematic vocational survey of the industries in Cincinnati under the direction of C. R. Hebble, has issued a report dealing with the sewing trades, which suggests certain fundamental principles as to industrial education and makes practical recommendations with regard to instruction in the sewing trades as applied to the Cincinnati public schools. These recommendations are now being carried out by the city.

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A Marketing Survey of New Haven[1] was made last year by Professor Weld and a group of graduate students of Yale University. It seems that there had been a controversy over the question of a public market for the city. The chamber of commerce wanted information on which to base a decision. The study concerns itself with the marketing of farm produce, meat, truck and fruit. A large part, but far from all, of this produce is raised within as short radius as fifty miles from the city. Butter comes mostly from greater distances, as does also the greater part of the fruit and meat.

With respect to the produce grown near the city, a considerable portion is sold in the farmers' wholesale market, which is an open air, unregulated affair, without even a marketmaster. Stalls are unassigned, and in consequence many farmers often arrive two or three hours before business opens in order to get a favorable location. Lack of organization and standardization results in lack of patronage, many merchants not going to the market at all. Of the goods sold at the market, 45 per cent is bought by peddlers, 24 per cent by retailers, 22 per cent by wholesalers, and 9 per cent by shippers.

The butter and egg trade is mainly in the hands of wholesalers who get their supplies from the west. While this business is often of a speculative type, on other occasions the wholesaler who buys butter and eggs during the spring contracts at the same time with a retailer for certain amounts to be delivered during the following winter. By this means the wholesaler is led to do business on a small margin. The danger is that the retailer will be led to buy at too high a figure.

The meat trade is in the hands of the packers until the retail store is reached. The retailer takes a gross margin of 18 to 30 per cent which is the largest part of the charge between producer and consumer. A sketch of the marketing of milk shows that the city's supply is produced within 60 miles of the city, nearly three-fifths of it within 20 miles. The story is the same as elsewhere—the business is so severely competitive that dealers take a big surplus in summer in order to have an ample supply in winter. The farmers get about 47 per cent of the consumers' dollar, the distributors the same, and the railway companies the balance.

After considering the facts presented by these studies the conclusion is drawn that a farmers' retail market would probably not succeed; that a retail dealers' market is not needed; that the city is hardly large enough for a wholesale dealers' market beyond what the wholesalers have themselves provided; that the city does distinctly need a farmers' wholesale market. Steps are being taken to provide it.

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[1] Marketing Survey of New Haven. By L. D. H. Weld, assisted by R. E. Badger, H. A Brandt, J. D. Hanstein, and H. B. Price. 52 pp. New Haven chamber of commerce.

B. H. Hibbard.

University of Wisconsin.

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Marketing and Housework Manual.[1]—In these days of food shortage and labor shortage, when economy is not merely commendable but is at once urgent from the personal standpoint and almost imperative from the national standpoint, a practical guide in how to choose wisely and manage efficiently is most welcome. The present volume is compact and clear and most attractive in appearance.

The first chapter gives general rules for marketing which are not pedantic or artificial but consist of common sense hints useful to either the experienced or inexperienced. Chapter two consists of marketing charts by means of which the leading facts concerning all manner of foods are conspicuously set out in order so as to be easily found and comprehended. The charts are supplemented by lists of rules for buying and caring for food. This chapter is followed by one on menu making. Chapter five discusses the selection of foods from the standpoint of their dietetic value. Chapter six outlines a method of taking an inventory of the food on hand in order to estimate the cost for a given period. These chapters constitute Part I.

Part II consists of fourteen chapters covering all phases of general house work and management, from the washing of dishes to the inspection of a house before buying or renting. These chapters are not presented in the form of extended discussions but instead are for the most part in the form of outlines, with short terse statements, containing the information or suggestion. Probably very few housekeepers would be so systematic or precise as to follow in detail the full number of suggestions given, but on the other hand probably few intelligent housekeepers would fail to benefit by using the manual. A good index makes it easy to find any matter treated. The book is strictly what the name implies, a manual.

B. H. Hibbard.

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Salary Standardization in the New Jersey State Government.—This report[1] does not differ materially from the one made last July, by the same group of consultants, on the classification and standardization of the Milwaukee city service. The method and plan of classification and also the specifications governing conditions of employment are very similar to those in the earlier report. This is the first time, however, that the Jacobs' plan of standardization has been applied east of Chicago and to a state civil service.

A number of its recommendations are especially worth noting. One is the recommendation that the state legislature create a bureau of personal service standards and records under the jurisdiction of the state civil service commission and set aside not less than $20,000 for the work of such a bureau. Another significant one is that steps be taken toward the classification and standardization of employments under the several counties and municipalities that have adopted the provisions of the New Jersey civil service act.

A third recommendation reads as follows:

> That inasmuch as the compensation ranges and salary rates suggested in the standardization plan presented herewith are based upon normal conditions and changes of employment, and in view of the present abnormal conditions of the cost of living and employment, consideration be given to the allowance of an additional amount of pay in the form of a bonus to be continued during the abnormal period only, particularly to the state employes in the lower grades of service.

J. L. Jacobs and Company also repeat their recommendations made in Milwaukee for free training courses in public service administration and for the establishment of a scientific pension system for all employes in the public service within the state.

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[1] By S. Agnes Donham. Pp. 241. Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1918.

[1] Report on classification and salary standardization of the personal service in the New Jersey state government. Prepared at the request of the New Jersey state civil service commission by J. L. Jacobs and Company. Chicago. November, 1917. 502 pp.

William C. Beyer.[1]

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Problems of University Bureaus of Municipal Research and Reference.[2]—The September bulletin of the University of Texas contains a summary of the purposes and results of university bureaus of research and reference, prepared by E. T. Paxton, secretary of the Texas bureau. In a dozen readable pages is summarized what American universities, through research bureaus, are doing to help cities untangle their municipal problems, and to help students get a first-hand knowledge of local government, by publishing and supplying information, advising on technical problems, and occasionally by undertaking actual installations and surveys.

However, it is difficult to review this statement without quarreling with the author as to how far universities should go in their experiments. Mr. Paxton says: "Another avenue of service that too few of the bureaus have developed, is the survey and exhibit." Now, no one questions that a university bureau is entirely within its proper sphere when it tells a city what other communities are doing. But it is entirely possible that a university research bureau is all wrong when it attempts to point out to a particular city where it is falling down on its local problems. Many persons are coming to the conclusion that even the good survey is being overworked unless it is followed up by actual continuous efforts on the job. How far university faculties and their students are equipped to undertake either the initial study, or its follow-up, is a question. Some universities have many facilities; others are woefully lacking. The mere statement that a university makes surveys and exhibits does not mean that it makes them well or gets results from them, which is a true test. And this criticism applies with equal vigor to any civic organization, university or otherwise, engaged in laying down categorical imperatives about municipal methods.

However, Mr. Paxton has presented his side of the story very well, and no doubt convincingly to the unbiased reviewer.

Lent D. Upson.

❖

The Springfield Street Railway Company[1] serves the city of Springfield and a number of adjoining suburban cities and towns. Its revenues having been admittedly inadequate to cover operating expenses and taxes and a fair return on investment, the company has applied to the public service commission of Massachusetts for increases in rates.

The report does not show definitely just what the plan of the existing rates is, nor what the proposed changes are. But, apparently, the company has in effect a zone system, with a flat 5-cent fare in each zone, and with liberal overlaps of zones. The proposed changes would evidently cut down the size of the zones materially, would abolish the overlaps, and, except in the central zone in Springfield, would raise the flat rate to six cents. The result would be that, outside of the one 5-cent zone, actual rates would be increased from 20 to 380 per cent. This would work very unequally in the different localities, and in many cases would cause serious hardships.

Mr. Fox urges that the company's financial problem would be solved better through economies of operation than through increases in rates; but that if rates must be increased, they should be changed less arbitrarily. Among the possible economies he suggests especially the following: (1) the use of trailer cars for rush hour operation, (2) one man cars for certain lines with light traffic, and (3) less frequent stops in many streets, with resulting gain in speed and possible reduction in the number of cars operated. He believes that large additions to revenues might be obtained by encouraging business in non-rush hours through reduction of rates. The general point which he emphasizes, and which should be regarded by all public utilities in these trying times, is that the company should exhaust all possible economies before asking for increased rates.

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[1] Philadelphia bureau of municipal research.

[2] By Edward T. Paxton. Univervity of Texas. Bulletin no. 1749. September 1, 1917.

[1] Report on the Springfield Street Railway Company, Springfield, Mass., to the Public Service Commission of Massachusetts, by John P. Fox. November, 1917. 36 pp.

John Bauer.

⁂

The Proportional Representation Review (Franklin Bank building, Philadelphia) for January, 1918, is an exceptional campaign document and should be used widely. The weaknesses of the "block" system of voting are graphically indicated and the method of voting under the Hare system is explained so simply that its complications are being properly forced into the background. This is not saying that the matter could not have been put in more readable form—there are few campaign documents which could not—but as campaign material it compares favorably with most propaganda and is in such form that it can be easily understood by even the casually interested citizen.

That the propaganda of the American Proportional Representation League is doing its work is evidenced by the progress the movement has recently been making. The charter commission of Detroit was more than merely interested after a short discussion with the newly appointed field secretary of the league. Proportional representation was not incorporated in the new Detroit charter, but the fact that after a group of conservative legislators had debated its merits a majority was found to be in favor of it, is gratifying to the friends of the movement. It seems only a question of time until some large city is going to decide that the fundamental principles of proportional representation are sufficiently well understood to become a part of its organic law.

Smaller cities have been less conservative. Ashtabula, Ohio, has held two elections under the proportional representation plan. Kalamazoo, Michigan, will hold its first election shortly. The charter commission of Flint, Michigan, is said to be committed to the proportional representation program.

Lent D. Upson.

⁂

City Managers' Association.—The first of the papers prepared for circulation among the city managers in accordance with the action taken at Detroit[1] deals with the subject of highway improvement. It is written by C. A. Bingham, city manager of Waltham, Mass., formerly city manager of Norwood, Mass. In introducing this number, Colonel Waite says: "We trust that these articles will be read with interest and that they will meet some of the demands and solve some of the problems which you have on your hands."

⁂

"Municipal War Work" is the title of a striking pamphlet published as one of the University of Illinois bulletins. It contains the address of Dr. Robert Eugene Cushman before the Illinois municipal league. After describing the types of municipal war work it discusses in considerable detail what the cities are doing at this time in the matter of publicity and education, the mobilization of municipal property and labor, employment and labor supply, relief, charities, health work, distribution and marketing of food, transportation facilities, home defense and law enforcement. Under the general head of co-operation in municipal war work it discusses such subjects as co-operative organization and division of labor.

⁂

City Planning Problems in the Reconstruction of French Towns.—Under this title Miss Theodora Kimball, librarian of the school of landscape architecture of Harvard University, has brought together all possible material relating to the problems of reconstruction of destroyed French and Belgian towns. The article has been written in part to make known the availability of this material.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. vii, p. 162.

The Utilities Magazine.—Owing to conditions growing out of the war it has been decided to suspend for the present the publication of the *Utilities Magazine.* Arrangements have been made so that if it becomes expedient at any time prior to the regular resumption to issue one or more special numbers it can be done.

⁂

Municipal Research.—War conditions have made it necessary to discontinue for the present *Municipal Research*, which has heretofore been issued under the auspices of the New York bureau of municipal research: Special numbers, however, will be issued from time to time in the future but not with any regularity.

⁂

The American Society of Municipal Improvements (Charles Carroll Brown, secretary, Bloomington, Ill.) is issuing its transactions in the form of semi-annual pamphlets. These take the place of the proceedings of the annual meeting, which was omitted this year on account of the war.[1]

⁂

Striking Civil Service Leaflets.—The National Civil Service Reform League is publishing "*a series of useless little pamphlets on how to apply political methods to private business.*"

This satirical title is a pretty good statement of their contents and purpose. The ultimate purpose, it is almost needless to say, is to bring home to the consciousness of the average unthinking individual a realizing sense of the necessity of making democratic government efficient, if it is to continue to exist.

The pamphlets are all short and models of incisive writing. The first, "How to Apply the Spoils System," points out how one can run a business by applying political methods almost as well as before the application at about three times the cost. The second, "How to Increase the Labor Turnover," explains in three hundred words that "Hiring and firing needlessly is expensive but fascinating; the government does it, why not you." The third shows that the military army of the United States is commanded by officers trained for the purpose, while the officers of the civil army are almost entirely untrained, being selected mainly for past political services; yet the military army is dependent upon the civil army. The fourth makes plain that before we can make the world safe for democracy we must make democracy strong for her task.

These pamphlets ought to be a real help in fixing the attention of the public upon the prime cause of the prevalent complaint and criticism of governmental administrative methods.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. vii, p. 202.

[2] Edited by Miss Alice M. Holden, Wellesley College.

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See also County Government.

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Detroit. Police Commissioner. Story of the Detroit Police Department, 1916–17 (twelve months ending June 30, 1917). Prepared under the direction of James Couzens, Commissioner of Police. 1917. 340 pp.

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Anon. Port terminals for war transportation being built—contain large standardized timber warehouse units and open storage spaces—filled from cars or trucks and emptied by tractor-trailers to ships. (Engrg. News-Record, Mar. 7, 1918: 462–464. plans, diagrs.)

Galveston Commercial Association. Galveston, the port: a short historical and statistical résumé. Its present terminal facilities and opportunities for future development. 1917. 16 pp. illus. (Treasure Island Log, April, 1917.)

Hoover (A. P.). The development of the industrial section. 1918. 11 pp.

A plea for "industrial preparedness."

——. The industrial terminal and its relation to the city plan. 1918. 12 pp.

New York State. New York, New Jersey Port and Harbor Development Commission. Preliminary joint report, transmitted to the [New York] Legislature, Feb. 18, 1918. Albany, 1918. 30 pp.

Report of the commissions created by the legislatures of New York and New Jersey in 1917 to act jointly in the investigation of port conditions at the Port of New York and to submit recommendations for (1) a proper policy for the best interests of the entire port and (2) the necessary state and federal legislation to make their recommendations effective. The two commissions have sat as a joint commission.

Public Health

See also Food Supply, Lighting, Schools.

Canada. Food Controller. Report of the Milk Committee appointed by the Food Controller for Canada, to investigate milk supplies for urban municipalities; including a plan for the reorganization of milk distribution. Nov. 24, 1917. 20 pp.

Hathaway (Winifred). Saving sight a civic duty. A demonstration by the Public Health Department of Buffalo of how a typical city conserves the vision of its future citizens. Dec., 1917. 61 pp., plates. (Nat. Committee for the Prevention of Blindness. Pub. no. 13.)

Hubbard (S. D.). Control of communicable diseases in the City of New York. (N. Y. Med. Jour., Feb. 16, 1918: 303–306.)

New York Academy of Medicine. Public Health Committee. Malnutrition among school children; a study [with recommendations]. (Med. Record, Feb., 1918: 311–318.)

New York City. Department of Health. What we are doing to prevent tuberculosis among children, by L. I. Harris. Feb., 1918. 6 pp. (Reprint ser. no. 67.)

——. ——. The functions of a municipal sanatorium. A policy that would control a group of sputum-positive consumptives not now reached by any preventive measure, by C. B. Slade. Jan., 1918. 8 p. (Reprint ser. no. 64.)

Race (Joseph). The examination of milk for public health purposes. 1918. 224 pp.

Author is chairman of the Committee on Standard Methods of Analysis of the Canadian Public Health Association.

Rovinsky (Alexander). State examinations and treatment for eye disease in school children. Nov., 1917. 17 pp.

Smith (J. A.). Popular co-operation and responsibility in public health work. (Med. Times, Feb., 1918: 36–39.)

Stewart (A. E.). Public health nursing and tuberculosis. (Amer. Jour. of Tuberculosis, Feb., 1918: 374–378.)

Toledo. The Toledo Division of Health. Report of an investigation conducted by the Commission of Publicity and Efficiency. March 9, 1918. 11 pp. (Supplement to the Toledo City Journal.)

United States. Public Health Service. State laws and regulations pertaining to public health, 1916. 1917. 237 pp. (Reprint no. 406.)

——. ——. Directory of city health officers; containing the names and official titles of the health officers of cities having a population of 10,000 and over in 1910. 1917. 12 pp. (Reprint no. 416.)

——. ——. Public health administration in Springfield, Ohio, by Carroll Fox. 1917. 25 pp. (Reprint no. 417.)

——. ——. The notifiable diseases. Prevalence during 1916 in cities of 10,000 to 100,000. 1917. 34 pp. tables. (Reprint no. 421.)

——. ——. Public health administration in Quincy, Ill., by Carroll Fox. 1917. 16 pp. (Reprint no. 427.)

——. ——. Municipal ordinances, rules and regulations pertaining to public health [adopted by cities of over 10,000 population during], 1916. 1917. 297 pp.

——. ——. Stream pollution. A digest of judicial decisions and a compilation of legislation relating to the subject, by S. D. Montgomery and E. B. Phelps. 1918. 408 pp. (Pub. health bul. no. 87.

Winslow (C.-E. A.). Handbook of health in war and peace. A manual of personal preparedness. 1917. 51 pp. (Amer. Museum of Natural History.)

Wynne (S. W.). Illness census. (N. Y. City Dept. of Health, Monthly Bul., Jan., 1918: 1–17. tables.)

Public Safety

Public Safety Commission of Chicago and Cook County. Annual report [for 1917] and diagram of four years' work for safety [1913–17]. 1918. 8 pp., folder.

Public Service

See also Civil Service.

Clark (Evans). Working conditions in labor class, Department of Street Cleaning [New York City]. Jan., 1918. 5 sheets, typewritten. (Socialist Aldermanic Delegation, Bur. of Investigation and Research.)

Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. Report on business procedure of the Board of Health, City of Detroit. Feb., 1918. [18 pp.], typewritten.

A study of organization and business methods, not of the quality of work performed. Considerable attention is given to purchasing methods.

[Swaab (S. M.).] The position of the engineer in the community and his relations to the contractor. (Mun. Engrs. Jour., Jan., 1918: 24–30.)

Reprint from Proceedings of the Engineers' Club of Philadelphia, Sept., 1917.

Public Utilities

See also Central Heating, Lighting, Municipal Government, Street Railways.

Anon. Mileage of private and state railways of the most important countries of the world. (Mileage figures for 1913.) (Utilities Mag., Jan., 1918: 12–13.)

Grunsky (C. E.). Going value as an element in fixing public utility rates. (Jour. of Electricity, Feb. 1, 1918: 136–138.)

Guernsey (Nathaniel T.). The financing of public utilities. (Scien. Monthly, Mar., 1918: 230–236.)

The author is general counsel for the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., New York City.

[Spitzglass (J. M.).] . . . Three-charge system the highest development in public utility rate making. (Amer. Gas Engrg. Jour., Mar. 23, 1918: 269–272.)

Paper presented at the annual convention of the Illinois Gas Association, held in Chicago, March 20, 1918.

Purchasing

See also Public Service.

New York State. Commission to Investigate the Methods of Purchasing Materials, Supplies, etc. Report, Feb. 4, 1918. 1918. 9 pp.

Recommends a centralized purchasing system for the state modelled upon that now in use by the Federal government at Washington, acting through the General Supply Committee.

Small (G. S.). Organizing a purchasing department. Purchasing is not gambling in materials, but is an important function in manufacturing. (Indus. Management, Mar., 1918: 228–231.)

Recreation

Abeken (R. H.). Municipal athletics. (Parks and Recreation, Jan., 1918: 47–50. illus.)

Describes the organization and control of games in public parks of St. Louis; "those other than reached by the children's playground."

Ross (E. A.). Adult recreation as a social problem. (Amer. Jour. of Sociology Jan., 1918: 516–528.)

St. Louis. City Plan Commission. Recreation in St. Louis. Nov., 1917. 48 pp., plates.

"These studies cover a period of several months and constitute as careful an analysis as could be made on the actual supply and demand."

Refuse and Garbage Disposal

Providence. City Council. Report of the Joint Committees on Finance and Health relative to investigation to date on the question of the disposal of garbage and ashes. 1917. 10 pp.

Reviews briefly the practice in the cities of Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Detroit, and Denver.

Schiefer (H. V.). New York city has largest and best garbage-reduction works. (Engrg. News-Record, Mar. 21, 1918: 555–561. illus.)

An article which has many informing photographs.

United States. Department of Agriculture. Disposal of city garbage by feeding to hogs, [by] F. G. Ashbrook and J. D. Bebout. Dec., 1917. 8 pp., plan. (Circular no. 80.)

Schools

See also Accounting, Public Health.

Anon. Government policies involving

the schools in war time. (Survey, Mar. 9, 1918: 626–628.)

A document signed by the Secretaries of War, the Navy, and of the Interior, and approved by other officials.

Baker (S. J.). Classroom ventilation and respiratory diseases among school children. (Amer. Jour. of Public Health, Jan., 1918: 19–26, tables.)

Clark (Evans). Outline of data of school lunch service. Jan., 1918. 10 pp., typewritten.

The author is Director of the Bureau of Investigation and Research of the Socialist Aldermanic Delegation of the New York City Board of Aldermen.

United States. Bureau of Education. The public school system of San Francisco, Cal. A report to the San Francisco Board of Education of a survey made under the direction of the United States Commissioner of Education [P. P. Claxton]. 1917. 649 pp. diagrs. (Bul., 1917; no. 46.)

Sewerage and Sewage Disposal

See also Public Health.

Anon. Sewage treatment at Manchester [England]. Activated sludge research work. (Surveyor and Mun. and Cy. Engr., Jan. 4, 1918: 4–5.)

Dunlap (J. H.). Operation of sewage works in Iowa. (Mun. Jour., Mar. 30, 1918: 255–257.

To be continued in later issues.

Gerhard (William P.). The A-B-C of sanitary house drainage. 1918. 19 pp. illus.

Gregory (C. E.). The care of sewers [in the Borough of Manhattan]. (Modern City, Jan., 1918: 28–33.)

Hoffmann (Robert). Cleveland's sewerage system. (Cleveland Engrg. Soc., Jour., Jan., 1918: 209–224. map, charts.)

McGrane (W. S.). Influence of city zoning on sewage flow assumptions, using floor area basis. (Mun. Engrs. Jour., Feb., 1918, Paper 115. illus., diagr.)

Tribus (L. L.). Sewers: when to build and how to pay. (Mun. Engrg., Feb., 1918: 65–67.)

State Government

See also Commission Government, Municipal Government and Administration, Public Health.

Anon. [The "manger plan" for state government.] (Equity, Jan., 1918.)

An extended editorial comment on the scheme as proposed for North Dakota.

Kettleborough (Charles), compiler. The state constitutions and the federal constitution, and organic laws of the territories and other colonial dependencies of the United States of America. 1918. 1645 pp.

Virginia. Commission on Economy and Efficiency. Report to the General Assembly. Jan. 9, 1918. 67 pp.

This Commission was created by the 1916 Legislature to investigate and report on greater efficiency and economy for state and local governments.

Statistics

See also Public Health, Vital Statistics.

Bailey (W. B.) and Cummings (John). Statistics. 1917. 153 pp.

"The value of a knowledge of statistics grows every day in the fields of business, government and social work. Most of the books devoted to its acquirement are either intricate or too extended. This book has been written with the purpose of avoiding these difficulties. Professor Bailey has had before him the needs of social workers for a simple book in the statistical field. . . ."—*Editor's preface.*

New York State. Director of Military Census and Inventory. A report to Hon. Chalres S. Whitman, Governor of the State of New York, [Oct. 20,] 1917. 1918. 87 pp.

Wood, Gundy and Company [Toronto]: Canadian municipal statistics, 1917. 1917. 361 pp.

Wynne (S. W.). The need of standardizing the statistics of child-caring institutions, foundling asylums, etc. (Archives of Pediatrics, Dec., 1917: 939–943.)

Street Cleaning and Snow Removal

Biles (G. H.). Methods of handling snow removal work in Pennsylvania. (Better Roads and Streets, Mar., 1918: 104. illus.)

Hunter (L. McL.). Snow cleaning and removal in Ottawa. ' (Canadian Engr., Feb. 14, 1918: 137–138. illus.)

Philadelphia. Bureau of Highways and Street Cleaning. Summary of operations for year 1916. 1917. 174 pp., plates.

Street Railways

Anon. Zone system best for Rhode Island. Special commission finds conditions require central five-cent areas and two-cent intermediate zones—recommends abolition of municipal franchise taxes and of city regulation. (Elec. Ry. Jour., Mar. 23, 1918: 570–573.)

——. Increased electric railway fares. Review of the movement to secure additional revenue throughout the United States. What has been done, what is being done and what will be done by transportation utilities. (Area, Feb., 1918: 601–623. illus.)

Followed by a list of electric railways in the United States and Canada which have recently been granted permission to increase their fares or have increased them where such consent was unnecessary.

Citizens' Research League of Winnipeg. Has the jitney a place? 1918. 2 pp. (Bul. no. 8.)

Massachusetts. Public Service Commission. Report on the methods and practices of the Boston Elevated Railway Company . . . to the Public Service Commission . . . [by] John A. Beeler, consulting engineer; Nov., 1917. 1918. 279 pp., maps.

——. ——. Special report relative to the finances and operating methods of the Boston Elevated Railway Company. Feb., 1918. 91 pp. (House doc. 1240.)

——. Street Railway Investigation Commission. Recommendations and proposed legislation as contained in the report of the commission on the problems relating to the street railways of the Commonwealth. Feb., 1918. 97 pp. (Senate doc. 265.)

This commission was created by the Legislature of 1917 to study problems relating to the supervision, operation, taxation, finance and development of street railways in Massachusetts. The report of the majority recommends a "service-at-cost" plan, accompanied by closer state and local supervision of operation and finances; but several dissenting statements and dissenting reports are appended.

Milliken (E. L.). What the service is worth. (Stone & Webster Jour., Jan., 1918: 16–30.)

A discussion of principles in the regulation of street railway fares.

St. Louis. Board of Aldermen. [Proposed ordinance authorizing the United Railways Company . . . to construct, maintain and operate a street railway system upon and along the streets of the City of St. Louis, Mo., until and including April 12, 1948.] Jan. 18, 1918, reported. 38 pp. (Board bill no. 411, sess. 1917–18.)

Taxation and Finance

See also Municipal Government.

Boston. Mayor. Statement of Mayor Peters on bill to increase Boston tax limit (Senate bill no. 263). Delivered Mar. 4 before the Committee on Metropolitan Affairs. (Boston City Record, Mar. 9, 1918: 199–200.)

This bill provides for an increase in the tax limit of the City of Boston of $3 in 1918, $2 in 1919, and $1 in 1920 in order to provide the additional money demanded by war conditions and to improve at once Boston's badly neglected streets. Each year two-thirds of the increase in taxes would be used for maintenance of public services and one-third to execute a comprehensive program of street construction. As a law it would cease to operate at the end of three years. The present tax limit for Boston is $11.02 per $1,000, of which the schools receive $4.50, leaving $6.52 per $1,000 for general municipal purposes.

Darby (W. R.). Nine months' experience with New Jersey's municipal finance laws. (N. J. Municipalities, Mar., 1918: 73–74, 91.)

Massachusetts. Joint Special Recess Committee on Finance and Budget Procedure. Preliminary budget plan for financing the commonwealth for the fiscal year 1918. Jan., 1918. 72 pp.

——. ——. Report on state finances and the budget submitted to the General Court, Jan., 1918. 1918. 85 pp. (House doc. no. 1185.)

The committee recommends the adoption of a budget system—of the executive type. It also recommends a "pay-as-you-go" policy for the state and a bureau system of classified departments which would eliminate the duplication of effort and expense in connection with the 216 more or less independent departments, boards and commissions which at present exist in the state.

New York City. Department of Finance. Constitutional provisions, legal enactments and court decisions determining New York City's debt within the debt limit; also statement of the constitutional debt-incurring power of the city, as of Jan. 1, 1918. 1918. 20 pp.

——. Mayor's Advisory Commission on Administration of the Tax Law. Report, Dec. 20, 1917. 1917. 107 pp.

New York State. Commission upon the Relations of Federal and State Taxation. Preliminary report, transmitted to the Legislature Jan. 9, 1918. 1918. 10 pp.

New York Tax Reform Association. The bill to limit rate on real estate and tax all personal property in the City of New York. March 8, 1918. [3 pp.]

Ohio. Auditor of State. Ohio public debt in relation to taxation and tax limitations. 1917. 76 pp.

A pamphlet constituting advance excerpts from the Annual Report of the Auditor of State for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1917.

——. ——. Ohio public debt. Its creation, redemption and limitations. Dec. 1, 1917. 2 pp. folio.

Perry (J. E.). Practical working of the Massachusetts income tax. 1917. 24 pp.

Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research. The question of excess reserves in the sinking fund [of Philadelphia]; some official statements thereon. Dec. 13, 1917. 7 pp. (Citizens' Business. No. 290.)

Swan (H. S.). Limitations on the tax rate. (Nat. Tax Assoc., Bul., Feb., 1918: 118–119.)

Yonkers Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc. Financial facts which should be of interest to the citizens of Yonkers. March, 1918. 24 pp. (Rept. no. 9.)

Zangerle (J. A.). Untaxed wealth of Cleveland and why. An exposition of the difficulties of administering the general property tax laws of Ohio in Cuyahoga County. [1918.] 66+pp.

The author of this pamphlet is auditor of Cuyahoga County.

Zobel (F. C.). Some effects of "single tax" on real estate. Psychological composition of our people partly responsible for the widespread influence of the doctrine. (Record and Guide, Jan. 26, 1918: 99–100.)

Traffic

Eno (William P.). One-way and two-way street traffic. (Motor Travel, Nov., 1917: 15–16.)

Hill (Curtis). Traffic ways. (Nat. Conf. on City Planning, Proceedings, 1917: 60–63, plan.)

[Lenth (G. C. D.).] Make $35,000 traffic census in Chicago Loop. Maximum hourly record 1142 vehicles—double-deck street will separate fast and slow traffic—automobiles are used mainly for business. (Engrg. News-Record, Feb. 7, 1918: 254–256. diagr., tables.)

Abstract of paper read before the Western Society of Engineers.

Lewis (N. P.). Street widening to meet traffic demands [with discussion]. (Nat. Conf. on City Planning, Proceedings, 1917: 43–59; 67–78.)

Merchants' Association of New York. Summary of laws and ordinances applying to streets and public places in the City of New York, and the duty of police officers and citizens in connection therewith. Revised to Jan. 1, 1918. 1918. 80 pp.

Sacramento. Ordinances. An ordinance regulating travel and traffic upon the streets and other public places. . . . Passed April 5, 1917. (Official Gazette, Feb. 4, 1918: 5–9.)

Witt (Peter). Report of Mr. Peter Witt, traffic expert, employed by the City of Trenton, N. J. [relative to the street railway situation]. Jan. 12, 1918. 1 sheet.

Vital Statistics

Dublin (L. I.). The significance of the declining birth rate; address, section I, social and economic science, American Association for Advancement of Science. Dec. 29, 1917. 8 pp.

New York City. Department of Health. Practical uses of vital statistics, by Shirley W. Wynne. Feb., 1918. 10 pp. (Reprint series no. 66.)

Water Works

Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency. The water works system of the City of Chicago. Dec., 1917. 207 pp., plates.

Special attention is paid in this report to the question of metering.

Hazen (Allen). Meter rates for water works. 1918. 217 pp. diagrs.

"This book deals with the problem of distributing the burden of supporting a water-works system among those who use the water, in a just and equitable manner. It also deals with the technic of handling the statistics that must be used, of making the required computations and of estimating the revenue that will be produced by a given set of rates.

Keith (E. H.). Tuberculation, incrustation and sedimentation of water mains. (Nat. Fire Protection Assoc., Quarterly, Jan., 1918: 262–281. illus.)

Welfare Work

See also Child Welfare, Feeblemindedness, Housing.

Alameda County (Cal.). Survey of social agencies of Alameda County, Cal. (based on 1915–1916 reports). Prepared by Jean H. McDuffie for the Board of Public Welfare and published at its request by the Board of Supervisors. Edited by Porter Garnett. 1917. 56 pp. maps.

Congress of Human Engineering. [Proceedings of meeting at Columbus, Ohio], Oct. 26, 27, 28, 1916. 1917. 160 pp. (Ohio University Bul., Jan., 1917.)

General Electric Company. General Electric Company's medical service and hospital [at Schenectady, N. Y.]. [1918.] 12 pp., plates.

Women, Employment of

See also Correction.

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Wages of women in muslin underwear, petticoat, apron, kimono, women's neckwear and children's clothing factories in Massachusetts. May, 1917. 58 pp. (Bul. no. 14.)

——. ——. Wages of women in shirt, working men's garment and furnishing goods factories in Massachusetts. December, 1917. 58 pp. (Bul. no. 15.)

Workmen's Compensation

Ohio. Industrial Commission. A survey of the workmen's compensation insurance field in this country, by E. E. Watson. Dec., 1917. 1918. 93 pp.

Refers especially to the operation of the Ohio State Insurance Plan, "now the largest carrier of workmen's compensation insurance in this country." Tables give the insurance rates of Ohio and nine other states for a great variety of occupations.

Zoning

See also Sewerage and Sewage Disposal.

American City. Department of Information. Present status of districting legislation; [also] Court findings in redistricting legislation. 1918. 5, 2 pp., typewritten. (Special rept. no. 57, 60.)

Cheney (C. H.). Districting progress and procedure in California. (Nat. Conf. on City Planning, Proceedings, 1917: 183–194.)

Purdy (Lawson). Districting and zoning of cities. (Nat. Conf. on City Planning, Proceedings, 1917: 170–182.)

St. Louis. City Plan Commission. Zoning for St. Louis a fundamental part of the city plan. Jan., 1918. 30 pp., plates.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Minnesota's So-called City-Manager Law.—In the heap of measures which the 1917 legislature made in its last days, Minnesota found a "city-manager law."[1] There had been no noticeable demand for this law or for any law on the subject. Minnesota has constitutional provision for home-rule charters, under which three cities are enjoying the city-manager form.[2]

The law is an optional legislative charter applicable in, upon adoption by, cities of the fourth class, that is, cities having not more than ten thousand population at the time of the last census. The council of any such city may, or upon petition by 20 per cent of the number of voters voting at the last preceding election must, submit the act to the voters, at either a general or a special election. It may be adopted or defeated by a majority of those voting upon the question. There is no provision for amendment or repeal by the people.[3]

The act would make no change in the judicial and legislative organization of a city which might adopt it, and would leave the departments of police, fire, and health, and the library (including library buildings and grounds) to be governed as before. Other activities of the city would be grouped into two categories; viz.: (1) *public utilities*, including electric light, heat, and power works, water works, gas works, ice plants, stone quarries and crushing works, telephone systems, public markets, public slaughtering establishments, creosoting and other paving works, and sewer systems, and (2) *public improvements*, including city halls, lockups, fire department buildings, streets, alleys, public ways, sidewalks, curbs, gutters, paving, parks, and all other public grounds and works thereon or therein (not including library grounds and buildings), and all public buildings and structures other than libraries not hereinbefore specifically mentioned.

For the management of public utilities and public improvements the act provides that there shall be elected (at large, it seems) a civil service commission consisting of one member for each four hundred population, but in no case of less than nine nor more than fifteen members, to serve for a term of two years.

It is made the duty of the civil service commission to ascertain the duties of and fix grades for each office or position in the public utilities and public improvement services, to prescribe standards of efficiency for each grade and position, to keep efficiency records, to recommend and alter salary scales, and to make, amend, and alter rules to promote efficiency in the city service. These provisions appear not to apply to positions in the police, fire, and health department, nor in the library though the law is not at all clear upon the point. Its provisions, rather confused and contradictory, do require the mayor or other employing authorities to report dismissals to the commission.

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[1] Minnesota Session Laws of 1917, chapter 358.

[2] It may be remarked that certain other cities have been deterred from adopting the city-manager form by an adverse opinion of the attorney-general. The matter has never been taken to court, but few municipal attorneys think that this opinion would be upheld.

[3] A home-rule charter must have the affirmative vote of four-sevenths of those voting at the election at which it is submitted for its original adoption, and may be amended only upon a proposal by a charter commission, adopted by the affirmative vote of three-fifths of those voting at the election. The statute suggests that Minnesota might have a second and less onerously obtainable variety of home-rule cities by extending this optional legislative charter to all municipalities and adding the privilege of popular amendment by simple majority of those voting on the question. The state's municipal situation seemed complex before this act was contemplated. Now the possible intricacies appear in more than infinite variety.

The civil service commission elects, for terms of one year unless sooner removed, a public utilities board of three, two of whom may be members of the civil service commission, and who must serve without pay. The third, selected upon the recommendation of those two, is the city manager, who may be selected without regard to residence, and who becomes *ex officio* city engineer, city surveyor, and street commissioner, and may be made assistant secretary of the civil service commission, and, if otherwise qualified, is eligible to the elective office of city clerk. His compensation is fixed by the civil service commission. At the end of any month the other two members of the public utilities board may remove him in the best interests of the city service, and make a temporary appointment, at a reduced salary, of a person with less than the prescribed qualifications, who can act as city manager not to exceed four months on such appointment.

Subject in all things to the direction of the public utilities board and to the rules of the civil service commission, the city manager is to perform the duties of his positions *ex officio* and to be superintendent of all public utilities and public improvements, and to perform all such other and not inconsistent duties which may be required of him by the two superior bodies. He is the employing and discharging agent in the public utilities and public improvement services, subject to the rules of the commission and the supervision of the board.

All money derived from the operation and management of any public utility or public improvement is under the exclusive control of the public utilities board, and may be expended at the discretion of the board without submitting estimates or asking authorization from the council. The council may not appropriate any money for expenditure on any public utility or public improvement until a detailed estimate and request has been submitted by the public utilities board. Once the money is appropriated it is under the exclusive control of the board, but may not be spent except for the items for which the appropriation was made. The city treasurer is treasurer of the board, and must keep the funds under its control in a separate account.

The city-manager plan has been and is being considered by virtually every recent charter commission in the state, and rarely does not meet with favor from the commission. No city has as yet adopted the city-manager act outlined in this note, nor has any city voted on it, or been reported as considering it.

E. L. Bennett.

⁂

Additions to the Commission-Manager Field.—Michigan appears to be determined to hold its place at the head of the commission-manager list of States. It started out the year with thirteen city managers and the following new cities are now in the market for trained executives under commission-manager charters: Birmingham, Kalamazoo, Muskegan Heights, Otsego, Royal Oak, and Three Rivers.

Salary Increases for Managers.—Salary increases have been reported for many of the city managers among whom are, R. Stuart Royer, Fredericksburg, Va.; J. G. Barnwell, Rock Hill, S. C.; E. S. Schuler, Sumter, S. C.; T. J. Murphy, High Point, N. C.; R. V. Orebaugh, Westerville, Ohio; A. L. Sloman, Albion, Mich.; Walter Willits, Big Rapids, Mich.; R. D. Tripp, Petoskey, Mich.; T. A. Wilson, Clarinda, Iowa; T. W. Watson, Glendale, Cal.; T. A. Wright, Collinsville, Okla.

City Manager Changes.—George M. Zimmerman, formerly city treasurer, has been appointed city manager of *Sandusky, Ohio*, at a salary of $3,600, succeeding George T. Lehrer who served as manager for one year and whose resignation became effective April 1.—*Norwood, Mass.* has chosen as its new manager, William P. Hammersley, a civil engineer with considerable experience in highway construction, succeeding Clarence A. Bingham who has been promoted to Waltham, Mass. His salary is $3,000.—W. O. Dyer has succeeded P. T. McDonald as city manager of *Johnson City, Tenn.*, at a salary of $1,500.—E. P. Low is the new city manager of *Brownwood, Texas.* He was appointed in March at a salary of $2,400, succeeding W. E. Dickerson who recently resigned.—O. S. Yager is "city superintendent" of *Eaton Rapids, Mich.*, a position formerly held by Fred Moore who in turn succeeded I. R. Ellison. Mr. Ellison is now city manager of *Grand Haven, Mich.*—J. E. McDaniel has resigned as manager of *Montrose, Colo.*, after serving two and one half years. His successor is Cassius C. Smith.—W. E. Anderson is now city manager of *Brownsville, Texas.*

Harrison Gray Otis.

❦

City Manager Plan Needed in Harrisburg.—Harrisburg, the capital city of Pennsylvania, in which within the past fifteen years have been worked out conspicuous examples of city planning, forethought and wise municipal progress, has recently passed through a serious crisis in its water supply which points the need of more definite business government than seems possible under the Clark act, which in Pennsylvania imposes upon cities of the the third class five councilman, paid such salaries as will insure respectable mediocrity.

The Harrisburg improvement movement referred to above touched the water situation only in respect of filtration, which was admirably accomplished. The old civilian unpaid water board carried on its control of the pumping, the pipe lines and the plant in general. In November, 1917, the largest pumping engine broke down. Faulty records made the getting of the necessary repair parts painfully slow. Meanwhile a short-term court-appointed "superintendent of public safety" (as is the Clark-act designation of the councilman who handles the water department), who was filling out a vacancy and was not a candidate for re-election, was disinclined to take any drastic action. He "passed the buck." A successor to him was elected, also to fill out the balance of an unexpired term of several months. This excellent gentleman, wholly unacquainted with mechanics and machinery, soon became aware that he had trouble on his hands, but he did not know where it was. He was not a candidate for re-election, and he "passed the buck" to the new man who came in about January 1, who was also wholly unacquainted with mechanics and municipal water-supply work. The older reserve pumps were working away and providing an unsafe daily average, thoughtless administration having failed to secure reservoir storage facilities for more than two days' net supply.

Inasmuch as the vicious practice has long prevailed in Harrisburg of selling water in large quantities at less than the cost of pumpage, even when the latter was guessed at, no particular comment was excited when two large industrial users suddenly quadrupled their demand, due to breakage in their own water machinery. It was cheaper for them to buy water from the city than to hurry repairs. They took, between them, for a number of days, more than 40 per cent of the city's pumping. The water dropped rapidly in the reservoir, but no alarm was expressed until at a budget meeting held in December, to which certain citizens invited themselves, a chance question asked the superintendent brought out the fact that the repairs to the big engine were far distant and that while he had vaguely considered buying an emergency electric pump, he had not gotten any further than to ascertain the names of people who might possibly have such.

By the next week the situation was so serious that the superintendent of public safety called in a body of citizens, who insisted on the presence of the council, and then took the matter out of the hands of the authorities. In a businesslike way they arranged to shut off excessive consumption, to speed up repairs, to get emergency supplies from various directions, and to purchase and install an electric pump. In five days of this handling the balance of things was changed and the water began to mount in the reservoir.

Late in February the repairs to the

large pump which broke down early in November were completed, and the situation is now safe, at least for the time being.

In the shuffle it was brought out by one of the interested citizens that a proposed increase in water rates had been figured up without any reference at all to the cost of water. The newly installed commissioner of public safety cheerfully accepted the offer of the municipal league of Harrisburg to propose an expert who would determine what the rates ought to be. This expert was secured during the emergency to suggest means of increasing pumpage, and retained to study the question of rates.

The point is made that despite the best intentions on the part of the five councilmen, the utter absence of centralized and definite authority, the utter absence of engineering knowledge on an engineering problem, the utter absence of reasonable cost knowledge and rate ethics, the utter absence of foresight for a city the growth of which has been beyond the average growth of the United States for twenty years, a most serious emergency came into existence which could only be met by the extra-official process of putting real business men accustomed to administration on the job. A capable, far-seeing, well-paid city manager would have served Harrisburg in this emergency to an immense economy and an immense advantage. In fact, it is possible that there never would have been the emergency, because it would have been impossible for the combination of an accidental break and an unreasonable and unwarned draft upon the city's water supply, at prices less than the cost of pumping, to have happened together.

J. Horace McFarland.

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The Detroit Charter.—The present charter dates from 1857 with a partial revision in 1883. The last attempt at a general revision was four years ago, at which time a large commission elected by wards made so many radical changes in the present document that the proposal was overwhelmingly defeated. Since that time it has been commonly believed that no general revision of the charter would be accepted by the public, inasmuch as all conflicting elements could not be reconciled. Recently, however, legislation was secured which permitted the election of a nine-member charter commission chosen at large. Advantage was immediately taken of this opportunity, and, with the choice of a commission, the public expressed by a two to one vote its preference for a small council chosen in the same manner on a non-partisan ticket.

A conservative, but capable, commission was selected generally to revise the much amended charter and they have worked on the theory that no important changes should be made which had not been previously ratified by the public, leaving other matters to be determined by piecemeal amendment. In consequence their activities have been practically those of a codifying commission, eliminating many conflicting sections from the present charter, cutting out useless verbiage, and making plain the duties and field of work of each of the several departments. Since the general background of the old charter has been closely adhered to, and no serious changes introduced which have not been approved by the public, it is generally believed that the new charter will be acceptable, and that it will serve as an excellent basis for future amendment.

The new charter provides for a legislative body consisting of nine members, elected at large on a non-partisan ticket, after a non-partisan primary. Several of the charter commission and a considerable part of the thinking public were in favor of proportional representation, but it was believed inadvisable to incorporate this provision without a previous educational campaign. Without a doubt, this question will be raised in the near future. The departmental organization of the city remains practically the same, that is, under the supervision of boards appointed by the mayor. The only exceptions are the office of the city controller, park commissioner, corporation counsel, public works commissioner and police commissioner, which have been administrated by one-man commissioners for some time.

The authority of the mayor has been strengthened by permitting him to frame the budget with the approval of the common council.

Aside from these changes, the other modifications have been of an administrative nature, which will hardly arouse any considerable opposition. Large control over the public funds and appropriations has been secured through a modification of the appropriation sections. A department of purchases and supplies has been created, which will buy for practically all city departments under standard specifications. Pre-billing and mailing of tax bills is to be required. The police department has been strengthened by the appointment of three permanent deputies, which was really an experiment in police administration. To take care of the functions now performed by the two aldermen elected by wards, who are readily accessible to their constituents in the matter of complaints, a bureau of complaints has been created in the office of the city clerk. This bureau is required to record every complaint and secure action thereon within five days. If action is not secured, a report on such failure must be made to the mayor or the common council and the department head concerned becomes subject to reprimand or dismissal.

From the point of view of the student of government, little has been incorporated in the new Detroit charter which will be of interest. It is really a codification of the old document, plus a small council elected at large. However, the statutes make easy its amendments and it is expected that with a common council of a different character from the present one, many amendments will be made in the future. Radical changes which thus might endanger the whole document will be considered separately.

LENT D. UPSON.

Milwaukee's Councilmanic Reform.—The common council of Milwaukee was ordered reduced from 37 to 25 members at the election on April 2 when this question was submitted to referendum. Instead of comprising twenty-five ward aldermen, elected biennially for two years, and twelve aldermen-at-large elected biennially and serving four years the council will consist of twenty-five ward aldermen only, elected for four-year terms. The change will go into effect with the municipal election in 1920 when the six aldermen-at-large who were elected in 1916 will go out of office. The six aldermen-at-large elected on April 2 will be permitted to serve out their terms which expire in 1922.

Despite the objections of many so-called politicians who insisted for years that the people were satisfied with the council arrangement the various civic societies headed by the City club through its charter committee succeeded in getting a bill through the 1917 legislature for a referendum vote on council reorganization. Six forms were submitted at the primary election on March 19 of which the existing system of 37 aldermen was one of those relegated to the scrap-heap. The two questions receiving the highest number of votes were to be re-submitted for final decision at the election.

The two questions thus submitted provided for: (a) council of 18 members consisting of six aldermen-at-large and twelve district aldermen, all aldermen to be divided into groups and each group to be elected at alternate biennial elections for four-year terms; (b) council of twenty-five ward aldermen only elected every four years.

The first of these was known as plan no. 1 and had the support of the city's leading civic and business organizations which combined in a civic advertising campaign. The other plan was supported by the socialist party, by those who for selfish or sincere reasons favored abolishing aldermen-at-large, and by all reactionaries who were opposed to any kind of reduction but who favored the least reduction when it had been decided at the primaries that a reorganization was to be made. Those favoring the council of eighteen contended that their plan retained whatever merit the other had through permitting local representation and still gave the benefits of city-at-large representation. Because those favoring the ward plan massed their strength for their plan while many voters were indifferent and did not cast their votes on these questions plan no. 2 won out by a majority of 6,917. The vote was 25,250 for the one, and 18,333 for the other.

While the voters did not select the better of the two plans in the opinion of those informed they nevertheless made it possible to reduce the council in size which was gratifying to those who have been advocating a reduction. It brings Milwaukee a step nearer to further reduction to either eighteen or fifteen, all elected at-large by possibly the proportional representation plan on which it is believed members of all parties will finally unite.

W. J. Bollenbeck.

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Richmond's Charter Revision.—In 1911 Richmond was governed by a bicameral council of 64 members, elected from eight wards, and by council committees who supervised the administration of departments. There was of course a mayor who theoretically was a "chief executive" but practically was a social functionary and there were various offices required and regulated by the constitution of the state. Due to complaints of delay and disorganization in the work of the government, the wards were in 1912 reduced to 4, the members of the council to 32, and the administrative departments formerly under council committees placed under a newly created administrative board, composed of five members elected by the people. This arrangement left a commission form of government engrafted on the fiction of a federal plan, with the mayor still a figurehead and the council still bicameral and elected from wards.

In June, 1915 the civic association came into existence and immediately began agitation for the adoption of a modern form of government, particularly one with executive leadership.

In 1916 some steps in this direction were made by the abolition of the police board and the placing of the department under the mayor and likewise the elimination of the board of health and the placing of the department under the administrative board. In the same year the general assembly made possible the election of a charter commission on the demand of 25 per cent of the qualified voters.

In 1917 the civic association secured authority from the city council for a complete survey of the city government by the New York bureau of municipal research. After four months of investigation the bureau made an exhaustive report of nearly one thousand printed pages. While pointing out no corruption and making no sensational disclosures, it denominated the government as a "headless" or a "triple-headed" affair. It recommended the abolition of the administrative board and the concentration of executive authority under the mayor or a city manager. It further recommended the substitution of a single chamber council for the present bicameral system. A council committee which had been having sessions from time to time for a number of months, received the report as well as other papers. It finally recommended the division of the city's administrative work into six departments, each to be headed by directors, four to be appointed by the mayor and two (finance and law) to be chosen by the council. It further provided for an advisory board to consist of the mayor and the four directors to be appointed by him. It left the council untouched. The association, realizing that these recommendations were far from perfect, but believing their adoption would mean a distinct improvement put its energies behind them. The council and the general assembly passed them and now they are to be voted on at an election to be held in July or August.

The situation is complicated by the fact that the friends of the administrative board have got up a petition for the election of a charter commission and this also will have to be voted on at a date to be fixed by the council. Regardless of the fate of this second movement, if citizens vote favorably on the council's recommendations as described above these recommendations will be effective January 1, 1919. If a charter commission be authorized by the people, and its work be ratified by the people, ratification by the general assembly in 1920 will still be necessary.

There are therefore several possibilities facing Richmond:—

(1) The council's plan may be rejected. In this case no reform is possible until after the general assembly meets in 1920.

(2) The council's plan may be adopted and also a charter commission authorized and its plan adopted by the people. In this case the council's plan will be effective January 1, 1919 and until such time after the general assembly of 1920 meets as the assembly may appoint as the time for the *commission's* plan to go into effect.

(3) The council plan may be adopted and the charter commission be not authorized or, if authorized, its work be rejected by the people.

Citizens interested in reform may therefore accept the council's recommendations and vote down the commission on the ground that it is impossible to do any better at this time or they may accept the council's recommendation and also attempt to use the commission as a means of securing reforms not included in the council's plan.

If the latter be the attitude of the people, we shall have a temporary form of government from January 1, 1919 for a year or two, and a permanent plan from 1920 or 1921.

In any case it looks as if we shall secure very substantial improvement in the government of Richmond. Our principal task for a while will be making and keeping the rather complicated situation clear to the people.

D. R. Anderson.[1]

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[1] Executive secretary, the civic association of Richmond, Va.

San Francisco Abolishes Primaries.—Primaries have been abolished in San Francisco elections and their place taken by a sworn declaration of candidacy from the aspirant for office, and a preferential system of voting.

The first election under the charter, according to E. A. Walcott, secretary of The commonwealth club of San Francisco, which initiated the change, has convinced the public out there that the plan is fraud-proof. But the preferential vote was used by comparatively few of the voters, which is accounted for by the fact that the plan was new and the people who were not familiar with it were afraid to use the second or third choices.

The preferential vote is different from that which was provided for in Toledo's charter, and which was turned down at the polls a year after it had been established. The plan used in San Francisco is designed to bring about proportional representation of all the various groups in the city, instead of giving a monopoly of power to the majority party as was done formerly. The fact that the greatest number of second choice votes cast for any one man was 798, and the greatest number of third choice votes was 302, shows that the voters failed to see the advantage of indicating more than one choice.

The other feature of the new charter provision requires that each candidate must file a declaration of candidacy and a statement of his qualifications for the office he seeks with the register of voters not more than fifty days before the election. It must contain in fifty words the facts as to the applicant's experience or training in the line of work required by the duties of the office. At the same time he must pay to the register $20. Within twenty days after this statement is filed, his sponsors, not less than ten nor more than twenty in number, must also file affidavits stating that in their opinion the candidate is "fully qualified, morally, mentally and physically," for the office he wishes to fill.

An official pamphlet, containing a sample ballot, and the declarations mentioned above, is then published by the register and is distributed to the voters within ten days before the election. The payments made by the candidates go toward the expenses of publishing the pamphlet. A candidate may have a statement of not more than fifty words by paying additional sums. At the close of the polls the election officers seal the election box and deliver it promptly to the registrar at the central office. The votes are counted there by civil service clerks. In spite of the confusion of putting in a new system, it worked remarkably well, and for the first time there was an accurate count carried on from first to last under the scrutiny of bystanders.

The abolition of the primary saves the city $36,000 on each election. The preferential system of balloting requires additional clerks for compiling and computing the returns, but the additional cost is more than covered by the saving made.[1]

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The Philadelphia Sinking Fund Situation.—During the past eighteen months a considerable amount of discussion and controversy has taken place in Philadelphia concerning her sinking funds. Of the controversies that have been begun, only a very small fraction may be considered as ended. The others are ripe for extended discussion.

In November, 1916, in the course of its consideration of the annual budget for 1917, the finance committee of councils resolved to take certain steps toward the improvement of the administration of the city's sinking funds, at that time 25 in number. Of the steps then taken by the committee, two stand out prominently by reason of the opposition encountered.

Having noticed, among many other things, (1) that the commissioners of the sinking fund had in their possession about $4,700,000 of cash and securities over and above the liberally calculated requirements of less than $22,000,000; (2) that of this $4,700,000 surplus almost $1,400,000 represented money and securities that did not belong to any sinking fund, it being, in the main, surpluses of expired sinking funds, and (3) that, contrary to the laws, money was being appropriated to, and paid into, sinking funds for the extinguishment of debt prior to the tax year following the actual creation of the debt in question, the finance committee eliminated from the budget all provision for sinking fund instalments on loans not yet issued, and also requested the commissioners to release their free surplus of almost $1,400,000 for the payment of principal and interest of non-sinking fund debt falling due in 1917 and for the payment of the four mill state tax on city debt. After a great deal of controversy, in which the phrase "raiding the sinking fund" was well played up, the commissioners finally released $1,160,778.75 of their free surplus for the payment of principal and interest of non-sinking fund debt falling due in 1917, but refused to release the balance for the payment of the state tax.

After a great deal of other controversy, it was admitted that the committee had the law on its side in deferring provision for sinking fund instalments until the tax year following the year in which loans actually are issued. But almost at the last minute demand was made on councils to reinstate a portion of the eliminated provision for loans not yet issued. This demand was made on theoretical and involved grounds. Being made as it was, and being coupled with a threat to tie up the city's money unless acceded to, councils gave in, adding another five cents to the tax rate in order to do so.

One year later, in connection with the annual budget for 1918, the finance committee, having in mind the large excess accumulations in the sinking funds, and noting that certain information concerning sinking fund requirements, surpluses, and other related matters, had ceased to appear in their usual places since the preceding year's controversies had begun, unanimously passed a lengthy resolution requesting the commissioners to furnish the committee with certain specified information which the committee felt that it needed for its proper consideration.

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[1] A statement of reasons for the changes in the electoral laws of San Francisco and a draft of the club's plan for municipal elections will be found in the Transactions of the Commonwealth Club, vol. ix, no. 4, August, 1916. The plan was changed in going through the board of supervisors before it was submitted to the people, but in general the text of the committee report was followed. It was ratified at the election of November, 1916, and got its first trial in the election of November, 1917.

Notwithstanding the fact that a copy of this resolution, embodied in a letter requesting that the information called for be furnished in the order in which it was listed, and as speedily as possible, was delivered to each of the three commissioners on November 19, 1917, less than one-fourth of the information called for by the last (and least urgently needed) of the 14 items listed has as yet been furnished (January 25, 1918).

With this relatively insignificant information, the commissioners sent a letter in which they declared that there were no surpluses in the sinking funds, and in which they otherwise painted a dark and gloomy picture. Although the chairman of the finance committee pointedly replied to this letter and again requested that the information called for in the resolution be furnished in accordance with the previous request, no response of any kind has as yet been received.

Word having been passed around that the commissioners of the fund had finally decided to ignore the committee's request for information, on the grounds that the committee had no right to make the request, substantially the same resolution was passed unanimously on November 30, 1917. But, it appears that the commissioners deny councils' authority to demand the much wanted information, for the resolution has brought no response.

About the same time that the committee and councils were demanding information from the commissioners, another sinking fund controversy became public. As has been said, the commissioners released $1,160,778 of their free surplus for the payment of principal and interest of non-sinking fund debt falling due in 1917. Now it so happens that part of the city debt which the school district assumed, when it began its separate corporate existence on January 1, 1912, was some of the debt to which the free surplus was applied. The school district, taking the view that its payments to the city in respect of the assumed debt are in the nature of reimbursements to the city for payments made by it on account of the same assumed debt that the city was released in 1917 from paying $102,782 in respect of principal and interest on the assumed debt, and reiterating its contention of 1912 that it was entitled to share in the free surplus as well as assume some of the city debt, deducted this amount from its last quarterly payment of 1917.

As a result, a three-cornered dispute between the city, the school district and the sinking fund commissioners is being waged. The school district has been threatened with legal proceedings to compel payment of the withheld amount.

From the viewpoint of the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research, two vitally important questions seem to be involved throughout the various controversies. One of them is: Shall the people's elected representatives have access to sufficient information concerning the people's business to enable them properly to safeguard and administer that business? The other is: Should not Philadelphia follow the example of a number of other cities—adopt serial bonds and eventually scrap all its sinking funds?

Robert James Patterson.[1]

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Virginia Budget Legislation.—The following outstanding features of the budget law of Virginia, which was prepared by the commission of economy and efficiency:

1. The budget estimates are submitted to the legislature by the governor in such form as he may deem most advisable.

2. These estimates are accompanied by a full and detailed explanation of increases and decreases.

3. Ample supporting data is required so that the revision of the governor and the revision of the legislature is done with full information.

4. Public hearings are held by the governor during his revision.

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[1] Accountant, Philadelphia bureau of municipal research.

5. Bi-annually the governor must survey all departments and institutions, in order to possess a working knowledge upon which to base his recommendations.

6. With the budget estimates the governor must submit a properly prepared appropriation act.

7. The finance committees in considering the estimates and the appropriation act, must meet jointly and in public.

8. The legislature may increase or decrease items.

9. No special or additional appropriations may, however, be passed until the original budget is acted upon.

10. The governor is authorized to employ competent assistants to carry out the requirements of the act.

11. The governor's constitutional veto power is, of course, uneffected.

Lent D. Upson.

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The Water Supply of Denver.—In 1910 an initiated amendment to the charter of Denver created a Public Utilities Commission of three members, for the purpose of acquiring the water company's plant, or of building a new one. A bond issue of $8,000,000 was authorized and the commission empowered to offer the water company $7,000,000 for the existing plant, which was promptly refused. The commission thereupon employed engineers to make a survey for a new water supply, payment for services to be made in bonds. These bonds were never issued, and the city assumed payment for such liability by means of warrants. The matter dragged, and the opinion was freely expressed that no adequate new water supply was available. In 1914 an initiated ordinance was passed by the city providing for a 20 per cent horizontal reduction in water rates. The water company refused to comply, on the ground that the rates would be practically confiscatory, and took the matter into court. Finally the Federal Court appointed Special Master W. J. Chinn to determine the value of the plant in order to investigate the justice of the said reduction in rates. His report fixing the value at $13,415,899 (including $2,000,000 for water rights) was accepted by the court, which sustained the contention of the water company. Negotiations were then entered upon between the Water Consumers League and the Denver Union Water Company, and an agreement reached whereby this sum or less, if confirmed by the supreme court of the United States, plus betterments and minus depreciation (now aggregating about $14,000,000) should be the price paid by the city. The decision has just been handed down, again confirming the value but not passing upon the ownership of the water rights as not material in the case. The question must now be submitted to the taxpaying electors, as to the purchase and provision for the issue of bonds. Thereafter the sanction of the newly created capital issues committee will have to be secured.

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The Law of Illegal Public Speaking.—One of the most difficult police problems in urban communities, arising from the war, is the differentiation between the freedom of speech and its licentiousness which the police may lawfully curb in their efforts to suppress seditious gatherings and utterances. In a pamphlet of sixteen pages Magistrate Frederick B. House of New York has prepared for the use of magistrates and police officers in New York city a clear exposition of the present law on this subject with an adequate citation of the principal decisions.

This pamphlet is deserving of the most careful study by all peace officers and by all judicial officers charged with the duty of maintaining the peace in American cities during the present international emergency.

L. F. Fuld.

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University of Cincinnati.—Under Cincinnati's new charter (which went into effect on January 1)[1] all the scientific, medical and nursing work in the new city hospital are placed under the University of Cincinnati. It provides that the medical director of each department shall be a professor in the medical department of the college and that the board constituted of these directors shall nominate to the board through the president all members of the staff of the hospital, including the superintendent who shall be the general executive and business manager of the hospital, this superintendent to select all other employes under the civil service commission of the city. This provision is intended to remove the hospital from the sphere of politics and to secure the facilities of the hospital for the purposes of education and research.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. vii, p. 80.

II. POLITICS[1]

Proportional Representation Election at Boulder.—For the purpose of educating the constituency one of the local papers, the Boulder *News-Herald*, voluntarily devoted its columns to a complete discussion of the method of voting. It made up several sample tickets and showed how they might be marked. In addition to this, the Methodist brotherhood held the annual election of its officers by the Hare method and invited its friends in to watch the election. The meeting was a great success as was also the election so held. The details were placed in the hands of Clair V. Mann, a member of the charter commission familiar with the system. Following this meeting, a public gathering was held at the court room where several persons who were to act as tellers and election clerks were given some experience in their prospective duties. The method of marking the ballots was explained to the voters in detail and the election results worked out before them.

A correspondent advises that the voters participating in the election had very little difficulty in marking their ballots and comparatively few were spoiled. There were 59 so-called invalid ballots, which were really not invalid but merely non-transferable. The count was completed and the result declared at 3 a.m. of the day following the election. Results could have been hastened by the adoption of a different form of ballot which will be adopted at the next election. Our correspondent writes: "I think there has never been a time in Boulder when so general a degree of satisfaction prevailed over results of the election as prevails now. Our municipal elections have always been attended with more or less mudslinging and bitterness. The people seem to feel that if the persons elected are not the people's choice, nobody save the people is to blame. They feel also that a fairer system of election would be hard to devise, as every class worthy of representation will be sure to get its representative if the people representing that class get out and work.

"So all things considered, proportional representation in Boulder to date is regarded as a great success. The new council and its manager, Mr. Heinrich, are progressing nicely. The problems before us are big, but we feel that with perseverance, study, and good management they will be mastered."

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The Seattle Election.—The primary election in Seattle eliminated Mayor Gill, who out of a total vote of 56,700 received but 8,317. The highest two were Ole Hanson who received 23,414 and James E. Bradford, 11,751. During the primary fight the issue was mainly Gill and anti-Gill. Most people believed the mayor would show his old strength and go into the finals, his primary vote of two years ago being over 30,000 and the vote by which he was elected 35,000. The objections to him this time were his indictment and trial for bootlegging by the federal court last year, his later disbarment upon other grounds by the state bar board, the military ban put upon Seattle by the general in command of Camp Lewis, his alleged sympathies with the I. W. W., and his want of thoroughgoing co-operation with the federal government.

The other candidates stood for a city "clean, safe and patriotic, with more or less municipal ownership thrown in." Mr. Bradford was recognized as the choice of organized labor and drew his main support from them. Mr. Hanson got the exclusive support of three dailies with corresponding publicity. This support followed him through the finals and resulted in his election. Out of a total of 82,000 he received 32,000 votes, and Mr. Bradford 27,000. At the election the issues were solidified into the paramount one of patriotic support of the government, Mr. Hanson taking and keeping the initiative on this question. During the campaign he threatened to suppress entirely the I. W. W. movement in Seattle to prevent any strike during the war, and promised to unite the city back of the President. On this issue Mr. Bradford was on the defensive, he being supported by the pacifists and those who were regarded as being at heart luke warm towards the President.

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated, the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

A correspondent writes that the election may serve locally to "hasten consideration of the desire to abolish the primary for one direct election as in England, and for reasonable local regulation of newspaper publicity in fairness to all candidates for the same office."

Another feature of the election was the recall of Anna Louise Strong of the school board, because of her activities on behalf of those who have been opposed to the war. In commenting on her case, the Seattle municipal league said that "the salutary influence of a woman school director of Miss Strong's acknowledged education and refinement under normal conditions has been largely sacrificed by the course pursued in this period of national crisis." The vote for her recall was 27,157 and against her recall 21,824.

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The Re-election of Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee.—As a result of the April 2 municipal election Milwaukee will continue to have a Socialist mayor for another two years. Mayor Hoan, who is completing his first term, was re-elected over Percy Braman, commissioner of public works, by a majority of 2,110. Mayor Hoan ran about 6,000 ahead of the socialist nominees for the other main office all of whom were defeated.

The Socialists increased their representation in the common council from 12 to 13 members (one being a hold-over). They elected three of the six aldermen-at-large and nine out of twenty-five ward aldermen. The council of 37 (which will be reduced to 25 in 1920 as a result of a referendum vote) will consist of 13 Socialists and 24 non-partisans.

The re-election of Mayor Hoan is more of a personal victory for him than for his party. During his two years as mayor he did not follow the former partisan and narrow-minded attitude of the Socialist mayor of 1910–12 but secured the cooperation of citizens in general, regardless of party. He had the general approval of citizens for his co-operation with the government in connection with the war. However, although not approving of the anti-war attitude of the Socialist party as expressed in the St. Louis platform, he did allow himself to be inveigled into running on a platform which was not regarded as a repudiation of the obnoxious St. Louis war plank. This caused many of his warm supporters to desert him and to refuse to vote for him. Among such were practically all of the assistant city attorneys who served under Mr. Hoan while he was city attorney before becoming mayor in 1916. That he lost thousands of non-socialist supporters because of these party tactics is conceded but these were made up by accessions of those who desired to enter their protest against the war. Many also voted for him knowing full well that he would ignore the party opposition to the war and continue to assist the government whenever called upon. Because of his running on such a platform, however, he has been removed as head of the county council of defense.

The re-election of a Socialist mayor does not necessarily mean that Milwaukee is either socialistic or disloyal. It has oversubscribed its share of every fund solicitation in connection with the war and is now engaged in repeating this record in connection with the third liberty loan and the second Red Cross drive.

W. J. Bollenbeck.

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A Possible Recall in Wheeling, W. Va.—Early in February the city council of Wheeling, upon report that open gambling had been running in the city, called the chief of police before it and read charges against him. Thereupon the chief admitted the truth of the report and the council by unanimous vote discharged him, immediately thereafter electing his successor. This seemed to be a very great shock to the vice interests of the city and there was a demand immediately on the part of the underworld for the recall of the five councilmen who have stood for the suppression of vice, and also for the recall of city manager Nagle.

The newspapers have almost entirely ignored the circulation of the recall petitions, having referred to the matter only once or twice. They absolutely refused to print the statement of charges contained in the petitions and in every other way have indicated opposition to a recall election. It is the old proposition of the last struggle for the control of the city in the interests of vice. The first blow was the adoption by the people of the commission-manager form of government; the second, the election of men to council who had an earnest desire to extricate the city from the depths of vice rule. If a recall election is had, it is believed that it will result in an overwhelming defeat for the vice interests.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

Licensing Money-Lending.—In *Salisbury* v. *Equitable Purchasing Company* (197 S. W. 813) the Kentucky court of appeals has decided that section one of an ordinance of Ashland providing for an annual license fee of $400 on the occupation of lending money on assignments of salaries or wages is invalid as necessarily prohibitive of the business. The court also held that section two of the ordinance requiring these money lenders after getting a license to file a monthly statement showing the names of the borrowers, amounts lent, and other details is not within the police powers.

⁂

Interest of Municipal Officer.—Although an alderman of the city was a law partner of an attorney employed by the city to defend certain actions, the contract of employment was voidable at the option of the city only and was not subject to an attack by a taxpayer. This was the decision reached by the Michigan supreme court in *Schurtz* v. *Grand Rapids* (165 N. W. 766). The statute provided that any contract made in violation of the provisions should be void "against the city" and on this point the taxpayers bill was dismissed.

Anti-Strike and Anti-Picketing Ordinances.—The courts of Oregon and Texas have recently dealt with ordinances aiming at strikes and picketing. In *Hall* v. *Johnson* (169 Pac. 515) the Oregon supreme court decided that an ordinance directed against conspiracies to injure trade, business or commerce, even though valid as applied to picketing, was invalid *in toto* in attempting to deprive workmen of their right to strike.

In *Ex parte Stout* (198 S. W. 967) the court of criminal appeals of Texas sustained an ordinance of the city of El Paso forbidding picketing for the purpose of persuading persons from entering places of business to transact business.

⁂

Lansing Charter Ruling Reversed.—The supreme court of Michigan recently reversed a decision of the county court by dismissing a mandamus issued against certain Lansing city officials preventing them from being candidates for reëlection. The lower court had held that a section of the city charter meant that no city officials could be reëlected and cast serious doubts on the legality of past councils of the city.

The supreme court said in a *per curiam* opinion, "the literal construction of the section as given by the lower court, would result in the manifest absurdity of not permitting a man elected to office to fill it. The section meant clearly that no person could hold two offices at one time."

*

Revocation of Franchise.—The supreme court of the United States has recently decided in *Northern Ohio Traction & Light Company* v. *Ohio* (38 Sup. Ct. Rep. 196) that where a resolution of a board of county commissioners granted to a person therein named and his successors the right to construct, maintain and operate an electric railroad along a specified state road without specifying any limit of time, the grant was not a mere revocable right but a contract not subject to annulment by a resolution of the board of county commissioners declaring it terminated. This action of the county commissioners, approved by the supreme court of Ohio, was held to be an impairment of the obligation of a contract. As usual in these public utility cases, Justice Clark dissented and Justice Brandeis concurred with him. He took the position that the court was without jurisdiction in this case and even assuming that it did have jurisdiction he could not concur in the opinion for three reasons, (1) there was not a perpetual grant in plain terms, (2) that appropriate consideration was not given to the decision of the Ohio supreme court and (3) that the reasons stated for inferring that an irrevocable franchise was intended by the granting power were not sound.

Bribing Voters.—In *The United States* v. *Bathgate et al,* the United States supreme court recently decided that section 19 of the criminal code does not apply to conspiracies to bribe voters at a general election within a state where presidential electors, a U. S. senator and a congressman are to be chosen. The judgment of the court below was affirmed. The government in its case maintained that lawful voters at an election for presidential electors, senator and member of congress and also candidates for those places have secured to them by the constitution or laws of the United States the right and privilege that it shall be fairly and honestly conducted; and that congress intended by the section 19 to punish interference with such right and privilege through conspiracy to influence voters by bribery.[1]

*

Police Pension Fund.—In *Stiles* v. *Board of Trustees of Police Pension Fund* (118 N. E. 202) the supreme court of Illinois decided that although the petitioner had been removed from the police force of a board of park commissioners for having entered a saloon in uniform and for having used profane language, he was still entitled to his pension because he had served the statutory period required for the pension,—twenty years. The court said that having served for the statutory period and no longer being connected with the police force, his right was perfect, notwithstanding removal under the civil service act.

ROBERT EMMET TRACY.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

Governmental Research Conference.—At a meeting of governmental research agencies of the United States and Canada, held in conjunction with the meeting of the National Municipal League in Detroit last November, a permanent organization of such agencies was effected under the name Governmental Research Conference.

The details as to terms and conditions of membership were left to the executive committee, which was also made responsible for carrying into effect several measures for co-operative work that were discussed by those in attendance at the meeting and decided upon as desirable of accomplishment. Since that time the executive committee has taken steps to set up machinery for such co-operative service.

A proposal was made to the executive committee by Dr. Robert T. Crane, director of the bureau of government, department of political science, of the University of Michigan, to utilize the facilities of the bureau of government to set up a central office or clearing house for the Governmental Research Conference, and thus perform for the members of the conference a number of direct and tangible services in line with the discussion at Detroit. This proposal was accepted by the executive committee of the conference, and the bureau of government is already functioning as a central agency for the conference. Dr. Crane and Miss Gertrude E. Woodard, secretary of the bureau of government, have both been elected, by the executive committee, assistant secretaries of the Governmental Research Conference. The services which his bureau will render as a central agency for the conference are:

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[1] Reported from advanced sheets of Supreme Court. Cases 575 to 580 inclusive, October term 1917, and were decided March 4, 1918.

> (1) The services of our staff, consisting of a secretary and myself. The secretary has had a very wide experience as librarian and editor. The university will make her full time available for the proposed work of the Conference. My own services will be cheerfully given.
>
> (2) Very spacious quarters are available in the huge new library of the university. Immediately connected is almost unlimited stack-room.
>
> (3) If special equipment is necessary, no pledge can be given as to its provision by the university; but it is improbable that any need of the sort will not be at once met. The bureau now has available, in addition to the usual office equipment, a Writerpress, and a Photostat for the reproduction of charts or drawings. For the former, extra type will be needed and for the latter there will be the usual expense of operating.
>
> (4) Our arrangements are made previous to this offer. We are ready to start to-day.
>
> It will perhaps be well to state the work this office is to perform as I understand it:
>
> (1) Monthly reports to be collected from each bureau showing:
>   (a) all work completed, with date.
>   (b) all work in progress, and stage, with probable date of completion.
>
> (2) Monthly bulletins to be issued showing by bureaus, work reported completed, with date, or in progress, with stage and probable date of completion.
>
> (3) Card index of all final reports of work to be issued in duplicate.
>
> (4) Final reports of all work to be collected at least in triplicate from each bureau and filed for reference.
>
> (5) Final reports on file to be loaned to bureau on request.
>
> (6) Important reports to be published in initiative of the Executive Committee.
>
> (7) Data on successful campaigns for financing to be collected, filed and made available to inquirers.
>
> (8) Lists to be maintained of workers in special fields and loans and transfers to be arranged.

One other matter left by the Detroit meeting to be decided by the executive committee had to do with the classes and conditions of membership in the Governmental Research Conference. The executive committee has decided upon three classes of membership; active and associate memberships for institutions, and associate membership for individuals. Active members comprise citizen agencies actively engaged in the field of governmental research, but more distinctively as working *efficiency* agencies than as agencies interested in *research* pure and simple. On these agencies must fall, for some time to come, the responsibility for shaping the policies and principles of action of the governmental research movement in this country. It was believed by the executive committee that they should bear the principal financial burden of supporting the conference and should be chiefly responsible for shaping its policies, and that they should therefore be given active membership and voting power. The fee for active membership was fixed at $15 a year.

Realizing the interest of many university bureaus of governmental research and reference in the questions with which the Governmental Research Conference will deal, the executive committee decided to offer such agencies an associate membership at an annual fee of $10. The individual associate membership is to be made available to such persons (including professors of economics, political science, etc.) as are directly related to the field of governmental research, or are so interested in it as to wish to keep in touch with the developments in that field. The fee for individual associate membership is $5.

It is the intent of the executive committee to charge no more for membership, either active or associate, than will barely cover the expenses of the conference, including the cost of the considerable service which is to be performed by the central office. Associate members will have access to all the privileges of the conference, except a vote in determining policies and in electing officers, and will receive, on equal terms with active members, all the services to be performed by the central office. It is believed that such a working relationship between university bureaus of governmental research and reference, on the one side, and citizen agencies actively engaged in governmental efficiency work, on the other side, will be mutually advantageous.

LEROY E. SNYDER.[1]

*

Rudolph Blankenburg, mayor of Philadelphia from 1911 to 1915, died April 12, at the age of 75. For more than a generation Mayor Blankenburg had been one of the militant forces of Philadelphia. Easily the most effective stump speaker in the city, his voice was always raised in behalf of higher ideals of government and in behalf of the down-trodden. He was actively identified with such organizations as the citizens' relief committee, the old committee of one hundred, and various other efforts designed to arouse the people of Philadelphia to their duties as citizens and to give effective expression. He was indeed a tribune of the people.

Elected to the office of mayor in 1911 on an independent ticket, he was wise in the selection of a group of men like Morris Llewellyn Cooke, George W. Norris, George D. Porter, who were in touch with modern methods of administration. Mr. Blankenburg's administration in years to come will be more highly valued than it has been because then the memory of personal antagonisms will have passed, leaving only the residuum of accomplished results. Mr. Blankenburg personally was a protagonist rather than an administrator, and many of the outstanding events of his administration reflect his personal characteristics rather than the accomplishments of his coadjutors. In personal life Mr. Blankenburg was amiable and genial, and therefore popular. In his public life he was relentless in dealing with what he regarded as opposed to the public interest. He was much more interested, however, in critical attack than in constructive work, but those with whom he surrounded himself supplied that lack in an eminent degree, so that even to-day, although we are but two years and a half removed from his administration, the people of Philadelphia look upon it as a period of great constructive advance.

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The War Contribution of City Planners.—Apropos of Mr. John Ihlder's striking article on "Wooden Cities: The National Army Cantonments,"[1] we have gathered the following information concerning the city planners and housing experts who have aided in making the wooden cities possible. There was a first group: a committee of the American City Planning Institute, which advised briefly at the start as to methods of organization and somewhat as to personnel: Frederick Law Olmsted; George B. Ford; E. P. Goodrich.

A second group, also advisory, served at Washington almost continuously for several weeks from the creation of the cantonment division in the Quartermaster Corps, advising as to professional personnel and as to controlling considerations in the planning of the cantonments and their most vital utilities, water supply and sewerage: Maj. W. A. Starrett, architect, F. L. Olmsted, landscape architect, of the committee on emergency construction; Leonard Metcalf, C.E., George W. Fuller, C.E., advising especially on matters and men related to water supply and sanitary engineering; George Gibbs, Jr., town planner (after a few weeks he was commissioned as captain and made chief of the drafting division in executive charge of the preparation and issue of plans).

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[1] Director, bureau of municipal research, Rochester, N. Y.

[1] Vol vii, p. 139.

A third group of less continuous volunteer advisers and helpers at Washington during the formulation of the typical cantonment plans consisted of George B. Ford, architect; Otis Post, architect; Woodward Leaming, architect; Lawrence Veiller, director, National Housing Association; John Ihlder, Philadelphia housing association; Asa Philips, C.E., sewer department, District of Columbia; Mr. Eaton, C.E. of Dupont Engineering Co.

A fourth group consisted of reserve officers in the engineering division of the cantonment division, directly responsible for the plans, acting with the advice of the above group and in part recommended for appointment by them: Maj. Frank M. Gunby, C.E., engineer officer in charge; Maj. F. B. Wheaton, architect; Capt. L. S. Doten, C.E., water supply and sewerage; Mr. (afterward Major) Dabney H. Maury, C.E., water supply; Capt. George Gibbs, Jr., town planning; Capt. F. B. Smith, assistant to Captain Gibbs.

A fifth group of town planners was called upon in co-operation with water supply and sanitary engineers and under the direction of the Washington office to develop preliminary plans for specific cantonments by local adaptation of the typical plans developed in Washington. Where marked (*) the town planner after completing the preliminary planning, was continued on the job by the local constructing quartermaster in responsible charge of the construction of the cantonment, to work up details of the plan and make adjustments as the work progressed.

Cantonments	Town Planners	Water Supply and Sanitary Engineers
Camp Devens, Ayer, Mass.	H. J Kellaway,* Boston, Mass.	F. A. Barbour, Boston, Mass.
Camp Upton, Yaphank, N. Y.		Walter Spear, c/o N. Y. Board of Water Supply, N. Y. C.
Camp Dix, Wrightstown, N. J.	C. W. Leavitt	Allen Hazen, 42nd St. Bldg., N. Y. C.
Camp Meade, Annapolis Junct., Md.	Owen Brainard,* 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y. C.	Morris Knowles, Jones Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Camp Lee, Petersburg, Va.	J. L. Greenleaf, 1 Broadway, N. Y. C.	H. R. Messer, 1110 Capitol Ave., Richmond, Va.
Camp Jackson, Columbia, S. C.	Richard Schermerhorn, Jr.,* 347 5th Ave., N. Y. C.	Allen Saville, Richmond, Va.
Camp Gordon, Atlanta, Ga.	Brinckerhoff C. N. Lowrie, 101 Park Ave., N. Y. C.	P. H. Norcross, Atlanta, Ga. G. N. Hazelhurst, Atlanta Lockwood Green & Co., N. Y. C. and Atlanta, Ga.
Camp Sherman, Chillicothe, O.	W. H. Manning, No. Billerica, Mass.	R. W. Pratt, Cleveland, Ohio
Camp Taylor, Louisville, Ky.	H. P. Kelsey,* Salem, Mass.	J. B. Wilson, Louisville, Ky.
Camp Custer, Battle Creek, Mich.	T. W. Sears, 107 Westminster St., Providence, R. I.	S. A. Greeley, Chicago, Ill.
Camp Grant, Rockford, Ill.	E. H. Bennett,* Chicago, Ill.	J. W. Alvord, Chicago, Ill.
Camp Pike, Little Rock, Ark.	L. V. Sheridan,* Washington, D. C.	Block & Veach, Kansas City, Mo.
Camp Dodge, Des Moines, Iowa	Robert Wheelwright,* N. Y. C.	L. P. Wolff, St. Paul, Minn.
Camp Funston, Ft. Riley, Kans.	J. H. Pray, Cambridge, Mass.	Wynkoop Kiersted, Liberty, Mo.
Camp Travis, San Antonio Texas	S. H. Hare,* Kansas City, Mo. George E. Kessler, St. Loius, Mo. E. U. Noyes, Dallas, Texas	
Camp Lewis, American Lake,	C. F. Pilat,* 52 Broadway, N. Y. C.	W. J. Roberts, Tacoma, Wash.[1]

Spanish Civic Development.—An important civic association has been organized in the city of Barcelona, whose main purpose is to further the construction of workingmen's dwellings in a suburb of that city and to promote the idea of "The Garden City." The society is known as the "Civic Society for the Encouragement of the Garden City." The offices of the society are in Barcelona; Excorial, 156.

The association has undertaken the publication of a monthly paper called *Civitas*. It contains an interesting record of the progress of the workingmen's dwelling movement both in Spain and abroad. Special sections of the review are also devoted to the purpose of landscape gardening in connection with the workingmen's sections of large industral centers.

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[1] We are obliged to Frederick Law Olmsted for these data.—Editor.

The society is evidently doing an important work in improving conditions in Barcelona and in other cities of Spain.

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Denver's Chaplain.—The city of Denver has introduced into municipal government the influence of the clergy, by the appointment of an official city chaplain. The city council passed an ordinance creating the office with the salary of $1,200, the bill having been one devised and recommended by Mayor Speer. The ordinance outlines the duties to be: "to aid, assist and encourage unfortunate persons and those in distress; to visit all penal and municipal institutions of the city and county, and to render such aid and assistance as humane consideration and sound public policy may dictate." "Jim" Goodheart, conductor of the Sunshine Mission, which for ten years has helped and encouraged the down and out in Denver, was appointed city chaplain by Mayor Speer.

⁂

Woman Suffrage in Texas.—A special session of the Texas legislature during a session of thirty days adopted statutory prohibition and woman suffrage as war measures. Under the latter measure the women are to participate only in the democratic primaries and not in the general election. In Texas, however, the the primaries are of more importance than the general elections.

⁂

Carl B. Roden has been appointed librarian of the Chicago public library as a result of a civil service test. Mr. Roden succeeds the late Dr. Henry E. Legler to whom he was an assistant. In speaking of the appointment Dr. Graham Taylor in the *Chicago News* said: "Chicago is again indebted to the civil service system for two good appointments to important positions. Carl B. Roden's promotion to the place of librarian of the Chicago public library is as satisfactory to the city as it is highly deserved by him. Moreover for thirty years he has used the library itself, and each one of the many services he has been called upon to render it, as at once the source and the opportunity both for his professional training and for his personal culture."

The other appointment to which Dr. Taylor refers is that of Joseph L. Moss as chief juvenile probation officer of the juvenile court of Cook county is succession to Joel DeBois Hunter. Alfred G. Reynolds was certified at the head of the list but declined the appointment because certain readjustments which he considered essential were blocked by certain political influence. The next on the list of eligibles was Mr. Moss, assistant chief probation officer, who has accepted the appointment. Mr. Moss has not only been connected with the department but has had considerable social training both as a student at the Chicago school of civics and philanthropy and in the Gads Hill settlement.

⁂

Ellwood J. Turner, of Ridley Park, Pa., a member of the Delaware county bar, has been elected field secretary of the people's association of Delaware county of which Franklin N. Brewer of Moylan is president. This organization is one of the few active county organizations in the country that are making real contributions to the study and development of county government along efficient lines, and so far as we are advised this is the first to employ a field secretary.

⁂

Charles A. Beard, formerly professor of politics at Columbia University[1] and director of the training school conducted by the New York bureau of municipal research, has been made director of the bureau itself, entering upon his duties March 1. Dr. Beard was one of the first board of associate editors of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and is now a member of the advisory editorial board.

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Edwin S. Potter, formerly associate editor of *Equity*, is now associated with the National Voters' League with headquarters in the Woodward Building, Washington, D.C.

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[1] SEE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 733.

⁂

Rev. Edwin A. Rumball, formerly president of the Rochester city club and later secretary of the Americanization work in Buffalo, has been made secretary of the National Americanization Committee.

⁂

Leonard Wallstein, who was commissioner of accounts under Mayor Mitchel, has been elected secretary of the New York citizens' union.

⁂

Dr. Charles C. Williamson, associate editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, has been released temporarily from his duties as New York municipal reference librarian, to become statistician of the liberty loan committee of the federal reserve bank.

Later Dr. Williamson resigned as librarian to take up Americanization work with the Carnegie Foundation. He will be succeeded as municipal reference librarian by Dorsey W. Hyde, Jr., of the *American City*, who assumes his new office on May 1.

⁂

E. Lewis Burnham has resigned as assistant treasurer of the National Municipal League because of his duties as executive secretary of the war camp community service board at Waco, Texas.

⁂

R. Bayard Cutting, son of R. Fulton Cutting, the first treasurer of the National Municipal League, died at an American base hospital in France early in April. He was an associate organizing secretary of the Y. M. C. A. Mr. Cutting was a member of the League's committee on intercollegiate work and had previously been treasurer of the intercollegiate civic league.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

will be held the first week in June,
in New York City, in conjunction with

THE CONFERENCE ON WAR TIME GOVERNMENTAL PROBLEMS

CALLED BY THE

Academy of Political Science

AND THE

New York Bureau of Municipal Research

* * *

The event promises to be an important one.

Further information will be sent to members shortly.

This action was taken by the Council at its meeting on April 24 after a careful canvass of the situation.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF,

Secretary

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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Ordinarily the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW should be in the hands of members and subscribers within a week of the first day of the months of publication, to wit, January, March, May, July, September, and November. The extraordinary conditions of the last six months, however, have resulted in numerous delays. If the magazine is not received by the 15th of the month of issue, the Editor will be greatly obliged if a postal to that effect is sent to his office, 703 North American Building, Philadelphia.

KALAMAZOO TRIES PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

BY AUGUSTUS R. HATTON[1]

"THIS method is too intricate and tedious ever to be adopted for popular election by the people." In a decision rendered in 1890[2] the supreme court of Michigan let fall this dictum concerning the Hare system of proportional representation. On February 4th of this year Kalamazoo, one of the larger Michigan cities, by an overwhelming majority, adopted a charter which established that system and on the first of April, at an election held under this charter, only three and one-half per cent of the ballots cast were uncountable, and the result of the election could be known before the earliest breakfast the following morning. From this one might be justified in drawing the conclusion that the reputation of inerrancy, which the courts so much covet, is subjected to unnecessary hazards when they attempt to set themselves up as political oracles. But this is not to be a dissertation on judicial dicta; it is only an attempt to record the experience of a community of considerable size with a new electoral device.

Kalamazoo is a remarkably clean and attractive city of approximately 50,000 inhabitants. The greater portion of its people might properly be described as of American stock, but there is a considerable Dutch element in the population, usually referred to in Kalamazoo as Holland Dutch, or Hollanders. The Dutch are thrifty and conservative, their chief civic interest being in keeping down the tax rate. The industries of Kalamazoo are varied and the percentage of home ownership is high in spite of the fact that the wage scale for laboring people is unusually low. A low wage scale seems to be typical of the Michigan lumber and furniture towns and of others falling within their sphere of influence. This condition helps to explain some phases of Kalamazoo's politics later recorded.

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[1] Field director, National Short Ballot Organization and professor of political science, Western Reserve University.

[2] *Maynard* v. *The Board of Canvassers*, 84 Michigan, 232–233.

THE OLD GOVERNMENT

On the whole Kalamazoo has been well governed and, in spite of the conservative elements in the population, it has been remarkably progressive. It has owned its waterworks from the beginning and several years ago established a municipal electric light plant for public lighting, though as yet current is not sold to private users. There has been a long struggle with the local gas company over rates and ownership. A few years ago the voters returned a verdict in favor of municipalization of the gas plant. A little later a bond issue for the purpose of establishing a municipal plant failed to receive the required three-fifths vote, although it was supported by more than a majority of those voting at the election. The gas company is now operating without a franchise. The supreme court of Michigan recently decided that so long as the city was under a legislative charter, it could not regulate rates charged by the company. Now that a home rule charter has been adopted, an attempt will probably be made to regulate gas rates. The gas question has agitated the people for a number of years and its discussion has increased the interest in public affairs.

The progressive character of Kalamazoo's government has doubtless been due in considerable measure to the number and quality of its progressive leaders. For a place of its size, the city has had an unusual number of aggressive and forward-looking men, several of whom are men of standing in business and professional circles. Among these are Dr. William E. Upjohn, William Shakespeare, Jr., A. M. Todd, James B. Balch, the last mayor under the old plan of government, and Dr. Paul Butler. Upjohn and Todd are among the wealthiest men in Kalamazoo. Shakespeare has a substantial business as has Balch. The town has also been fortunate in having Harry H. Freeman as secretary of the new charter league, afterward secretary of the charter commission and now secretary of the chamber of commerce. During the two years that he has been in Kalamazoo, Freeman has been a real force for progress.

THE NEW CHARTER MOVEMENT

Dr. Upjohn was the father of the new charter movement. Several years ago he became interested in a comprehensive city plan but soon convinced himself that little could be accomplished under the old legislative charter. It was he who initiated the movement for the new charter league and brought Freeman to Kalamazoo. He was elected to the charter commission and was made chairman of that body. The charter adopted last February establishes the manager plan and provides for a council of seven to be elected from the city at large by the Hare system of proportional representation. The campaign preliminary to the election of the charter commission, and the campaign for the adoption of the charter after it was framed, may well be studied as examples of sound political procedure. Under Mr. Freeman's management, the education of the public was thorough. No issues were evaded. Thus when the question was asked whether the new charter would reduce the tax rate, the answer was given that it probably would not. It was made clear to the voters that expenditures in the future would necessarily be heavier than in the past and that for that reason it was desirable to have a more effective instrument of government.

The charter was adopted by a vote of more than two to one. This vote is an interesting commentary on the opinions of leading citizens and politicians of Kalamazoo as to the possible effect of including proportional representation in the charter. Before the provisions for P. R. were written in, letters were sent to a large number of leading citizens asking their opinions as to the possible effect of its inclusion upon the popular vote. With two or three exceptions, these citizens and politicians stated that while they believed in the principle of P. R., they felt sure that its inclusion would lead to the rejection of the charter.

THE ANTI-TALBOT CAMPAIGN

The charter provides for nomination by petition of at least fifty voters, no voter being permitted to sign a petition for more than one candidate. Under these provisions twenty-three candidates came into the field for the recent election. They represented a wide range of ability and opinion and it was at once apparent that from them a very able and representative council might be selected. Apparently the campaign would have passed off with extreme smoothness, not to say tameness, if a local celebrity, Truxton Talbot, had not seen fit to bring forward a ticket which included his own name. A considerable portion of the people of Kalamazoo would only admit that Talbot is a celebrity in the sense that Milton characterized Satan as occupying a "bad eminence." He is the editor and publisher of a small socialist weekly called "The People." In recent years this paper has frequently irritated the "better element" by attacking and making light of some of their most cherished institutions. Talbot is not always careful of his facts and as a result served a jail sentence a few years ago for making statements which he could not substantiate concerning a public official.

For some time after Talbot brought his ticket forward, no particular attention seemed to have been paid to it. The fact is that his list contained the names of three men of some consequence. These were Shakespeare and Butler, already mentioned, and a cut-rate clothing man, Alexander Velleman. In the straw ballots, taken after all the candidates were in the field, and before the concerted attack on Talbot had begun, Shakespeare was always in the lead. However, about two weeks before the election, someone seemed to have been inspired with the idea that the election of Talbot or anyone supported by him would be a burning disgrace to the city. Whereupon a so-called municipal voters' league was formed, the main purpose of which was to defeat Talbot and his entire ticket.

It is probable that some of those active in the work of the voters' league had other motives than to save the fair name of their city. These were men opposed or none too favorable to the new charter, those opposed to proportional representation, and certain active partisans who had figured largely under the old plan of government and who found themselves shelved by the new charter. There can be no doubt that some of them welcomed the Talbot candidacy as an opportunity to discredit P. R. and the entire new charter movement. The voters' league seems also to have been fully under the control of the conservatives. They attempted to agree on a ticket of seven to recommend to the voters, but could not do so. They finally advised the voters to make sixteen choices, including all the candidates except those approved by Talbot.

The voters' league conducted its campaign largely through newspaper advertising. This was probably rather expensive as their space ran into many pages. Their grand strategy consisted in printing extracts from Talbot's paper in which he had commented severely on such things as the church, the Y. M. C. A. and the army. The other men on Talbot's ticket were not mentioned except to indicate that they were contaminated by association with him. The result of this type of campaign was to make Talbot appear to be more important than he really is and probably resulted in his election.

THE LOYALTY ISSUE

As might have been expected, under the circumstances, "loyalty" was made a leading issue. In this respect, also, the attack was directed against Talbot alone, the attitude of the other men on his ticket, especially of Mr. Shakespeare and Dr. Butler, being too well known to be called in question. The factory of Mr. Shakespeare was turning out war materials while Dr. Butler as a member of the draft appeal board had one son in military service and protested when the medical examiners rejected his youngest son. As to Talbot himself it must be said that, whatever the attitude of his paper may have been before we entered the war, a careful reading of its files for the first three months of 1918 reveals, it is true, some statements that might be considered unwise, but nothing that could justly be termed disloyal. On the contrary the paper frankly supported the war, declared its confidence in the president, urged the working people to hear such pro-war speakers as Clarence Darrow and Capt. R. Hugh Knyvett, even going so far as to advise the workers that the best thing to do "is to carry a stiff punch up your sleeve for the first pro-German you hear trying to discredit your Uncle Sam."

It must be admitted that Talbot conducted his campaign more skillfully than his opponents. The one daily paper, refused to open its columns to paid advertising for the Talbot ticket. This fact supported by affidavit was heralded through the city by means of hand bills and posters which can be used with excellent effect in a city no larger than Kalamazoo. Talbot also retorted upon the voters' league by charging that they represented the chamber of commerce, the politicians, the gas and railway companies and big business in general.

MUTUAL MISTAKES AS TO P. R.

The campaign literature, and the discussion, indicated that neither side fully understood what was possible under a system of proportional representation. Some of the anti-Talbot forces, fearing that a majority of the Talbot ticket might be elected, expressed a strong desire for a system under which the council would be chosen at large by a majority vote. These critics failed to see that if the Talbot forces could elect a majority of the council under proportional representation, the same forces by voting a straight ticket, would elect every member of the council under a mere majority system. On the other hand, Talbot went equally astray in his statement of possibilities. In one appeal to the working people to support his ticket he made the statement that "if you . . . vote solidly for these seven men you will have the satisfaction of electing at least six of them—possibly the whole seven."[3] The improbability, not to say impossibility, of a ticket being elected in its entirety becomes clear when it is understood that in order to achieve this result any such ticket would have to receive more than seven-eighths of all the votes cast. For any one group to win six out of seven places is only slightly less improbable while the election of five out of seven would show a remarkable approach to unanimity on the part of the voters.

THE CANDIDATES

The following is a list of the candidates with a brief statement concerning each. The starred candidates were on the Talbot ticket.[4]

William W. Brown. Republican, alderman. A popular man who was against the new charter but did not fight it.

**Paul T. Butler.* A reputable physician, socialist, but not anti-war.

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[3] "The People," March 14, 1918.

[4] In most cases this information was gained from numerous inquiries, but the writer met and talked with nine of the candidates and in those cases is able to supplement with his own observations the statements made by others.

He is a member of the draft appeal board and protested when his youngest son was excluded from the draft by the medical examiners. Dr. Butler has been active in civic affairs.

Alfred B. Connable. Popular, wealthy, Republican, an able lawyer, twice elected mayor of Kalamazoo, a supporter of the new charter.

Fred Currier. Republican, alderman, street-car conductor and member of the street-car men's union, opposed the new charter, popular.

**Peter De Boer.* President of a small lumber company, non-socialist, but a municipal ownership man.

**Felix A. Gallagher.* Cigar maker.

Chester A. Graine. Colored, department manager in a laundry, a graduate of Tuskogee Institute, and said to be a very capable man.

William B. Hallett. Democrat, a member of the legislature to which he was elected unexpectedly, not strong.

Charles L. Holt. Republican, runs a cheap hotel.

William H. Johnson. Republican, alderman, was against the new charter, old-time politician, Dutch.

Carl L. Larsen. Socialist, member of the charter commission, moulder, former president of the Trades and Labor Council.

George E. Martin. Advertising manager for Kalamazoo's largest store, Republican, for nine years an alderman, chairman of the council finance committee, supported the new charter, an able man who had given valuable service in the old council.

Charles Schaffer. Democrat, alderman, union labor man, clean, no conspicuous ability.

Philip Scherer. Barber, inconspicuous.

**William Shakespeare, Jr.* President of the Shakespeare Manufacturing Company, socialist of the Fabian type, who has endeavored to put his theories into practice in his business. Intelligent, public spirited, very popular among all classes.

**Truxton Talbot.* Socialist, hitherto of the irresponsible type, editor and publisher of a small weekly paper, "The People," disliked and too much feared by the so-called respectable element, and having a labor following probably only because better leadership has not presented itself.

Albert J. Todd. Vice-president of the A. M. Todd Company, a keen, alert, level-headed, young business man, progressive though not radical. He had been for some time a member of the city public utilities commission and was a supporter of the new charter.

William E. Upjohn. Head of the Upjohn Company, president of the chamber of commerce, considers himself a socialist of the Fabian school, father of the new charter movement, member and chairman of the charter commission and one of the wealthiest and most actively public spirited men in Kalamazoo.

Thomas Van Urk. Physician with a large Dutch practice, aristocratic Hollander, Republican, formerly an alderman.

**Abraham Verhage.* Enameler, union labor, alderman, Dutch.

**Alexander Velleman.* Successful cut-rate clothing dealer, socialist, chief financial supporter of the Talbot ticket, reputed to be generous with his work-people.

Paul R. Westerville. Clerk in the Upjohn Company, socialist, clean, fair ability, described as a man with ideas above his intelligence.

Floyd N. Woodworth. Clerk, clean, honest, church worker, moderate ability.

Of these candidates, Brown, Currier, Johnson, Verhage, Martin and Schaffer were members of the old city council, Martin being the strongest man of the six. On the whole, however, old-time politicians were not numerously represented among the candidates. Larsen, Shakespeare and Upjohn were members of the charter commission.

THE ELECTION AND THE COUNT

The election was held on April 1 and the day passed uneventfully. The vote was light. While eight thousand ballots might have been expected, only 4,461 were cast. The falling-off occurred in all parts of the city and for it no satisfactory explanation can be offered. Of the 4,461 ballots, only 157 were blank or invalid, a remarkable showing for an election under any system. At the first proportional representation election in Ashtabula 362 ballots were either blank or invalid, out of a total of 3,334.

The polls did not close until eight o'clock and it was 10.45 before the last precinct delivered its ballots to the central counting board, which finished its task at 5.15 the next morning, having consumed about six and one-half hours. The work of the board was admirably done. The accurate and expeditious manner in which the ballots were counted and transferred could scarcely be over-praised.[5] After the demonstration given in Kalamazoo, the objections to P. R. on the grounds of difficulty in marking and counting the ballots should entirely disappear. It is now clear that the people can mark a P. R. ballot with a very low percentage of error, even at a first election, and that it is possible to complete the count of such a ballot in a city of considerable size within a reasonable time.

There being 4,304 valid ballots cast, and seven candidates to be elected, the quota was 539.[6] Both Connable and Upjohn exceeded this number,

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[5] Credit for the effective organization and working of the counting board belongs chiefly to Marvin J. Schaberg, City Attorney, Andrew Lenderink, City Engineer, M. E. McMartin, City Auditor and Prof. John Everett of the Kalamazoo State Normal School. Those interested in this feature of proportional representation would do well to consult any or all of these gentlemen.

[6] The quota is determined by dividing the number of valid ballots cast by a number

Connable receiving 875 votes and Upjohn 806. Thus Connable had a surplus of 336 and Upjohn a surplus of 267 votes to be distributed, or a combined surplus of 603 votes. The logic with which the voters marked their ballots was indicated by the manner in which this combined surplus distributed itself among the other candidates. Of the 603 votes only two went to Talbot, while Todd received 147, or enough to raise him from sixth to fourth place on the list. Martin received 132 votes from the surplus, raising him from seventh to sixth place. As the count proceeded, by dropping the low men and transferring their ballots, it became evident that Talbot would receive a very slight increment of votes in the transfer. The fact is, that while he stood third in the number of first-choice votes, he was the last man in the list to be elected. The men chosen to the commission in the order of their election were: Connable, Upjohn, Martin, Todd, Shakespeare, Butler, Talbot.[7] Some surprise was at first expressed that none of the Dutch candidates was elected. Inquiry developed that the candidates with Dutch names were not really representative of Dutch opinion in any marked degree. This is substantiated by the fact that as Dutch candidates were dropped and their ballots distributed to others, they did not go predominantly to other Hollanders.

THE AFTERMATH OF THE ELECTION

On election day a number of leading men declared that, should Talbot be elected, immediate steps would be taken to repeal the P. R. provision of the charter. As people began to see that, after all, a very representative council had been chosen, this spirit rapidly abated. One prominent citizen denounced P. R. as an "un-American" system and declared that if Talbot should be elected immediate steps would be taken to amend the charter so as to eliminate proportional representation. In the course of his remarks he indicated seven men, the selection of whom would, in his opinion, give the city the most representative council that could be chosen from the twenty-three candidates. The day after the election, his animus against the system seemed to be considerably less when he discovered that six of the seven men whom he had indicated had been elected.

It cannot be denied that the election of Talbot was regarded with bitterness by a large number of people. While many of these admitted that the council chosen was a representative one, their attitude was the same as was that of some citizens of Ashtabula, where the first proportional

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greater by one than the number of seats to be filled. The whole number next larger than the resulting quotient is the quota.

[7] The same seven had stood highest on first choice votes, their order and the number of votes for each being as follows: Connable, 875; Upjohn, 806; Talbot, 369; Shakespeare, 288; Butler, 269; Todd, 195; Martin, 185.

representation election resulted in the choice of Nick Corrado.[8] The objection to proportional representation was not that it did not secure a representative council, but that it provided a council which was entirely too representative to suit the tastes of the more fastidious. The Kalamazoo *Gazette* which led the fight against Talbot undoubtedly stated the case fairly in an editorial the day following the election:

"The outcome of the election, distasteful as it is in some of its features to a great majority of the people, is, without question, the expressed will of that part of the electorate which went to the polls and voted. Those who did not vote must abide by the mandate of those who did vote. All in all, a good commission has been elected, the majority of whose members are capable, sane, worthy and progressive citizens, and the will of that majority will prevail in the administration of our civic affairs."[9]

A NEW CONCEPTION OF REPRESENTATION

In fact any impartial observer, though he might wish that Talbot had not been elected, would reach the conclusion that a remarkably able and representative council was chosen. Even as to Talbot, a new understanding is dawning in the minds of many citizens who fiercely opposed him. They are beginning to realize that, as a member of the council, he must either prove himself capable of something more than unpleasant criticism or discredit himself in the eyes of his followers. The responsibility which he now bears cannot be met by mere opposition. Among a smaller, but increasing, number of citizens the new understanding goes further. These see that for the time being Talbot is the representative of an element which has been voiceless in our councils, which deserves representation, which cannot safely be left unrepresented, but which under the old system of election never felt sure that it had an official spokesman whose allegiance was undivided. A majority or plurality system almost inevitably produces that result. Any representative so chosen frequently finds himself in the position of an attorney who endeavors to plead the cause of several clients with widely divergent interests. The result is that all of his statements are qualifications and compromises, no client has his case fully stated, the weakest being most neglected if not entirely ignored. As a result of this condition a considerable portion of the electorate have come to feel that they have no real voice in the government—that decisions affecting their interests are reached without their point of view ever having been presented. From this feeling, the distance is short to that dangerous state of mind which regards political processes as futile and hopeless. In general, perhaps, this element does not desire to force its decisions on the rest of the electorate. It would be a deep satisfaction to them to know that when decisions are made their opinions have been represented in the preliminary discussions. The belief still lingers that if they could but have their day in court, if their case could but be heard, justice would be done. And on the whole their political philosophy is sound. Men have a tendency to treat unpleasant conditions as non-existent until they are brought face to face with them. Only then are decisions made. Possibly it may turn out to be one of the great virtues of proportional representation that it will make it impossible for representative bodies to ignore the unpleasant facts of life.

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[8] NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, pp. 60–61.

[9] Kalamazoo *Gazette*, April 2, 1918.

THE PROGRESS OF THE EXPERIMENT

The progress of the experiment in Kalamazoo during the seven weeks since the election bears out the conclusions just presented. The commission has gone about its work in a business-like way and has made a good impression. At its first meeting, Dr. Upjohn was chosen mayor. Mr. Martin, who had given long and able service on the old council and is a conservative, was chosen vice-mayor. The city clerk, assessor and attorney who had served under the old government were continued in office. Clarence L. Miller, who had been secretary of the local utilities commission, was unanimously chosen as temporary manager.

But from the standpoint of this report, the manner in which Talbot and the two other commissioners elected from his ticket have taken up their work has been the outstanding surprise in Kalamazoo. The qualities of Dr. Butler and Mr. Shakespeare have already been described. Talbot, himself, is a man of no little ability. Responsibility now makes him a cooperator in the government instead of its opponent. One of the first acts of the commission was to raise the tax rate from 6½ to 8½ mills. This action was taken unanimously. As to this and other matters, Talbot's paper has already performed valuable service in justifying and interpreting the new government to its readers. It becomes more and more evident that each of the various elements of the community feels that it has an official spokesman in the commission. The stabilizing effect which this quiet confidence engenders is already manifest. As a result, many formerly doubtful citizens have changed their minds concerning the system of election. One prominent citizen already mentioned, a most outspoken objector, has recently declared that he thinks it a fine thing that the three men from the Talbot ticket were elected to the commission, and that if he had to vote on P. R. to-day he would support it without hesitation.

This experiment with proportional representation is on a scale sufficient to give the system a fair trial. Having survived the initial irritation growing out of the election of a man whose candidacy aroused sharp antagonism, the chances are that we may look forward to successful manager government in Kalamazoo.

THE HOUSEWIFE AND THE MARKETING PROBLEM[1]

BY CAROLINE BARTLETT CRANE, LL.D.[2]
Kalamazoo, Mich.

IN MARCH, 1917, a number of executive heads of women's state-wide organizations in Michigan, anticipating a declaration of war, felt that they should get together and form a committee, inclusive of all women's organizations, for patriotic work. This was called the Michigan Woman's Committee for Patriotic Service. In May this Committee merged into the newly created Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense.

We undertook to do something towards stimulating food production in the state. We purchased about 2,000 bushels of seed potatoes which we sold at cost in small lots to people pledged to plant and cultivate them. We did a good deal to stimulate the testing of all seed corn, and the disinfection of oats to remove smut. We started a "set-a-hen, keep-a-bee," campaign among the farmers' wives and children; encouraged the raising of poultry, and advised the stocking of farm ponds with fish.

Especially, we encouraged women in the city and the country to plant gardens. We went to the owners of vacant lots and solicited the right to use them. We obtained much garden seed free or at half-price for our gardeners who needed such help.

PRODUCING A SURPLUS

We encouraged this gardening proposition by promising the women that they should be taught how to can their surplus, and that what they didn't want to can we would try to provide markets for. A great deal was done all over the state in the way of holding demonstrations of the most improved methods of canning, and immense quantities of perishable fruits and vegetables were taken care of in this way. But presently we came upon the marketing problem.

We had encouraged women to produce a surplus for the local markets. Now we found that when they came to these local markets with perfectly good tomatoes or lettuce or ducks, the local dealers stated that they ordered their supplies of commission merchants from the city, and that for many reasons it was not usually practicable to purchase these small lots of local produce. Many of our women found on repeated trial that they could not sell their produce unless they were willing to part with it at a loss.

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[1] Being the stenographic report of an address at the Detroit meeting of the National Municipal League.

[2] Chairman Woman's Committee, Michigan Division, Council of National Defense.

We had not realized that such a situation could develop. We thought these statements were pretexts; but later we came to appreciate some of the real barriers that stand between the local producer and the local merchant.

DISTRIBUTING THE SURPLUS

The state headquarters of the Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense, in Kalamazoo, was in a large well-located store. We opened a market there. It started out in promise, but presently the proprietor of the adjoining grocery called the attention of the owner to a clause in his lease which forbade any other provision store in the same block. On reflection, we couldn't blame him for that, and closed our store with the best grace possible. However, in several cities in the state, the Woman's Committee conducted fairly successful small markets of this kind.

We had heard of wayside markets, in which farmers should advertise their products out in front of their homes. We tried this, but it was not satisfactory except in rare instances. Usually, the farm people were busy and no one was on hand promptly to transact business when a wayfarer stopped to buy.

Then we tried the school canning-centers to take care of the surplus and to get people to buy the canned product. It was an immense and exhausting amount of labor for a few women, and the results were no where near so far-reaching as the problem.

Here, then, was the housewife upon whom the government had laid the duty of increasing food production—with no way of disposing of her surplus even if she could spare the time to go to town and peddle it from store to store—which for the most part, she could not. This was the-housewife-and-the-marketing-problem from one side.

But there was the other side. The housewife in town who had no surplus, but a deficit; the woman who wanted to can tomatoes or peas or peaches, and found them so high in the market that she could not afford to buy. So, there were tomatoes too dear to can in town; too cheap to pick on the farm; green corn withering on the stalk in the country, while the town people longed to eat it or can it, but couldn't afford to buy the green corn in the stores.

And we realized that these were no new problems; simply that they were now sharply called to our attention because we were, in a way, in both the gardening and marketing business. We suddenly realized that we had *always* been hearing of peaches and apples rotting in the orchards while thousands of people in the near-by cities never tasted such fruit. The chief value of our experiments was to teach us that the problem was not new, and that it was quite too big for solution in any or all the ways we had tried.

SHIPPING BACK AND FORTH

We can all see that this shipping of food forth and back, sometimes clear across a continent, instead of eating the food produced near home, adds greatly to the cost which must be paid by the ultimate consumer, and interferes with necessary traffic, especially in this time of war. Factories are closing and throwing workers out of employment because of the famine in cars and railroad operatives. Congested warehouses and tie-ups innumerable are occurring because of lack of cars. This is indeed a serious menace to our success in this war because it interferes with the movement of men, munitions and food, and the ordinary commodities of life. If "food will win the war," it is certainly not that food shipped all round Robin Hood's barn, and perhaps back to the place of production, to the consumer.

We investigated the reason why local grocers in Kalamazoo preferred to buy Kalamazoo grown celery *via* Chicago. Why should west Michigan towns purchase their own peaches only after they had taken an expensive trip to Chicago and back? Why should Petoskey potato-growers ship their world famous product to Chicago and Detroit, from which cities the supply for the local market is shipped back to Petoskey? And why should a woman with a half dozen fine dressed ducks have them refused in favor of cold-storage fowls from a distant packing house?

We found, as one reason, that the offerings from local sources were irregular, sporadic, and hence not to be depended on. If the merchant wanted ducks for his Saturday market, he had ordered them through a source of regular supply some days before. He could not then safely accept ducks that drifted in on Wednesday, except on a wide price-margin which left no profit to the seller. The same of chance supplies of perishable fruits and vegetables which would be to him a risk, because he had already given his commission merchant an order to fit the probable demand and he has no cold storage to take care of a large surplus. To provide it for such chance occasions would be bad business.

But there are other reasons. For example, products brought in direct from the country are seldom sorted or graded. "Potatoes is potatoes," even as "pigs is pigs." Tomatoes in various sizes and degrees of ripeness; head lettuce of all sizes and degrees of bleach and solidity; hand-picked apples with a dash of windfalls; these things are unattractive to the dealer accustomed to the carefully sorted and graded and handsomely packed goods shipped from the big commission houses. And he knows they will be unattractive to his patrons. Hence, he will only buy them in an emergency or at a price to pay well for proper sorting and re-arrangement.

THE MIDDLEMAN

How did this vicious long-distance system originate, anyway? It is easy to lay it on the "middleman," and to say that it is he who wickedly buys up and ships to foreign parts the food we should be consuming close to its place of origin. But the trouble is that there exist in but few communities any organized means of getting this food into the hands of the people who live near.

The farmer produces food—and lets it go at that; except when it comes to grain or milk, where the problem is often solved by special or co-operative effort, as with the great co-operative creameries and grain elevators in the northwest. Obviously, the individual merchant cannot afford to procure the farmers' product by individual effort, visiting this and that farm and bringing the products in just the right quantity for his own retail store. On the other hand, the individual farmers, acting without close co-operation, cannot possibly know what products are today in demand at a given place and at a paying price.—Somebody *had* to organize the business of food distribution.

ORGANIZING THE BUSINESS

And this the commission merchant has done. But, to stabilize supply and demand, the commission merchant, must draw from, and also sell to, a large territory, and one with excellent transportation facilities. Hence, the commission man flourishes, not in the little towns, but in the big centers.

The commission man has a reputation to establish and to maintain. He accurately grades and standardizes his products, and would seldom dare ship an inferior article on pain of losing the business of his patron. On the other hand, the unheralded and unknown countryman who successfully palms off an inferior article upon a local merchant, not expecting to return, has hurt business confidence between that merchant and every other unknown countryman who seeks to sell him something. And business confidence is indispensable to good business.

The commission merchant has to be a forehanded man; and so he often buys up a whole crop even before it is planted. He buys it for his whole territory, drawing it to, and shipping it from, his base of supplies, usually quite without reference to its point of origin. This is a necessity, because only from the larger cities do railway communications run in every direction; and only the larger cities afford the necessary storage and refrigeration.

But it is an extremely wasteful way—wasteful of labor, of transportation, and of food itself, as anyone may observe who visits the commission houses and sees the deterioration and spoilage from long shipments.

We have largely ignored these matters in the past, but the war will not let us ignore them longer.

"LIVING ON FOOD PRODUCED IN THE VICINITY"

One of the present maxims of food conservation is: "Live as far as possible upon food produced in your own vicinity." If any community proposes to do this thing (as sensible in peace as in war) it must go about it through community effort.

The community which is willing to make the effort may find guidance in some interesting and valuable documents published by the bureau of markets of the United States Department of Agriculture.

A "community market" is the answer to the problem. This means real co-operation between the consumer in the town and the producer in the country; co-operation with a back-bone of money invested by both sides.

It means organized local transportation to take the place of the sparse and sporadic deliveries of the present day. Either the farmer must have such a stake in the success of the market that he will bring his produce in proper time and amounts, or the market must make its own regular collections from the farms.

It means facilities for the proper sorting, grading, packing (and consequent pricing) of all produce at the market, and it means teaching both the producer and consumer the value of these adjuncts to business.

It means facilities for temporary storage or perishable produce; and it means facilities for immediate canning and dehydrating such over-ripe products as must have immediate salvage.

The domestic canning industry which has so taken hold on the women of the country is a necessary but, I feel sure, a temporary phase of food conservation. Home canning even when the raw product is of reasonable price, is expensive of labor and fuel, and interferes with the normal activities of the household. It is often unsuccessful and the whole batch is wasted. There is no patriotic reason why women should continue to can vegetables and fruits in quantity if we can procure them already canned to better advantage. We canned this year both to save our surplus and to release the outputs of the canning factories for our soldiers and allies. But the great success of the many new canning industries should incline us strongly to the local community market with the canning annex which will take care of foods that otherwise would inevitably be wasted.

It is said on authority that the canning factories save about ten per cent of the fruit and vegetables wasted in home paring; that one machine will sometimes do the work of hundreds of persons, releasing them for other war-winning labor. Then why not have this kind of a local canning factory next summer?

THE COMMUNITY MARKET

The community market, under a competent market master, is not limited to local patrons. When there is to be a surplus beyond local needs the market master wires the large shipping centers and takes orders from them, thus preventing a glut of the local market and stabilizing home prices for both producer and consumer.

A competent market master will collect accurate advance information of the probable market supply of different kinds of produce, and will bulletin and publish this information for the benefit of both the producer and the consumer. Thus the farmer will know when it is a favorable time to send his perishable produce, and the housewife will know when it is advantageous to order in quantity for canning and preserving. And, in addition to this, the management will know when to wire the larger centers soliciting orders for any given product not going to be needed in the neighborhood of its production.

To start this system takes much confidence and some money, and a real spirit of co-operation all along the line.

Producers must contract to send at least a certain percentage of their products to this market, and there must be prescribed penalties or forfeitures for not playing fair on both sides. But the great point is, that it can be made to the obvious interest of both sides to play fair.

The woman who has confidence and cash can help her country by putting them into this venture as much as if she put them into a liberty bond. In fact, all women, who are expected to work miracles in food economy, should begin by working for economy in the appalling waste of the food produced in the neighborhood of their own cities, and the appalling prices consequent upon this waste, as well as the generally unorganized condition of the whole local market situation.

Surely the solution of this great question should be one of the good by-products of this terrible war, and it is the patriotic duty of both men and women to help in its solution. I was very glad to note that the National Association of the Ancient Order of Gleaners has declared for some sort of community market which will bring the producer and consumer together.

This leaves the present local dealers out of consideration. I do not know what is to be said except that, if they can devise a plan which meets local and war needs as well, or nearly as well, as the community market, we should encourage them to do it. But surely we will not go on another year satisfied to pinch in the kitchen and waste by wholesale in the fields.

The community market is not half so revolutionary as our present food and fuel edicts. Its possibilities ought to be fully tested this coming season. The realization of the community market idea rests with the community. And the community may be led by some one energetic, patriotic person.

If he "who sweeps a room as by God's law makes that and the action fine"; if "he is a benefactor to his race who makes two blades of grass grow where one grew before," surely the men and women who undertake to solve this problem so that food won't rot upon the ground by thousands of tons while our soldiers and the children of our Allies (and presently our neighbor's children) are starving,—surely they also will be doing a deed of real and efficient patriotism.

HOW ENGLAND HAS SOLVED SOME FAMILIAR COUNTY PROBLEMS[1]

BY WILLIAM ANDERSON
University of Minnesota

THE need of better working relations between the city and its county is but one phase of a larger problem, that of the city's external relations. We are no longer in the days of the city-state. To-day the city is everywhere only part of a larger political community, the nation. It is a society within a society, and is surrounded at the same time by other small political units of practically equal rank. Nearly everywhere it is placed within a larger circumscription of the state, called here and in England the county. On the borders of the municipality lie other cities, villages, and towns, with their own problems and functions. Usually the social and economic city spreads far outward into the surrounding territory, often beyond the limits of the county itself. Thus the relationships of the urban municipality with its neighbors are often exceedingly complex and intimate, though unfortunately not always cordial. Conflicts frequently result. There is overlapping of functions and even of jurisdictions. Two or more sets of officers may be doing work which one could better do, with a resultant saving of money and energy. Nevertheless the city is by existing laws usually prevented from making salutary changes. This is the negation of real home rule, for to be truly self-governing the city must be allowed to expand territorially, to increase its functions, and to consolidate existing instrumentalities and offices for the attainment of a greater efficiency.

THE PROBLEM OF URBAN-RURAL RELATIONS

As in the United States, so abroad, the problem of urban-rural relations has many interesting phases, among the more important of which are these:

In the first place there is the question of home rule. How shall the city free itself from the tutelage of the larger administrative area, the county or the district in which it lies?

Second, there is the question of consolidating the organs of city administration with those of the county, to eliminate duplication of effort and expense. This is a matter of economy and efficiency.

Third, there presents itself the problem of facilitating annexations of territory to the city where nothing short of complete annexation will suffice for the city's needs.

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[1] Being part of a paper read at the Detroit meeting of the National Municipal League, November 22, 1917.

Fourth, the problem of how to give the growing city a limited control of adjacent areas for purposes of planning the future city is in the highest degree important, and has been the subject of legislation both here and abroad.

Fifth, it is becoming yearly more necessary that cities and their neighbors, whether cities, villages, or towns, be provided with an easy method of federation for a limited number of common purposes, and that where joint action is needed but voluntary co-operation cannot be obtained, means shall be provided for compulsory federation, enforced by the state. This is, of course, to a large extent, the special problem of large metropolitan areas, but it applies in other cases too, as where the towns are so small and poor as to be unable to provide certain necessary facilities.

ENGLAND'S PROGRESS

As we look into the experiences and legislation of foreign countries, we find that England has made considerable progress toward the solution of these problems. Furthermore, the similarity between English and American local institutions makes the English experience highly illuminating to Americans who are trying to solve the same problems.

The English system of local administration is based, like ours, upon the principle of decentralization or local self-government. Since 1888 the most important self-governing units in England and Wales have been the "administrative counties," and the "county boroughs." The former have the larger areas, and are essentially units of rural and semi-urban population. Ranking with them, but beyond the range of their authority are the urban "county boroughs," *i.e.*, the large cities or boroughs which have county privileges. Both of these classes of units have their legal bases in the Local Government Act of 1888.[2] Of less importance, and within and subordinate to the administrative counties, are the non-county boroughs (the simple boroughs), the "urban districts," and the "rural districts," while the parishes and the poor law unions form everywhere a double network of boundaries. All of these units have essentially the same form of government, a one-chambered council which both legislates and supervises administration.

THE GREAT ENGLISH BOROUGHS

It was during the passage of the Local Government Act of 1888 that the great English boroughs made their fight for independence from the counties. A number of them already were counties of themselves, having their own sheriffs and local courts. Others now desired the same free status. Representatives of the counties, on the other hand, used every effort to include as many boroughs as possible within the jurisdiction of the counties. They endeavored to make 100,000 the minimum population a borough must have in order to become a separate county borough. Parliament, however, favored the cities and set the figure at 50,000. Defeated in this, the counties were nevertheless victorious in gaining a stricter control than before over all the boroughs and districts too small to become county boroughs. Thus there has come to be in England a sharp distinction between the powers of county boroughs on the one hand, and those of the non-county boroughs and urban districts on the other. As county powers increase, county borough powers increase *pari passu*, but the powers of the lesser units tend to remain small. The county borough is free from taxation and from all control by the surrounding administrative county, even though it lies entirely within its boundaries. With minor exceptions, *the county borough has itself the powers of a county.* Thus the institution of county boroughs has solved for the big English cities two difficult problems: that of freedom from the administrative county, and that of economy through the union of both county and city powers in the hands of one council and one set of officers.

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[2] 51 and 52 Victoria, c. 41.

THE LESSER BOROUGHS AND URBAN DISTRICTS

The lesser boroughs and the urban districts, on the contrary, are subjected to an irksome control by the county councils. To escape from this tutelage into the free status of county-borough-hood is the ambition of every small city in England. The urban district, on the other hand, which stands below the non-county borough, desires to become a borough as soon as possible, not only because this means more power and prestige but because the step seems to be necessary before the final step to county-borough-hood can be taken. The rural district likewise desires to become an urban district. The struggle for home rule assumes, therefore, some of the aspects of a climb,—from rural to urban district, then to borough, and finally to the exalted status of county borough, with nothing above it but the central government.

Now, the first requisite in this upward movement, namely an increase of population, can usually be attained more quickly by annexations of contiguous territory than by the natural increase within the old limits. Thus there is every year a crop of proposals for the extension of the boundaries of these lesser areas. But the county boroughs, too, have in recent years (up to 1914) proposed many plans of annexation. The whole problem of urban extension had thus, just before the war began, been put prominently into the foreground.

In the case of the lesser units, it is the county councils which decide on the necessity of the desired extensions, and they are naturally conservative. In the case of boroughs, county boroughs, and counties themselves, the Local Government Board has power, following proper representations and a local inquiry, to grant provisional orders for extensions. All such orders must receive confirmation by Parliament. The latter body follows closely what is done, and is not in the habit of giving perfunctory confirmation to any and every annexation the Local Government Board may order. Thus in 1913–14 the board made provisional orders covering eight projects for the extension and alteration of borough boundaries. Of these four went through without opposition, but the other four were opposed and amended before passage.[3] In the same year Parliament itself made several alterations in borough boundaries by local acts. It has been said, indeed, that Parliament has developed its own rules in these matters, insisting upon an affirmative answer to these two questions: *First*, is the district to be annexed urban in character? *Second*, has it any community of interest with the city?[4] This policy is, of course, far too conservative for the town planners, but it is to be explained largely by the vigorous opposition which the County Councils Association has offered to almost every important project of borough extension in recent years.

CHANGES OF BOUNDARIES

The organized opposition of the county councils appears also every time there is a proposal for the creation of a new county borough, and can be best understood in that connection. The act of 1888 provided that when there was a change of boundaries, or when a new county borough was constituted, the local councils concerned in the change were to make agreements from time to time to adjust financial and property matters.[5] Such agreements were made and remade regularly for over eighteen years following the enactment, and the "adjustment" had frequently included not only a division of the income from local taxation licenses and minor sources, but also a direct compensation by the county borough to the county for the latter's loss of revenue due to the change of boundaries. The county was always the loser when a new county borough was created out of a part of its territory, as well as when an existing county borough annexed contiguous territory; for though financially weakened by the amputation of part, and that usually a wealthy part, of its territory, the county still had to continue the support of expensive functions, such as education, highways and bridges, and so on. The counties had therefore generally exacted "compensation" or guarantees of contributions from the new or enlarged county boroughs.

This was the situation when, in 1907, the House of Lords handed down a decision in which it was held, reversing an earlier line of decisions, that "adjustment" under the act of 1888 did not involve "compensation," and that where a new county borough is formed, the act gave "no right to compensation in respect of increased burdens for repairs of roads and bridges, maintenance of reformatories, etc., or loss of income from fines and penalties."[6] This put the county councils in a far worse predicament than before, and made them more than ever antagonistic to the creation of new county boroughs and to the extension of their boundaries. At the same time it made necessary a revision of the adjustment clauses in the act of 1888, a reform which was accomplished in the passage of the Local Government (Adjustments) Act, 1913.[7] Even this act, however, did not sufficiently improve the financial position of the counties in such cases, and the county councils are still not content to let wealthy rateable territory be severed from their jurisdictions without strong opposition.

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[3] Forty-third annual report of the Local Government Board, 1913–14, Part III, ccxxxv.

[4] J. S. Nettlefold, Practical town planning, 1914, p. 225.

[5] Local Government Act, 1888, 51 and 52 Victoria, c. 41, secs. 32, 62.

CREATION OF NEW COUNTY BOROUGHS

Indeed, under the conditions which have developed under the law of 1888, the result to-day of the creation of a new county borough is often a material and wasteful increase of expense. The county already has its higher schools and other institutions, which frequently have to be at once duplicated at the expense of the county when its most populous center, containing such institutions, is separated from it and made a county borough. These are facts which both Parliament and the Local Government Board have come to recognize, with the result that they are extremely reluctant to create new county boroughs, especially when such an act will leave the administrative county helpless to cope with heavy financial burdens. For the same reason they hesitate also to sanction projects for the material expansion of county boroughs. Under the present administration of the act, therefore, every borough which attains a population of 50,000 is not by virtue of that fact alone entitled to constitution as a separate county borough. It must prove that the benefits it will derive will outweigh the hardships on the county.

In 1912–13 the Local Government Board allowed four provisional orders for the erection of new county boroughs. Of these authorizations, only one was at first confirmed by Parliament, but later another received separate confirmation. In 1913–14 the board had but one petition of this kind, and this it rejected following a local inquiry. Nevertheless, in the years from 1901 to 1914 the number of county boroughs rose from sixty-seven to seventy-nine, or about one each year on the average. Of the seventy-nine, however, a number have to-day less than 50,000 people, whereas some other boroughs with over 50,000 population are still denied the right to be county boroughs.

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[6] *West Hartlepool Corporation* v. *Durham County Council,* (1907), A. C., 246. The quotation is from the condensed form in Arnold, Law of Municipal Corporations, 5th ed., 1910, p. 356.

[7] 3 and 4 Geo. 5, c. 19.

TOWN PLANNING

By the Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act of 1909,[8] the English government has also provided a means whereby towns may get a limited control over "any land within or in the neighborhood of their area" for purposes of town planning. The Local Government Board is the authority which must pass on town planning schemes under the act, but its approval gives the plan legal effect. Thus a borough may to-day prepare a plan for any land, whether within or without its area, "which is in the course of development or appears likely to be used for building purposes, with the general object of securing proper sanitary conditions, amenity, and convenience in connexion with the laying out and use of the land, and of any neighboring lands." It must, however, first of all satisfy "the Board that there is a prima facie case for making such a scheme," and the scheme does not finally take effect until again approved by the board.

The Local Government Act of 1888 also made provision for the federation of counties and county boroughs with each other or with the courts of quarter sessions, which retain a few administrative functions, in the creation of so-called "joint committees," "for any purpose in respect of which they are jointly interested."[9] They were also specifically authorized to create such committees for the enforcement of the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act, 1876, for the appointment of coroners, for the valuation of property in the county and the county borough, and for the exercise of any powers specially devolved upon them by order of the Local Government Board.[10] The Local Government Act of 1894[11] extended this power to create joint committees to the parishes and to the district councils. Unfortunately the large boroughs have made little use of this power of federation for common purposes. It is mainly the poorer and less populous rural and urban districts which avail themselves of the authority, and that in order to support facilities of which they would otherwise be deprived. This movement is comparable to that for the creation of consolidated rural schools in our own country. In 1914 the English Municipal Year Book listed 206 Joint Hospital Authorities, 32 Joint Water and Gas Authorities, and 42 Joint Sewerage Authorities, composed mainly of rural districts, urban districts, and small boroughs. In the same year it was the occasion for special remark that the county borough of Stoke-on-Trent, and the county council of Staffordshire had jointly established a school of science and technology at an estimated cost of thirty thousand pounds.[12] The large boroughs clearly do not find it to their advantage to federate with their smaller neighbors for common purposes for the reason that, while the latter could give only trifling financial assistance, they would undoubtedly insist on participating in the joint control as they are entitled to do.

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[8] 9 Edward 7, c. 44.

[9] 51 and 52 Victoria, c. 41, sec. 81.

[10] Ibid., secs. 10, 14, 33, 34.

[11] 56 and 57 Victoria, c. 73.

[12] The Political Quarterly, September, 1914, no. 3, p. 196.

In summary it may be pointed out that England has legislated more or less adequately with regard to all of the five problems of urban-rural relations mentioned at the beginning of this paper. It has provided means whereby the large boroughs may free themselves from the counties and at the same time take over county powers. This makes possible the elimination in the large cities of many useless county officers. Boroughs are, furthermore, authorized to federate with each other and with other units of local government for common purposes, and also to acquire a limited control of contiguous areas for city-planning purposes. Finally, outright annexations of neighboring territory are also possible. Nevertheless, while the legislation covers the whole field, Parliament has been so careful to protect the interests of all parties concerned, that in many cases the boroughs have not been able to avail themselves of the facilities provided. Parliament itself is the final arbiter in the more important cases.

SELLING GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT[1]

BY LEROY E. SNYDER[2]
Rochester, N. Y.

THE program did not go exactly as it had been scheduled, yet it went well. The presiding officer was to have been Mr. McFarland. The gavel was wielded by Professor Hatton. The paper on "Selling Good Government to the People," being a report to the National Municipal League, from its Committee on Constructive Publicity, written by the Chairman, Mr. McFarland, was read by Mr. Gruenberg. Dr. Garland did deliver his address on "Humanizing Welfare Reports." In that respect the meeting went according to schedule.

Mr. McFarland's report stated that correspondence between the secretary of the league and various members of the committee on constructive publicity had brought out an agreement that, by reason of the rapidly changing methods in the use of constructive publicity for promoting local, state and national movements of importance, it was hardly worth while to hold a meeting in order to formulate the body of practice which it was expected to produce and publish for general use. And Mr. McFarland added, characteristically, that "to do so at this time would seem to be as premature as it would have been for Moses to issue a set of commentaries on the Ten Commandments on the very day he appeared before the Israelites with the tables of stone." Yet some comment was forthcoming.

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[1] This is a summary of the discussion of this question at the Detroit meeting of the National Municipal League. (See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 125.)

[2] Director, Rochester bureau of municipal research and secretary, Governmental Research Conference.

Referring to experience in his home city of Harrisburg in putting across large public enterprises by means of educational propaganda, Mr. McFarland said that one spectacularly successful campaign was conducted wholly upon the basis of education of the people in one thing at a time; and even almost in words of one syllable. "The several campaigns have succeeded," he said, "in exact proportion to the constructive educational effort put upon them." In one case reliance was had on an enlightened condition of public opinion (without educational propaganda), and the campaign won by the narrow margin of 40 votes.

THE DAYTON AND NEW YORK CAMPAIGNS CONTRASTED

Mr. McFarland referred to the Dayton and New York municipal campaigns. He said the outstanding feature of the Dayton campaign was "its use of pitiless publicity concerning the personalities and records of the men who desired to replace definitely good and economical government with at least experimental government, if not with positive and retrogressive semi-anarchy."

With regard to the New York campaign, he said he was inclined to think the victory of Tammany "less a revulsion against good government than actually a triumph for publicity, though it was destructive and mendacious publicity." And he added that the result seemed "to indicate that a united minority, able to disregard the facts with entire complacency, can sell its governmental product to the people affected in the face of a superior numerical opposition divided and held down by the necessity for telling the truth."

Reference was made to the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., and the Liberty Loan campaigns, with the comment that "advertising pays." Mr. McFarland added, however, that bad government can be sold to the people as well as good government. To sell good government we must have good government to sell, and "we must know about it ourselves and be willing to put it in terms so simple, in language so strong, by methods so clear-cut, that there can be no escape, no mistake, no slip-up."

"Consider the average report of a philanthropic nature," said Mr. McFarland, "the average statement of a government official, the average proposition relating to an enactment in Congress, and compare the complexity, the verbosity of these productions with the simplicity of the poster 'Of What Use is Money if we Don't Win This War?' If this one idea of boiling down the good government to be sold to a truth-sustained phrase could be borne in upon our minds, we would sell our goods much more rapidly, to many more people, than we do now."

Dr. Garland spoke, as usual, with force and enthusiasm. One should like to believe implicitly in this statement which perhaps represents the center of his theory as to selling good government:

"We must go house-to-house, man-to-man, woman-to-woman, and we must make our appeal upon the basis of things accomplished and upon the basis of things pledged to be accomplished in the future. When we do that, lay all our cards on the table and show exactly what our program has been, acknowledge its defects, and pledge ourselves to correct those defects, and lay out a still larger program to be worked out as finances and opportunities and open doors shall come, I believe the people of this nation will ensure that good government shall continue, and that there shall be no retrogressive step."

Dr. Garland performed a useful service in calling attention to "a long neglected phrase in the preamble of our constitution," that it is the business of government to "promote the general welfare." For a long time, he said, we thought it was the business of government to do something else than promote the general welfare; that the general welfare should be promoted by private philanthropists, by church organizations and by other individual endeavors, and that welfare work, so-called, real constructive, human betterment programs, belonged not to government, was altogether foreign to the functions of government. "Now we have come to see that if this nation, or any other nation, is to survive, we must put into our programs of governmental operation constructive programs of human betterment, of community advancement, that will touch every man, woman and child in the community, and that will reach every home." The speaker enumerated as some of the steps that must be taken toward community betterment, social insurance, industrial courts, recreation bureaus, the control of all public utilities by the people who are served by these utilities.

HUMANIZING DAYTON'S GOVERNMENT

Dr. Garland spoke first of how in Dayton they have tried to humanize the government, and then of how they have tried to humanize the reports of the government's activities. The department of welfare has seven lines of activities:—public health, public recreation, free legal aid, the workhouse, outdoor relief, parks, and free employment. He spoke of some of these activities, telling of how the playground and garden association had pooled its interests with the division of recreation in the city government; how the National Cash Register country club had been turned over to the city for operation and how its privileges had been made available to citizens at fees ranging from $1 to $5 a year; how the visiting nurses association and the tuberculosis society had put their nurses at the direction of the public health department for a district nursing organization that covers the entire city, so that a single nurse serves her district as a quarantine nurse, as a tuberculosis nurse, and as a public health nurse interested in infant welfare and all other types of public health nursing.

As to how these welfare activities were brought home to the people of Dayton in humanized reports, so that good government might be sold to the people of Dayton, Dr. Garland said that he had tried to get each head of a division "to put the human touch, the live touch," into his monthly report, and that the same "human touch" was given in the director's monthly report to the city manager, which is always given to the press. Instead of reporting, for instance, that the legal aid attorney saw 1,279 applicants for legal aid service, dismissed by advice 672, etc., etc., the city manager and the press are told the story of a colored woman who tried unsuccessfully for weeks to obtain $1.50 owing her by a woman for whom she had worked, how she brought her story to the legal aid attorney who, in three days, obtained for her the $1.50 without any deduction for fee or service.

GOOD GOVERNMENT AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

The suggestiveness of Mr. McFarland's paper, and the interest of actual illustrations of things done and methods followed, given in Dr. Garland's address, were not entirely convincing. Have we learned how to sell good government to the people? If Dr. Garland's work in Dayton sold good government to the people of that city, why was it necessary for the commission to make one of the hardest fights in the history of Ohio politics to be returned to office? Can we sell good government to the people? Have we a right to use such terms?

Mr. Farley challenged the use of the term, and told a story. One time an Irishman was asked by some one, "How shall I get from here to another place?" And Pat replied, "If I were you I shouldn't start from here."

Mr. Farley said, "The whole idea is something like this. You manufacture an idea, you offer to sell it. I can refuse it if I want to. To me it doesn't seem that good government is a case of buying or selling at all. It is a duty to be done. The government is ours. I agree entirely with the statement of a wise statesman that good government is no substitute for self-government. We who live in democratic countries, have not yet learned or begun to learn, so far as the vast masses are concerned, what democracy means. It means that each one of us shall begin to do his share in the government. That, it seems to me, is the fundamental weakness in our position. Our programs are all right, but the people haven't begun to understand and accept them."

Professor Hatton seemed to feel that a discussion of "selling good government" was more or less academic, since we have not yet learned how to do it. He said we have not been able to sell good government because the people have not been made to understand that it is of any personal value to them, because the people suspect the source from which the suggestions for good government come (the propaganda for improved city government has been brought to the rank and file in such a way that they do not believe in its democracy), and because in this country government has occupied a place of second or third rate importance in the public mind, for the reason that governments have not been doing enough things to touch the lives of the people directly.

As things stand, one must come away from such a discussion with a certain sense of its futility. It is true we are so thoroughly saturated with the philosophy of salesmanship and of advertising, so accustomed to the vernacular of the salesman, that it comes as no shock to the average American to speak of "selling" good government to the people, any more than to speak of "selling" religion, or Liberty bonds, or a new theory of the universe. But to say that one is selling something is to imply that one either has present title to that of which one seeks to dispose, or is commissioned as agent for the owner. Have national municipal leagues, and economic and political science associations, and governmental research bureaus a proprietary interest in good government?

The leaders of the English Labor party to-day are not talking about selling good government to the people—they are talking about the kind of government they propose to have. Perhaps when we (you and I of the highbrow crew) achieve a more complete sense of identity with "the people," we shall not talk of selling good government to the people so much as of acquiring good government for ourselves. It seems to be a question of good taste, but it may be simply a question of common sense. From complacency and condescension, Good Lord deliver us.

REMOVALS OF CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYES

BY WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE
Richmond, Ind.

(*Concluded from May issue*)

IT IS said that we must provide for removals by a civil service commission in order to protect the service against the greater evil of legislation providing for removals by a trial in court. In some special places there may be danger of legislation granting such a trial. But this proposed model law was not a local or temporary concession of an evil thing in order to prevent a still greater evil (a concession which might be necessary at certain times or in certain places) it was proposed for acceptance and adoption everywhere as a thing right in itself and ought not to contain things adapted only to special conditions.

If the argument was to be received, that trials by the commission were to protect the service against something worse, then we ought to look at the other side of the picture and see what danger may follow if the power of removal is taken from operating officers. For years past civil service reformers have been fighting session after session against the enactment of laws fixing a definite term for places in the classified service. The argument has been, "why provide for removals at the end of a fixed term when the superior officer has a right to remove subordinates at any time for proper cause?" The argument was unanswerable and it prevailed. But if this power of removal be taken away, the chief defense against such injurious legislation will fall to the ground.

CHICAGO'S EXPERIENCE.

The next claim is that the system of removal proposed has been justified by over twenty years' satisfactory experience with a similar rule in Chicago.

The answer to this is that in the first place the rule is not similar and in the second place the experience has not been satisfactory.

The rule is not similar in two vital particulars. In the first place the Chicago removals are made by a commission appointed and removable by the same authority as that which administers the various departments, to wit by the mayor. He is the responsible head and can get rid of the commission when he will. The mayor is also the head of the administration and appoints and removes the heads of departments but by the proposed law the power of removal was entrusted to an independent tribunal, neither appointed nor removed by the head of the administration. By the proposed system there was to be a two-headed administration in which mutual struggles would be inevitable and discipline impossible.

But it is emphatically untrue that the Chicago rule has worked well during the last twenty years. It has worked to the satisfaction of only two classes, the commissioners who administer it and the classified employes who are protected by it. I found the commissioners unanimous in their belief that the removal rule was a good thing, just as we would find that an autocrat would believe that the divine right of kings was a good thing. They know that they have administered the law well and have dismissed and retained just the right persons. But even some of those connected with the trial boards realize that the system is a bad one. Thus Prof. John A. Fairlie, who was one of them, wrote me:

> From observation and informal inquiry, I believe that the requirement for a formal investigation *does* cause the superior officers to feel hampered in their relations with their subordinates and encourages the subordinate in laxity and careless work in minor matters which do not lend themselves easily to the presentation of formal charges. . . . . A civil service commission or investigating officer under the Illinois law could easily interfere with the control of superior officers over their subordinates.

I found also that the classified employes protected by the Chicago removal rule were very generally in favor of it.

But as to the heads of departments whose power of discipline was taken away I found the feeling was quite different. I went first to one office and then to another and found that every head of a department that I interviewed opposed the rule. One of them told me that he greatly disapproved of the plan, because bad conduct often consisted in a succession of little things lasting for years and not provable before a commission. He also gave me for illustration, a case which had come to his knowledge in another department where the head had repeatedly tried in vain to discharge an intemperate employe.

In the police department I learned that a policeman had been dismissed on the charge of receiving money from prostitutes for "protection," but had been restored by the commissioners while the general superintendent of police was absent and knew nothing about it.

I accordingly called upon Mr. Healey, the general superintendent of police who said "I decline to discuss the civil service provisions except in the presence of the civil service commissioners themselves." It seemed to me that this refusal was more eloquent than any affirmative expression. If he had really approved of the act of the commission in reinstating the man there could have been no possible embarrassment in saying so, but if the superintendent thought otherwise and yet realized the absolute power which the civil service commission exercised over the whole personnel of his department, and if at the time this question was suddenly put to him he was at the moment unwilling to express his approval of the reinstatement of such a man to the force of which he was the chief, his answer would have been exactly what it was. No incident in Chicago impressed me so strongly as this with the immense power of the commission for evil as well as for good and the manner in which that power could be abused. It might be better to take back uncomplainingly even a blackmailer of prostitutes than contest this power.

I called upon the telephone, Warden Clayton Smith, of the Cook County Hospital. He said he had had a number of cases turned down by the civil service commission and that it had impaired discipline among his subordinates so that he kept some whom he thought ought not to stay and brought no charges unless he felt sure he would win his case. He added, "They don't have their boss in fear any more. They put on an air indicating that they can get back through the trial board if they want to." He noticed that employes on probation behaved well while they were subject to dismissal at his will, but as soon as they received their definite appointment and were subject only to the trial board their conduct changed and they became difficult to deal with.

In order not to limit my inquiries to the heads of departments recently appointed, I visited John E. Traeger, the sheriff who had formerly been controller of the city under Mayor Harrison, where his force was under the competitive system. He approved of the civil service law but not of the Chicago removal clause. I asked him whether, in cases where the commission refused to dismiss a man upon charges by the head of the department, such action impaired discipline and he said "Absolutely," and he added, later, "Don't make a czar of your commissioner. He'll ruin the service." He also told me that men behaved better when on probation than after they had received a regular appointment.

FEW REMOVALS

I further found that the tendency of this removal rule was to make very few removals. The trials based on a complaint made by an appointing officer become really a trial of that officer himself. Hence these officers were inclined to make very few complaints and permanent tenure of all employes, both good and bad, resulted. This permanency of tenure had become ingrained into the habits of thought of the community and was promoted by the decisions of the courts.

For in Illinois it has been held that a place in the eligible list when once posted becomes a property right which cannot be canceled for two years. How much more then is the place thus acquired to be deemed a vested interest!

It was stated by the advocates of the model law that the Chicago removal rule really brought about more dismissals than where such removals were made by appointing officers, but that such removals were made for actual derelictions and not for personal or political reasons. Was the statement correct? It was said that in 1910 there were 203 removals by department heads, and in 1911, 467 by the trial board. Was this a fair average or was it the case of a new broom sweeping clean?

I inquired of Secretary Swanson of the Chicago civil service commission and he told me that out of more than 20,000 employes during 1914, the trial board dismissed 73. Less than 16 per cent of those charged with offenses were removed; and the total percentage of removals to the whole service was thirty-six one hundredths of 1 per cent. The average of removals under other systems is about 2 per cent, but under the trial board plan it is only about one-sixth of that. So the Chicago removal rule has undoubtedly secured permanency. It comes about as near creating an actual life tenure as is humanly practicable. Does this work well in the long run? Can any one pretend or imagine that the Chicago civil service is so good that only one in 300 needs to be separated from it during a whole year? The general reputation and known facts concerning this service will not justify this happy deduction.

It is said by the advocates of the proposed model law that the serious evils in Chicago were due to the fact that the present commission was a particularly bad one and that all went on very well during the golden age which preceded it.

One of the most serious charges against the commission was that they allowed an excessive number of temporary appointments, some 9,163 authorizations for such appointments being granted. This was indeed highly reprehensible. But Secretary Swanson (secretary both before and after the change), in his report says, "During the first four months of last year 11,866 such appointments were authorized by the former commission. During the next four months under the present commission 9,163 such authorities were granted, a reduction of 2,703. No criticism was made of the record of the first four months but the record of the second four months was seized upon as a gross violation of the law. The inconsistency of the criticism was at once apparent." He also said:

> The number of temporary authorities outstanding in the classified service at various periods is shown here; "April 30, 1912, 497; June 30, 1913, 522; May 31, 1914, 815; Sept. 30, 1914, 780; Feb. 1, 1915, 708; April 1, 1915, 674; Aug. 15, 1915, 819; Dec. 1, 1915, 485.
>
> Laborers being seasonal employes do not form a comparison and are accordingly omitted from the above table. December 1, 1915, shows the lowest point recorded in more than three years.

So it appears that during all these years of excellent administration of the Chicago civil service law these excessive temporary appointments were a continuous feature of that administration!

THE CHICAGO POLICE

If the greater permanency caused by the Chicago removal rule has worked well why has the Chicago police force been one of the most corrupt and inefficient bodies in municipal history? Why is crime rampant there as nowhere else in the civilized world?

At a meeting of the Chicago City Club in December, 1915, Graham Taylor, president of the Chicago School of Philanthropy and one of the editors of *The Survey* said:

> Now talking about driving the crooks out of Chicago; I would like to know when in this administration *or any previous administration* the crooks have been very much dispossessed, not only of their foothold but of their power over three police stations in this city. I would like to know who has been in command of the Desplaines Street Police Station. Never the captain to all appearances. Every better captain that has gone there has either gone to the bad and gone down to his ruin, or else he has been transferred for the good of the service.
>
> And how about the East Chicago Avenue Station and the Twenty-second Street Police Station? I tell you, men, if we want life and property safe in this city, that kind of farming out of the police power in this city has got to stop.

The Mayor of the city said, (*Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 19, 1915): "In Rogers Park alone I am informed there have been twenty first class crimes in the last few days." The State Attorney Mr. McClay Hoyne declared that the police department was a den of thieves. The former chief of detectives, John H. Halpin was charged with accepting bribes and was dismissed. The brutality of the police toward the poor women engaged in the garment makers strike was a subject of public scandal and almost universal reprobation.

Mr. Catherwood at the annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League in 1911 (p. 12) reported for Illinois that the chief of police, all the inspectors and most of the captains, 150 in all, had been entangled with graft, vice and special interests or were blind and incompetent. Yet this is the result of twenty years of "successful" experience under the permanent tenure promoted by the Chicago removal rule!

RESULTS IN THE LIBRARIES

In the state civil service also there has been trouble with the trial board system. The following statement in regard to the Illinois state library is copied from a periodical known as *Public Libraries* published in Chicago:

> In order to have a trained cataloguer, it was necessary to dismiss an attendant who was there by political appointment when the present administration came in, and not because of any preparation for the work. Since the library is under the civil law of the state, the dismissed attendant called on the civil service commission to defend what she thought were her rights in the matter. The commission therefore brought State-librarian Woods to trial to make him prove his charge of incompetency against the attendant.
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> Those in charge of the library testified that the attendant in question could not perform the duties assigned her satisfactorily, was not acquainted with the methods of classification, cataloguing, etc., in general use, and that they considered her incompetent for the work. The civil service board, however, took the position that she was not more incompetent than she had ever been and that if she were incompetent the others there were incompetent also, from the civil service point of view, and that she should therefore be re-instated and receive her salary for the two months of her exclusion.[1]

I inquired of George B. Uttley, secretary of the American Library Association, who informed me that the foregoing facts were exactly true and that the acting librarian was the chief sufferer by this remarkable decision of the state commission. Mr. Uttley further informed me that Mr. Legler, the eminent librarian of the Chicago library had told him of three employes, who were incompetent, but whom he did not venture to try to displace because they were under the civil service law and he might not be able to sustain specific charges.

The Chicago removal rule has been tried elsewhere, found unworkable and abandoned; for instance in San Francisco, and at last the Illinois removal rule so far as the state service is concerned was itself repealed.

The best rule possible is that which was adopted by the National Municipal League in Section 44 of the model city charter which provides that any employe may be removed by the city manager or department head for any cause which will promote the efficiency of the service, but must first be furnished with a written statement of the reasons and allowed a reasonable time for answering, but that no trial shall be required except in the discretion of the officer making the removal. That the civil service board may also remove, after notice and hearing, upon written charges preferred by any citizen and the board must fix a minimum standard of efficiency for each grade and whenever an employe falls under that minimum for three months, he shall, unless he show good reason, be removed suspended or reduced as the board shall determine.

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[1] (Public Libraries, v, 19, 108, March, 1914.)

All efforts to establish any rule giving greater permanency of tenure, than this ought to be strenuously resisted.

THE FINANCIAL CONDITION OF OHIO CITIES[1]

BY DON C. SOWERS[2]
Akron, Ohio

THAT Ohio cities are laboring under serious financial conditions, all who have knowledge of the facts are agreed. Almost without exception, the expenditures of Ohio cities are in excess of their income. Cleveland has had an annual deficit ranging from $300,000 to $900,000 for the past six years with the exception of one. Akron has had a deficit four years out of the past six. The deficit in Cleveland in 1917 was $944,000 and in Akron $251,000. The situation in these two cities is typical of the general situation.

The cause of the present municipal embarrassment is quite generally ascribed to the operation of the Smith 1 per cent law which places a fifteen mill limit upon the rate of taxation for all taxing districts. The theory upon which this law is based is that with a low rate of taxation, it will be possible to secure the listing of all property at its true value for taxation purposes and that with a full assessment even a low rate will produce funds adequate for all purposes. The immediate effect of the law was to increase greatly tax valuations, but after the first year this increase has not been very large. The total tax duplicate of Ohio in 1915 was $7,537,000,000 and in 1917, $7,697,000,000. In some cities, an attempt has been made to secure relief through increasing the duplicate, but in no city is property assessed at 100 per cent.

THREE POINTS OF ATTACK

The discussions of the financial situation have centered around three points of attack. First, it has been urged that through the operation of the Smith law, cities are not obtaining sufficient revenue for current operation. Second, it is urged, by some, that the cities are incurring indebtedness too rapidly, and in this is found the real reason for the lack of revenue for current operation. Third, it is urged that cities are wasteful in their expenditures or are expending money for new activities which might well be dispensed with.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. IV, pp. 254 and 453.

[2] Director, Akron Bureau of Municipal Research.

Those who hold to the first view point out that the insufficient revenue of cities arises from two causes; first, the encroachment of the superior jurisdictions upon the total tax rate, and in the second place, the encroachment of the debt charges upon the amount available for operating expenses. Under the operation of the tax law, the state, county and school requests are given first consideration by the county budget commission when apportioning funds and the city is compelled to take what is left. The tax rate for county and school purposes has quite generally increased, whereas, the city tax rate has in most cases either remained stationary or actually decreased. The following figures presented for three cities are typical:

	County			*Schools*			*City*		
	1915	*1916*	*1917*	*1915*	*1916*	*1917*	*1915*	*1916*	*1917*
Cleveland	2.53	2.53	2.53	5.34	5.34	5.64	6.51	6.51	6.05
Dayton	2.04	2.59	3.74	4.01	4.13	4.11	7.10	6.23	7.30
Akron	1.85	2.55	2.85	4.80	4.60	4.80	7.50	7.00	7.30

The operation of the law must result in unfairness to one or another of the taxing districts each year, since if one division gets an increase in any given year, another division must sustain a decrease. If the law were amended to establish maximum rates for each taxing unit separately, the same result would be obtained, that is, a maximum limit could be placed on the tax rate and unfairness in operation could be eliminated.

DEFICIENCY BONDS

To relieve the situation, the legislature at its last session passed a law permitting municipalities and school districts to issue deficiency bonds to cover the amount of the deficiency which existed during the year 1917. The debt charges on these bonds, however, were required to come within the limitations of the law so that no additional relief was afforded by the passage of this law other than already existed. Instead of borrowing money temporarily to meet deficits, cities were empowered to issue deficiency bonds.

The Smith law provides that the debt charges on all bonds authorized by the vote of the people since June 2, 1911, shall be included within the fifteen mill limitations, but outside the ten mill limit. The debt charges on such bonds will not encroach upon the amount available for current operation. Accordingly, it has become a practice in Ohio cities to submit all bond issues of any size to a vote of the people.

Another element in the situation is a recent decision of the state supreme court to the effect that all cities must establish accurate and scientific sinking funds for each outstanding bond issue. This has placed additional burdens upon Ohio cities because of the fact that many cities had not established sinking funds. For example, in Akron, out of $1,056,000 accruing to the city from taxes in 1916, $753,000 or 72 per cent of the returns was required for debt service. The same situation prevailed in other cities. The remedy which has been suggested for this situation is that the sinking fund levies should be separated entirely from the levies for current operation and if desirable place a limit upon the amount of the levy for current operation and another limitation upon the levy for debt charges.

BONDED INDEBTEDNESS

The reason for the financial stringency is found by some, especially the state auditor, to arise from the fact that the cities are issuing bonds too rapidly. The auditor points out that the indebtedness of all taxing districts in the state has increased from $187,000,000 in 1910 to $414,000,000 in 1917. He states that "While the eighty cities collected in taxes $26,411,178, for city purposes alone, it required $180,657 in excess of this vast revenue for the year to meet interest payments and retire bonds falling due and that there was not one cent left for regular running expenses."[3] The auditor arrived at these figures by adding together the total interest paid during the year and the debts retired during the year, and found that this total amounted to more than the total taxes collected for municipal purposes. The first error involved in this procedure is in overlooking the fact that some cities had sinking funds which had been established for the purpose of retiring the debt falling due during the year and that a large part of this debt was actually retired from the money already accumulated in the sinking funds. The statement is also misleading because a very large part of the debt had been acquired for municipal utilities, the debt charges on which were paid out of earnings. The debt charges on a large part of this indebtedness would not come out of general taxes at all and consequently a much larger proportion of the total taxes collected was available for current operation than one would be inclined to think after reading the auditor's statement. The total indebtedness of Ohio cities in 1917 amounted to $252,000,000; of this amount, $59,000,000 had been issued for water works and electric light purposes. Perhaps the larger part of this indebtedness will be retired out of earnings of these enterprises; $93,000,000 of this total indebtedness had been issued for street improvement, sewers and drains, and the greater part of this indebtedness will be retired from the proceeds of special assessments.

While it is true that the amount of indebtedness in Ohio cities has increased rapidly during the past seven years, a very large per cent of this has been incurred for the purpose of providing the minimum essentials of modern existence. Extensions of water works plants, or electric light facilities, construction of sewers, the improvement of streets have been made necessary as a result of the growth and development of cities. In the second place, it must be pointed out that the issuance of these bonds has had little or no effect upon the tax rate. As a result of the agitation to limit indebtedness, the legislature at its last session amended the law to provide that councils of municipal corporations should not issue bonds in any one year in excess of one-half of one per cent of the total value of the assessed property. This was a reduction from 1 per cent to .5 per cent. This limitation has not worked hardships on any city.

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[3] Annual Report of State Auditor for 1917, p. 10.

EXTRAVAGANCE

Finally, it is urged that the present financial difficulties are due to the extravagance of public officials or to expenditures for useless purposes. To quote from the state auditor, "If the people of Ohio do not apply the brakes and retire to private life the spendthrift public officials who violate the laws, promote extravagance and declare emergencies where none exist, they will witness in the near future repudiation of public obligations in many taxing districts of Ohio."[4] While it is undoubtedly true that there is considerable waste in the operation of our cities, it is also true that greater waste exists in the operation of state and county governments. A careful examination of municipal activities in Ohio cities will fail to reveal any large expenditures for new and novel municipal activities. For the most part, the cities are supplying the minimum essentials and in hundreds of cities health departments are underpaid and undermanned, police departments are inadequately provided for and parks and playgrounds and recreational facilities are dreams of the future.

REMEDIES

The remedies which should be provided to relieve the present situation in Ohio cities are, in the opinion of the writer, the following:

1. The real and personal property in the state should be assessed at full value. This can only be done by assessors who are trained and experienced in this line of work. The tax law will need to be changed in order to secure this type of assessor. The present system of appointing assessors by the county auditor will not accomplish the desired result. The assessment of real and personal property has to-day become an exact science and the work needs to be done in accordance with established principles. New York City, Newark, N. J., Los Angeles and a number of cities have shown how these principles may be successfully applied.

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[4] Annual Report of State Auditor for 1917, p. 11.

2. A maximum limit should be placed upon the tax rate of each separate taxing division, namely, state, county, schools, township, city. This is the only fair way of establishing maximum tax rates.

3. A distinction should be made between taxes levied for current operation and for debt service. Any internal limitations should keep this distinction in mind and if desirable a maximum limit might be placed upon the rate for current operation and a further maximum placed upon the rate for debt service.

The only solution of the whole problem is to allow the cities absolute freedom in the determination of the tax rate. Real home rule should mean that cities have the power to tax themselves for the adequate support of their own government. If the people are willing and able to tax themselves for schools and municipal services, why should the state object?

VIRGINIA APPROPRIATION COMEDY

BY JOHN P. LEARY
Richmond, Va.

IN THE closing hours of the 1918 session of the General Assembly of Virginia an attempt was made to stage, according to the ancient custom, the usual biennial appropriation comedy but with rather unusual results. To the consternation of the authors of the show, the governor assumed the rôle of leading man and scored a distinct success by saving the state more than a million dollars.

Before he had been in office sixty days, Westmoreland Davis, who entered upon his duties as governor on February 1, 1918, with an inaugural pledge that "The keynote of my administration will be an efficient government economically administered," compelled the General Assembly to reshape the general appropriation bill for the 1918–20 bienniel period so as to bring the appropriations within the estimated revenues of the state with a net saving of $1,017,000. The fight Governor Davis made for the adoption of a "rule of reason" in framing the appropriation bill was one of the most spectacular events that has ever occurred in the legislative history of the Old Dominion, and has clearly illustrated the need of a modern executive budget system.

"PASSING THE BUCK"

The comedy began when the House of Delegates, having agreed to a reasonable general appropriation bill, transferred the political and institutional financial lobbying over to the senate. Here the battle to "care for the folks back home" engulfed the finance committee, out of which it emerged with new and greatly enlarged amounts three days before the date of the expiration of the session. In the rush and turmoil of the final hours, the house and senate failed to agree, and the usual conference committee was appointed to "adjust" their differences. Clocks were turned back, and the conferees went into an all-night executive session while the General Assembly lingered that they might go through the formality of adopting the committee's "pig in the bag."

Haggard and weary the conferees brought in their report on Sunday morning (March 10) as the church bells were calling the morning service. For the conference committee, the chairman of the house appropriations committee and the chairman of the senate finance committee reported to their respective houses that the conferees had agreed on a bill which they urged be adopted carrying "a total appropriation for the two years of $19,100,000, and at a maximum not more than $19,300,000." Without even a reading of the items, the conferees' report was promptly adopted, and the General Assembly adjourned, leaving a few members to hold "constructive sessions" for the signing of bills that had been rushed through *en bloc* at the end.

When the enrolled bill finally reached the governor on March 14th, it was found that instead of the $19,100,000 it was supposed to carry, that in reality a total net appropriation of $20,061,841 was authorized, which, together with the special appropriations carried in other bills enacted during the session amounting to $533,717, was $1,238,286 in excess of the estimated revenues of the state, not including a $2,000,000 special appropriation for roads, schools and tuberculosis, provided for by a special 8 cent levy authorized by a separate act.

GOVERNOR TAKES A HAND

Governor Davis pointblank refused to sign the bill and notified the presiding officers of the two houses that he had important communications to make. The two houses—still in "constructive session"—reassembled on Monday morning March 18, and, contrary to all traditions and precedence in Virginia, Governor Davis returned the bill with the suggestion that "it is a safe business principle, especially applicable at this time when the resources of the state should be conserved, that the state, like the individual, should live within its income." Along with this message went a detailed statement of reductions, item by item, that the governor recommended should be made to bring the appropriations within the estimated revenues of the state.

The house appropriations committee immediately appointed three of its members to confer with the governor. A similar committee was named by the senate committee. The governor met with these committees, and insisted that the appropriations be reduced to come within the amount of the estimated revenues of the state. An agreement was then reached satisfactory to the governor.

STAND OF THE HOUSE

The House of Delegates then passed the following resolution:

> WHEREAS, since the receipt of the communication from the governor, dated March 18th, 1918, making certain recommendations for amendment to No. 357 House Bill, the committee on appropriations of the house and the committee of finance of the senate have conferred with the governor and certain changes will probably meet the approval of the governor and the General Assembly.
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> *Resolved*, That the communication of the governor, dated March 18th, 1918, be temporarily passed by and that the governor be requested, if he deem it expedient to do so, to make such other recommendations as meets his approval for the consideration of the General Assembly.

In compliance with this resolution and in accordance with the agreement reached with the conference committees, the governor prepared a second message recommending changes in the bill that would eliminate the deficit. When this message was ready, the governor was informed that the senate would not stand back of its conferees in accepting without revision the compromise bill. The governor then refused to make further recommendations leaving his original message before the house, with a veto ready for the whole bill in the event his recommendations for amendments were not accepted. The governor, sure of his position, stood firm; and the assembly was forced either to accept his conditions, or to face the consequences of passing the bill over his veto with the inevitable million and a quarter deficit which it would create, or of forcing a special session to frame a new bill.

SENATE RECEDES

The House of Delegates, whose leaders and a majority of whose members were inclined to accept the governor's recommendations, on Wednesday, March 20, adopted, with but two dissenting votes, a resolution pledging that body to stand by the conference bill acceptable to the governor. The senate refused to pledge itself to support the compromise bill. The governor sat tight, so to speak, and the solons in the senate opened a "big-gun" attack on the administration. The flareback from this discharge, however, was more destructive than the missiles hurled at the governor, and on Thursday a resolution to stand by the conference report and accept the compromise bill was adopted in committee of the whole after bitter debate, and ratified by the senate with nearly a third of its members still holding out against yielding to the governor's demands.

Immediately upon notification of the resolution of the senate to accept the compromise bill, the governor sent his second message to the house recommending reductions in the original legislative bill amounting net to $1,017,000. Before this message was sent to the house, however, the assembly passed a special franchise and license tax on public service corporations estimated to yield the state an additional revenue of at least

$150,000 for the biennial period; and the supreme court of appeals had handed down a decision in favor of the commonwealth in the so-called "Armour case" sustaining the right of the commonwealth to collect a license tax imposed on non-resident manufacturers conducting a mercantile business within the state, estimated to yield $100,000 during the next two years.

The house promptly adopted the revised bill, which, with its reductions totaling $1,017,000, and the $250,000 additional revenue, brought the appropriations within the estimated revenues by more than $40,000. With the irreconcilables fighting to the last for political effect "back home," the senate adopted the governor's compromise bill on Friday morning, March 22, and the Assembly of 1918 immediately adjourned *sine die*, and the curtain was rung down on Virginia's most interesting politico-appropriation comedy in the history of the Old Dominion.

A statistical review of the "comedy" reveals that the appropriations carried in the 1918–20 general appropriation act, even after the governor had forced the reduction of $1,017,000, exceed those of the 1916–18 act by $4,893,498; the items amounting, in the aggregate, to $19,032,841.

This saving of a million dollars is an actual saving; and not a mere paper reduction, nor a "deferred deficit," as has been charged, for in the case of the principal state institutions, to cite an example, twenty of them received all they got for the 1916–18 period, plus their deficits, and then some. Even after the governor's pruning of a million dollars, the state institutions have received for the 1918–20 period $942,055 more than their total appropriations and deficits combined amounted to for the 1916–18 period, while for "support" alone these institutions now have available for the next two years $765,855 more than they had for the last two years.

All of which has but served to emphasize the progressive leadership of Governor Davis, who, coming into office after a state-wide campaign for the adoption of an executive budget, was able to induce the assembly to enact one of the most comprehensive budget laws so far adopted by any of the states, and to show the same body before he had been in office two months how to save the taxpayers of Virginia more than a million dollars.

THE NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE[1]

BY A. B. GILBERT

St. Paul, Minn.

THE organization of the Non-partisan League of North Dakota was the logical result of the failure of the old political parties to respond to the expressed will of the voters of the state. The chief industry of North Dakota is agriculture. It is one of the greatest wheat producing states of the union. At two state-wide elections the voters by overwhelming majorities had adopted a constitutional amendment preliminary to the enactment of certain measures relating to the marketing of grain. The legislature refused to put it into effect. A large delegation of responsible farmers from all parts of the state went to Bismarck to petition the legislature. It was treated with contempt by Republican and Democratic politicians alike. Then it was that, abandoning hope of relief through the usual party channels, the farmers set about to organize the league.

Knowing the tremendous odds against them, the work was carried on quietly and over 25,000 members had been secured before the strength of the new movement became generally known. A bitter opposition at once developed, but the momentum was too strong and by the time the regular November election of 1916 arrived, the paid membership had mounted to over 40,000 and the league candidates swept the state.

It was a political revolution. Approximately eighty per cent of the electorate voted the league ticket. The league's candidate for governor, Lynn J. Frazier, received 87,665 votes as against a total of 22,966 cast for his two opponents. All other state officers were elected save the state treasurer. Out of 113 members of the lower house of the legislature the league elected 81. North Dakota chooses one-half of the senate at each election, and out of 25 to be selected the league won 18; also the three judges of the supreme court to be chosen in this election.

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[1] One of our members who has recently been traveling in the northwest and to whom for that reason we referred Mr. Gilbert's article writes that it is a very interesting article which interprets the league very well from the point of view of a supporter. "Of course," our correspondent says, "the league has its bitter opponents, who would not accept such an interpretation. Possibly you may think it necessary to let one of the more thorough-going and intelligent of these critics have his "say" also in the pages of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. Certainly you could hardly expect to get a better article than the present one from one of the active supporters of the League. Though I think it barely possible that there may be something in some of the criticisms of the League made by its opponents, I am strongly inclined on the whole to be thoroughly sympathetic with the movement. In other words, my present opinion, based on an incomplete acquaintance with the movement, is that it is a genuine and honest socialist farmers' movement, which promises to be beneficial to the country. This does not mean, however, that I approve of all that the League or its leaders have done."

The remarkable independence of the North Dakota voter is shown by the fact that although Mr. Frazier was running on the Republican ticket, having easily captured the primary nomination of that party in June of 1916, President Wilson carried the state.

THE METHOD OF ORGANIZATION

The unusual thing about the Non-partisan League is the method of organization. Three years ago the plan which A. C. Townley and his associates worked out, would have been considered impossible by most students of politics, especially the high dues asked of each farmer who joins. But, favored by the circumstances in North Dakota and pushed with remarkable daring and leadership, this plan proved not only entirely workable, but the only one which could have achieved the primary hope of the North Dakota farmers, the securing of immediate political power in the state. From the first the league has been built on the following principles, each one of which overcomes a difficulty that has hampered if not killed one or more important farmer movements in the past:

1. Only farmers should be admitted to membership.
2. There must be co-operation with labor organizations in politics.
3. There must be efficient, centralized control of the work of organizing.
4. The machinery is to be used only to capture the government, allowing democracy in the government itself.
5. To be successful, the farmers themselves must pay the costs of campaigns and organization.
6. They must have a means of communication among themselves and controlled by themselves, their own press.
7. The league should co-operate with and protect all other co-operative organizations of farmers and city workers.

When a state is organized, the members are brought together in township, county, and state meetings for the purpose of nominating candidates and to consider the detailed program on which these candidates are to go before the people for election. The league dues are now $8 a year, or $16 for the two state campaign years. This is the league estimate of the lowest amount on which a successful and rapid campaign can be waged; it includes an allowance for the campaign expenses of the men nominated. No man, therefore, will be kept from running for office on a league nomination on account of expense, and, more important still, no nominee will have to go to interests hostile to the program for financial support. Each member now gets a weekly thirty-two page magazine, *The Non-partisan Leader*, and as the election time approaches a special weekly newspaper covering his state. This press service takes about $5 of the $16. The organizers are paid 27½ per cent or $4.40 per member, the very least for which men can be obtained to do the work properly. Out of this each organizer must pay his expenses, including the purchase and upkeep of an automobile, usually a Ford, and the day wages of a hired man to take the place of a farmer who goes along to introduce the organizer. Deducting these two sums, we have $6.60 left to cover expenses of central and state offices, a large staff of lecturers, special publicity, delegations and conventions, and the candidates for election.

THE LEAGUE PROGRAM

The league program differs somewhat in the several states because the problems to be remedied by political action differ; but with the exception of the tonnage tax on iron ore, the following program for Minnesota is typical:

1. Exemption of farm improvements from taxation.
2. Tonnage tax on ore production.
3. Rural credit banks operated at cost.
4. State-owned terminal elevators, warehouses, flour mills, stockyards, packing houses, and cold-storage plants.
5. State hail insurance.
6. A more equitable system of state inspection and grading of grain.
7. Equal taxation of the property of railroads, mines, telegraph, and telephone companies, electric light and power companies, and all other public utility corporations, as compared with that of other property owners.

The most noteworthy feature of the above program is, of course, its demand for a large measure of state ownership. It is the antithesis of Jefferson's "that government is best which governs least"; yet the league claims at least to express the aspirations of the common people for more fundamental democracy. That it can reconcile the motives of Jefferson, the fundamental democrat, however, with integration of state functions is due to the fact that in recent years the people's concept of government has been undergoing a pronounced change. In the early days the only government the people had known was that of the policeman which laid heavy burdens on men's shoulders and exacted a servile obedience. Blackstone, for instance, defined law as being made by superiors for the government of inferiors. The less the inferiors had of this kind of law making and government, the better they liked it, but with long experience in government by the ballot the people are turning to the conception of government as an aid in the struggle for livelihood, a great coöperative machine run by all the people which can be put to other tasks than simply that of policing the population.

STATE OWNERSHIP

Such is the theory back of the league program of state ownership. Until within the last ten years a program of this kind could have been brought to naught by simply calling it socialism. The readiness with which it is being hailed by the farmers in the northwest, on the other hand, is convincing proof of the point that our people have rapidly changed their conception of the state. Now the dubbing of this program as "socialistic" has practically no influence or weight with the farmer. He has stood for regulation and in his opinion that has failed; he is anxious now to try state ownership. This does not mean that he is converted to communism or sweeping adoption of state socialism, but that he is anxious to have the state take over any common service when such action clearly promises lower costs to the users.

NON-PARTISANISM

The league is non-partisan in the sense that it does not form a part of either the Democratic, Republican, or Socialist party; at the same time it does not set up a separate party of its own as those who attempt to get away from two-party rule in our cities commonly do. The tactics are to get all farmers to vote one way, that this united vote may be used to capture the nominations on one of the established party tickets at the primaries and later to win the election. In North Dakota, for instance, nearly all the nominations were made on the Republican ticket because that state is normally Republican; and because of the 1916 victory, league men now constitute the Republican party there. The united vote can, of course, be used to run a separate ticket whenever it seems practical to do so. The indications are now that the league will run an independent ticket in South Dakota in the fall. Again, the united farmer vote can be used simply to endorse candidates chosen otherwise than by league nomination.

The most frequent criticism of this political method has been that it sets class against class, and the conclusion of the critics naturally follows that class organization is undesirable. The league's answer to this is that men cannot become aware of their own interests without becoming what is called "class conscious," and that the league purpose is not the arraying of the farmers as a class against every other class but the forming of alliances with several other classes into an harmonious whole that constitutes at least nine-tenths of the American people,—especially with city workers and what is known for the want of a better term "as small business." In a democracy where the majority is supposed to rule, a movement cannot be undesirable which promotes the interests of more than nine-tenths of the citizens. Those serious reformers who shy at class consciousness will probably recall many bitterly disappointing instances in which they have had to attribute the defeat of reform to the fact that those who would be benefitted did not know their own interests. Class organization only grows out of the soil of long thought, education, and experience as to what these interests are.

THE LEAGUE AND THE CITY

Being entirely a farmers' movement, the league movement has nothing directly to do with cities. It does not demand exemption of city improvements from taxation, for instance, when it demands the exemption of farm improvements, because that is a city matter. The league plan is to make alliances with any interests in the cities making demands that are corrolary to its own. Nevertheless the league offers much promise to the city progressives beyond what this making of alliances might indicate. In nearly every state in the Union a large part, perhaps the most important part, of the city government is at the state capital. By lack of home rule our cities are fettered to the state constitution and the state government so tightly that they cannot secure half the reforms they are prepared for. Heretofore a city, after overcoming the local obstacles to reform, has had to fight a second battle in the state legislature where it met not only the representatives of special privilege, but the rural representative ignorant of city conditions and therefore hostile to city reform. In states where the Non-partisan League succeeds, the city reformer will miss this uniformed, out-of-date rural representative in the legislature, and—probably just as important—the crooked rural legislator, false to the interests of the farmers as well as to those of the city people. The league movement is a great rural education movement. New currents of thought are given expression and scope, and conditions are reviewed by the average voter as never before. The state government will be watched as never before by those whom this new education reaches. No man, with means as small as those of the average farmer, who has paid $16 to get the right men in office, will fail to watch them closely.

EVERY FARMER A POLITICIAN

One of the elements of strength in the movement and at the same time one of its great contributions to the development of truly democratic government, is the fact that it makes every man who joins a politician, or in other words a citizen actively interested in the affairs of the state. The old parties are organized from the top down with a local leader in each small district to take care of its support there. The average voter is not called upon to do anything but vote. The league, however, calls on the individual voter for an important sacrifice; consequently when he has once jumped in, he becomes an active worker to make his own sacrifice successful. The members, for instance, probably do nearly as much organizing as the paid organizers and lecturers. The fact that there are 40,000 in Minnesota means that the league has 40,000 party workers there. The old parties in so far as they stand for interests opposed to or uninfluenced by this farmers' movement, have nothing to match it. The one has a militant, spirited army; the other has lieutenants, captains and generals with only a small, disinterested following.

THE KANSAS GENERAL MANAGER SYSTEM[1]

BY HAROLD T. CHASE
Editor, Topeka Capital

WHAT Kansas styles the "general manager system" of organization and conduct of her state institutions, adopted by the legislature in the session of 1917, is fairly well described by that name. The institutional work of the state is under the control of one board of three members who employ for general supervision a general manager with an office at the state capitol.

Heretofore the fourteen large institutions of the state were under three independent state boards—penal and reformatory, educational, and charitable or eleemosynary. By the general manager act the boards were abolished and a single board of directors of three men created, to be appointed by the governor.

It had been the hope of the authors of this system to induce the legislature to allow the consolidated board full discretion in the compensation paid to the general manager. This was found to be impossible, the legislature not greatly favoring the plan in general, and being strongly opposed to grant such discretion to a board, the legislature fixing the salary at $3,500.

As matters turned out, this error in policy has not as yet hindered the operation of the new plan, since the board was able to obtain the services as general manager of a man of very large business experience, James A. Kimball of Salina, a wholesale grocer. Mr. Kimball accepted the place out of a sense of public spirit, assumed office July 1, 1917 and is still holding down the job.

THE GENERAL MANAGER'S JURISDICTION

Under his general managership are fourteen large institutions, including the university and agricultural college, each normally with an enrollment exceeding 2,500 students, all the large insane, deaf mute, blind, epileptic and feeble-minded hospitals, the penitentiary and reformatories and a large number of miscellaneous institutions and state undertakings, such for example as a fish hatchery.

While this system has been in operation but nine months it is possible to say of the management that it will result on July 1 in maintaining all the institutions of the state without interruption, together with all the miscellaneous undertakings referred to, within the legislative appropriation.

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[1] Our readers are cautioned against drawing too close an analogy, between the city manager and the state manager who has an official or limited functions. In Mr. Chase's article the scope of this new office is made clear. The office is suggestive of further tendencies toward administrative centralization under a strong executive head analogous to a city manager.

While this seems a modest statement it is in fact somewhat extraordinary for several reasons. It is, in the first place, unusual, deficits being the normal record. When Mr. Kimball assumed office the deficits then on the books aggregated $60,000. It should not be understood that he paid or assumed them. On the contrary, his first act was the repudiation of these deficits, so far as demands upon his own appropriation were concerned. At the end of the year they will remain charges for the legislature to pay off by special appropriations. The general manager stood on the position that his appropriations were expressly made for a stated period of the future, that he had no authority to pay deficiencies of past managements, though this had been the unbroken practice, and he refused to use a dollar of his appropriations for any expenditures other than those made under his administration, except that he paid for those expenditures that had been contracted for but not actually made prior to his assumption of office.

Coming through the year without a deficit is extraordinary, further, because the appropriations had been made in 1917 with reference to then prevalent prices for all materials, construction and wages, whereas prices and wages rapidly advanced during the year. Several states nearby are known to have closed down during the year one or more of their institutions during a longer or shorter period. No institution of Kansas quit or curtailed its work for any period.[2]

INCREASED EFFICIENCY

"We eliminated a great number of jobs," Mr. Kimball says, "consolidated jobs, raised salaries, but increased the output of our institutional farm plots, dairy herds, etc., and so paid the higher salaries."

It is a fact, the general manager reports, that but one official of importance in all this institutional work resigned, while none was discharged. The state lost one man by voluntary resignation, who saw that he could not keep up to the new pace.

Co-operation of all forces, the instilling of morale into the state work, Mr. Kimball thinks the prime achievement of the new plan. He has gone into every institution, planned with the local forces, organized institutional cabinets among the officers and where practicable among the working employes, as in the coal mine of the penitentiary. Close and constant personal touch with the forces working under him has brought about a spirit of pride and of ambition and co-operation which the general manager thinks the best result of the system inaugurated.

In institutions, charitable, reformatory and penal including inmates of upwards of 10,000 souls, self maintenance is possible to a considerable extent, and this is the universal practice of all states. Mr. Kimball quickly put into operation a policy of educating his force in such institutions in the care and breeding of such livestock as are used, cows, hogs, hens, etc. These persons were given the ten-days' dairy course at the agricultural college, for example. University and agricultural college experts and instructors were taken to the institutions to give the employes instruction in such parts of their duties. Co-operation, in fact, may be said to be the keyword of the policy of the new general manager.

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[2] This article was written in March, 1918.

FORESEEING DIFFICULTIES

Maintenance of the institutions uninterruptedly would not have been possible under the appropriations, or even without regard to the appropriations, but for the personal business intuition and experience of the general manager this year. Having long been in the wholesale grocery business he anticipated the sugar shortage, bought five carloads of sugar for his institutions before the market was affected, and foreseeing what occurred instructed the heads of his institutions to curtail their consumption.

What happened in respect to sugar was that instead of the heedless issue of supplies in 48 different institutions or buildings, the sugar issues were closely guarded in all these places and on March 1 a sugar inventory asked for by Mr. Kimball in all the institutions showed that the consumption of the preceding three months had been a trifle over half the normal consumption shown by the former records of the state for these institutions, and that on that date there remained over 74,000 pounds of sugar. This quantity was practically all clear saving. It was fortunate that the general manager anticipated the situation, for shortly after his purchase of five carloads there was literally not a bag of sugar to be bought on the Mississippi river from Sioux City to St. Louis.

A similar story could be told with regard to coal. Not an institution shut down a day for lack of coal and every institution now has a supply good until July.

In a word, business management has superseded badly organized management and a single authority many authorities, often conflicting and sometimes incompetent.

Yet the general manager system does not imply that business management, strictly speaking, has been introduced, since that is impossible. All it implies is that as much business management has been introduced perhaps as can be introduced in the political organization.

To a question on this point Mr. Kimball answered:

"Yes; I could still save money and increase the efficiency of the organization materially. I don't know how much. The system is not business. For one thing, my appropriations are made from one to two years in advance—every one of them. That of course is not business, yet can not be avoided. I can not buy and sell when and where I please, fix the salaries I please, hire and fire altogether as I please, consolidate offices as I please altogether, or as the board please. It is as the legislature pleases.

"And the trouble, so far as the legislature is concerned, is simply this: The whole political organization is made with regard to the perpetual danger that a crook or a glaring incompetent may get an important and responsible office and can not immediately be got out. Hence the whole political organization has as its subconscious motive, and the legislature always is affected by this motive, to hedge and cover, to check and balance one official by another, to limit authority, and unlike business, there is not a single-minded motive of productiveness, efficiency and economy. I don't say that it should be otherwise or that the government should be no more nor less than a business. I merely say that there is a distinction between the two things."

When the legislature next meets there will be a bill for its consideration, an account, of perhaps $60,000, deficits in management prior to the new system. Mr. Kimball thinks it possible that it will be the last of the deficits.

PUBLIC HEALTH AND PRIVATE INVESTIGATIONS

BY DR. CARL E. MC COMBS[1]
New York

On April 9, Mayor Hylan and the civil service commission announced their intention of "reorganizing" the Department of Health in the interest of economy and efficiency. Although they failed to reach their objective of general reorganization, the conflict which they precipitated was not altogether barren of result. Now that the smoke of the battle has cleared away, it is possible to determine more clearly the issues at stake in contest between the mayor and public opinion. Students of administration will find much profit in careful study of these issues. There has been a remarkably clear demonstration of the fact that intelligently directed public opinion can be counted upon to safeguard public interest when the issue is indeed a vital one; that public health education has proved to be a most essential factor in municipal health progress; and that the people are at last beginning to realize the need for trained experts in government.

The accomplishments of the New York health department as a leader in progressive health work are recognized throughout this country and abroad and are matters of pride to New Yorkers. The organization of the health department into bureaus, each having a special function to perform, and under the leadership of acknowledged experts, has served as a model for scores of cities. The names of Dr. S. Josephine Baker, in child hygiene, Dr. William H. Park, in bacteriological research, Dr. Louis I. Harris, in industrial hygiene, Dr. Robert J. Wilson, in contagious disease hospital service, Dr. Charles F. Bolduan, in public health education, and Lucius Polk Brown, in food inspection, are household words among public health authorities and students. So, when Mayor Hylan sought by secret investigations and privy council proceedings to "reorganize" the department, and apparently to eliminate many of these bureaus and their efficient executives a protest from the public and the press arose immediately, and an insistent demand to know why smote the ears of the mayor and his investigators.

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[1] Bureau of Municipal Research.

INVESTIGATION

Basing his call for a reorganization of the health department upon the provisions of the New York charter which states that there shall be two bureaus of the health department, namely, a sanitary bureau and a bureau of records, the mayor first took the ground that other bureaus which had been established to meet the demands for greater specialization and functionalization of services had been illegally created. Not satisfied with this explanation, health and civic agencies throughout the city met in conference at the invitation of the New York bureau of municipal research and demanded not only the opinion of the corporation counsel on the legality of the bureaus, but also that future hearings in the matter of reorganization of the health department be thrown open to the public. Although Mr. Hylan refused to treat with "The Committee of 21" appointed by this conference of civic and social associations to confer with him, the overwhelming protest of medical societies, health organizations, the Woman Suffrage Party, and other influential bodies, together with the wholehearted support of the press, was followed by an order from the mayor directing that further hearings of his investigators be held in open session.

The investigations of civic agencies developed also the fact that, with respect to the establishment of bureaus other than those mentioned in the city charter, the corporation counsels of two previous administrations had rendered opinions approving the action of the board of health in thus extending its organization. This, of course, put a new face on the matter, and as soon as the legal justification of the mayor's attempt at reorganization was shown to be without foundation, other factors not previously defined were introduced by the president of the civil service commission then engaged in the investigation of the health department. Charges of graft were made against certain employes of the bureau of food and drugs and in his statement to the press the president of the civil service commission intimated that there was a "chain of graft" running throughout the department and involving some officials of high rank. As was proper, such charges of graft were referred to the district attorney for investigation and action. The investigations of the district attorney did not however reveal a "chain of graft" and resulted only in the indictment of three employes of the department for extortion and the returning of additional indictment against two of the three for bribery in connection with the sale of oysters.

The attack of the mayor's investigators now shifted again under the drive of public opinion, and a preliminary report was prepared by the civil service commission, the commissioner of health, Dr. J. Lewis Amster, and the secretary of the board of health, Dr. Frank Monogham. This preliminary report alleged that there exists in the department of health "a smooth running, systematic graft agency," a statement which however the investigations of the district attorney did not verify. The report recommended, as regards the organization of the health department, that the bureau of public health education be abolished as "useless" and the mere "press agent" of the health department, declaring that "the publication of a weekly health bulletin, records of vital statistics, and such other matters as should be published at the expense of the city can very properly be handled by a $2,000 a year clerk."

Public Health Education

This offhand condemnation of a health educational service which had been a model for federal, state and municipal health agencies since its very beginning, did not, of course, find approval among any persons informed on health matters. Protests against the abolition of this bureau came from all over the United States and Canada, from federal health authorities, state boards of health and municipal health officers. Labor leaders voiced their dissent from the judgment of the investigators in unmistakable terms, and at the public hearings on the proposal, leading health experts including Dr. S. S. Goldwater, former commissioner of health and Dr. Abraham Jacobi, dean of the medical profession of the city urged non-interference with this bureau. Even the commissioner of health, Dr. Lewis J. Amster, who had signed the preliminary report of the civil service commission, admitted when questioned, the necessity of extending rather than curtailing the educational work of the department and scouted the idea that this work could be carried on by a $2,000 a year clerk.

This admission on the part of the commissioner of health marked the first split in the mayor's forces and in four days after his disagreement with the mayor's investigators was made public, the commissioner of health, who was the mayor's own appointee, resigned, charging the mayor with bad faith, violation of promises of non-interference, and "petty direction and arbitrary inaction." The retiring health commissioner declared also that the immediate cause of his resignation was the demand of the mayor that Dr. S. S. Goldwater and Dr. Abraham Jacobi be dropped from the medical advisory board of the health department—Dr. Goldwater because he was a "highbrow" and a "leftover" from the previous administration, and Dr. Jacobi because he was related to an editor of the New York *Times* which opposed Mayor Hylan before and since election. In a letter accompanying his resignation, Dr. Amster stated that he had signed the preliminary report urging the abolition of the bureau of public health education on the understanding that the recommendation regarding this bureau was tentative only and to be approved finally after proper public hearings on the matter.

DR. AMSTER'S RESIGNATION

Dr. Amster's resignation was promptly accepted by the mayor who was quoted as saying relative to protests against the abolition of the bureau of public health education—"I don't give a darn for those federal government letters or for those from other people interested in public health education. As long as I am mayor the health department will be run as I see fit." This statement has a familiar ring to citizens of New York, recalling Tweed and his "What are you going to do about it?" and Commodore Vanderbilt's "The public be damned."

Commissioner Amster was hardly out of the door before Mayor Hylan appointed as health commissioner Dr. Royal S. Copeland of the New York Homeopathic College and Flower Hospital. In taking office Dr. Copeland declared that the mayor had promised him a free hand in conducting health matters and stated that he would resign immediately if this promise was not kept. He promised further to guarantee a square deal to all employes of the department and to seek and foster the co-operation of all citizens in the public health program.

ATTACKS ON DIRECTOR OF FOODS AND DRUGS

On the day after the appointment of the new commissioner of health the president of the civil service commission renewed his attack upon the health department. This time the attack centered chiefly upon Lucius P. Brown, director of the bureau of food and drugs. In a letter to Commissioner Copeland the president of the civil service commission charged Mr. Brown with advocating the passage of a bill in the state legislature which would lower the milk standards of the city, with "unwillingness to interfere with the operations of the Borden Milk Company," and with favoring a large drug company of the city, the head of which acted as an examiner in the civil service examination which resulted in the appointment of Mr. Brown as director of the bureau of food and drugs. The bureau of public health education also came again under bombardment and its director, Dr. Charles F. Bolduan, was charged with using the bureau of public health education to promote the "Staten Island garbage grab" which was one of the "issues" of the campaign which resulted in Mayor Hylan's election. Dr. Bolduan was also taken to task for using the bureau of public health education to conduct a "prohibition campaign" a matter which the president of the civil service commission considered to be outside the field of public health education.

Not content to sit idly by while his reputation was thus attacked, the director of the bureau of foods and drugs promptly replied to the broadside of the president of the civil service commission, denying categorically the charges made and demanded the production of evidence of misconduct or incompetency. The commissioner of health accepting the charges of the president of the civil service commission at face value, suspended the director of the bureau of food and drugs immediately and stated that "particulars and specifications" of the charges against him would be forthcoming. In his statements to the press, Commissioner Copeland reiterated his assurances of a fair deal for the suspended director, and declared that the suspended director would have full opportunity to answer charges against him in open public hearing. He further promised that the accused would have an opportunity to be represented by counsel and to call witness for his defense as well as to cross examine his accusers. The suspension of the official in question occurred on the second of May, but it was not until May 28th, almost four weeks later, that the health commissioner made public the charges against the suspended director, although proper procedure requires that charges be made prior to the suspension of an officer.

In the meantime, Dr. Charles F. Bolduan, director of the bureau of public health education which had been under constant fire since the beginning of the investigation, resigned on May 8, to accept service elsewhere, after fourteen years of efficient service in the health department.

A TAMMANY INVESTIGATION

When at length the health commissioner on May 28 published his charges against Mr. Brown, everyone was surprised to find that only one of the accusations made by the president of the civil service commission, on the basis of which the director of the bureau of food and drugs was suspended, was mentioned, namely, that the director had favored the so-called "Wicks bill" in the state legislature. This bill permitted the standardization of milk, that is, the abstracting of cream from milk rich in cream, and the addition of this cream to milk poorer in quality. The purpose of this measure was to make more milk available under the law of the state which fixes a definite standard of butter fat content, and thereby to lower the price of milk to consumers. The bill was supported with some modification, not only by the director of the bureau of food and drugs of the health department, but also by other acknowledged experts throughout the state.

The other counts of the formal charges of the health commissioner related to the suspended director's administrative competence only. He was charged with failure to recommend food standards and adopt a food code; lack of personal supervision of employes; neglecting his duties by failing to attend certain conferences; absenting himself from the department to give lectures in other cities; transacting personal business during office hours and other matters of similar nature.

With this submission of charges the health commissioner announced, notwithstanding his earlier promise of a "fair" deal and a "fair" trial of the suspended director, that no witness might be called by the accused nor would the opportunity be given him to be represented by counsel; in other words, that the suspended officer will only have an opportunity to "explain," after which the decision of the board of health will be made. In spite of the fact that the health officer of the Port of New York, one of the members of the board of health, has come out in favor of giving Mr. Brown a trial surrounded by the safeguards of judicial process, it is evident that his views of the matter are not shared by health commissioner Copeland and police commissioner Richard E. Enright, the other two members of the board. The public awaits with interest the "trial" of Mr. Brown. If he is not found guilty, and dismissed, the civil service commission will be in a rather embarrassing position. If he is dismissed after a trial at which he can have no counsel or witnesses what will become of the fair name of the civil service commission?

Behind the attack of the mayor on the health department there is perhaps more than meets the eye. Graft charges and investigations, civil service wrangles, and political and personal controversies are of merely passing interest. The kaleidoscopic shifting of scenes during the past few weeks has tended to obscure even more important issues than have yet appeared. In Mayor Hylan's original charge that certain bureaus of the health department had been illegally established we may discern however the real inwardness of the attack upon the organization of the health department.

Autonomy in Health Matters.

When the greater city was established and the charter of 1898 became effective, the various parties to consolidation, that is, the present boroughs of the greater city, endeavored to preserve as far as possible autonomy in health matters. The organization of the health department was therefore laid out upon a geographical basis and each borough was given a certain autonomy in health affairs though under nominal central control. Borough offices were established and in each office was placed an assistant sanitary superintendent and an assistant registrar of records, representing repectively the two bureaus of the health department authorized in the charter, namely, the sanitary bureau and the bureau of records. As time went on it was discovered that this method of conducting the health business of the greater city had certain very serious defects. There was lack of proper centralization of responsibility, inadequate co-ordination of related functions, overlapping of service, and little uniformity of procedure.

Accordingly, a tendency toward greater centralization of authority became evident and the development of a functional in place of a geographical organization was begun in 1907. A central division of communicable diseases, and a central division of child hygiene were early established to take complete charge of all activities along these lines in all boroughs. From this time on the authority of the assistant sanitary superintendents in the various boroughs grew less and less until in 1913, Dr. Ernest J. Lederle then commissioner of health, recognizing the necessity for complete central control and the need for specialization of services under competent experts, reorganized the department and designated eight central bureaus, each charged with a specific health function, namely administration, child hygiene, infectious diseases, food and drugs, hospitals, laboratories, sanitation, and records. In this reorganization nothing was "created" but many uncoordinated services formerly designated as divisions were brought into harmony in these bureaus which were placed under complete central control and under the immediate direction of expert specialists in their particular functions. One more bureau was established in the same way by Dr. S. S. Goldwater, commissioner of health in 1914, and the director of this bureau was made responsible for all the educational publicity work of the department which had hitherto been divided among several bureaus.

CENTRALIZATION IN HEALTH MATTERS

The present highly centralized type of organization has its limitation chiefly in the fact that it gives relatively little consideration to local or community interests. New York city is made up of a large number of small communities, each with its own special problems, to the solution of which the present organization does not readily adapt itself. Because of this remoteness of the central authorities from actual community contact there is even now a tendency to decentralize somewhat the health control of the city. Instead, however, of reverting to the older type of borough or geographical distribution of health service units, the plan of district health supervision is now being tried as an experiment in the borough of Queens. This experiment was begun by Commissioner Goldwater in 1914, when an experimental health district was established on the lower east side of Manhattan under the immediate direction of Dr. A. E. Shipley. The experiment sought to determine how far it might be desirable to meet local or community health needs by the establishment of district health offices or centers while still retaining a strong central control, and this wholly apart from any idea of providing for borough autonomy in health matters.

But even this concession to local interests does not satisfy the borough autonomists who still cling to their "reserved rights" which they wrote into the charter of 1898. In 1917 and again in 1918 a bill was introduced into the state legislature to create a separate department of health for the boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens. The bill of 1917 was passed by the legislature but was vetoed by the then mayor—John Purroy Mitchel—and a similar bill in 1918, though passing the senate during the closing hours of the recent session, did not go to the assembly.

This controversy between advocates of complete centralization and borough autonomy in health service will probably not be settled until a satisfactory plan for conserving community health interests is devised. The district health plan appears to have much to commend it, but it is at the present time limited in its application largely because district health officers cannot be found who have the requisite experience and other qualifications necessary to take the responsibility for conducting the health district work and because there is not complete and co-operative sympathy with the plan among the present bureau heads of the health department, some of whom see in the extension of the health district plan the curtailment of their own present broad powers.

Recognizing the need for a thorough study of this whole matter of highly centralized control versus community or district control, the bureau of municipal research urged at the very outset of the present controversy a careful scientific study of New York city's health service. In a letter to Mayor Hylan on April 17, Dr. Charles A. Beard, director of the bureau of municipal research, urged that a commission of health experts, representing the New York Academy of Medicine, the state health department, the United States Public Health Service, the New York and Kings County Medical Societies, and other recognized health agencies be appointed to study the health situation and to make recommendations relative to the health organization of the city. The mayor however refused to accept this suggestion.

It is well, however, for the citizens of New York and citizens of other large cities as well to recognize the fact that municipal health service must be developed along somewhat broader lines in the future. Almost every large American city has gone beyond the imagination of the early framers of its health policy, and health organization will need to be adjusted from time to time to meet in a more direct and less impersonal manner, community ideals and interests. Controversies such as this are likely to recur with each succeeding administration, and as in the present case the real issues will likely be obscured by the dust of personal and political squabbles.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

The State Tax Commission: A Study of the Development and Results of State Control over the Assessment of Property for Taxation. By Harley Leist Lutz, Ph.D. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Pp. 673.

More than half of the states now have tax departments headed by two or more commissioners. Every year new commissions are created at the behest of some political overlord, some powerful interest inconvenienced by efficient tax administration, or even in response to some sporadic awakening of the forces of good government, or an urgent need for increased revenues. Accumulated experience shows beyond a doubt that certain types of laws are doomed in advance to failure. Yet every legislative season sees these ineffective pieces of tax machinery set up, only to be torn down and replaced in a short time by something equally ineffective.

One cannot help wishing that for the next decade every legislator and public official responsible for the machinery of tax administration could be required to read this book and learn from it the lesson of the experience of state tax commissions past and present. Professor Lutz's scholarly survey and critical analysis would certainly convince any open-minded and intelligent legislator that to obtain satisfactory results a tax commission must not be hampered by *ex officio* members; that members with proper qualifications of training and experience, giving all their time to the work, must be protected by a fairly long term of office with stability of tenure; and that it is necessary to provide salaries large enough to attract able men and to protect them from the evils of partisan politics both in their appointment and in carrying on their work.

In his early chapters Professor Lutz traces the historical evolution of the administrative side of American taxation. Beginning with the organization of state boards of equalization which effected some temporary improvement in respect to undervaluation and evasion, he shows that these in time proved to be inadequate and were forced to give way to state tax departments headed by commissions and capable of exercising supervision over local assessments, providing expert assessment for corporations, and a general administration of the entire tax system. Throughout the volume appears a clearly discernible tendency toward greater state control of local administrative processes and even state assumption of those processes.

The general conclusion reached is that state control of local administration has been beneficial and should be extended in some directions even further than at present, in order to permit the correction of certain defects still existing. Neither separation of the sources of state and local revenues nor any degree of perfection of methods of equalization can wholly free the state from its responsibility for supervision of local assessments.

Separate chapters are devoted to the commissions of Indiana, New York, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Michigan, West Virginia, Washington, Minnesota, Kansas, Oregon and Ohio. The more recently established commissions and those which have lately been given more extensive powers are described in three chapters, following a geographical grouping.

The outstanding achievements of the newer tax departments or commissions are to be found in the improvements introduced in the assessment and equalization of real estate, the development of an improved technique in tax administration, and a remarkable advance in the assessment of corporate property brought about largely by the employment of persons more or less expert, giving their whole time to the work and following better methods.

An excellent bibliography of fourteen pages completes a volume which students and administrators will for a long time find indispensable to any thorough acquaintance with the history and problems of state tax administration.

C. C. Williamson.

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Street Railway Fares: Their Relation to Length of Haul and Cost of Service. By Dugald C. Jackson and David J. McGrath. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. Pp. 169.

This joint work is an intelligent and unprejudiced study of the basic problems involved in fixing a just cost of urban street railway service. It is unfortunate, in a way, that the investigation on which the authors based conclusions ended early in 1916, before the effect of the war on the street railway industry was more than superficially felt. From this fact the conclusions reached as to rates of fare are unavoidably somewhat inadequate. It is unfortunate, too, that they could not have had the benefit of the results of recent investigations by public service commissions and individual experts into the field of operating economies and discussed this phase of the subject. The authors ignore wholly as a fare rate factor the vast possibilities for reducing operating cost through new methods of operation, prominent among them the skip-stop, the one man car, devices to reduce peak-load traffic and other methods, which suggest practical economies of operation not before dreamed of by street railway operators, and in some cases a way to preserve the prevailing rate of fare.

The authors have done a notably valuable work in presenting the salient facts of the period covered in their investigation—1914–1915—and in drawing their conclusions they appear to have been eminently fair and judicial. Their study covers the United States generally and includes both elaborate statistical studies and intensive investigation of transportation conditions in specific fields. A special chapter is given to a review of Cleveland's experience with cheap fares, and their findings appear to be fair to all interests. Other studies cover the zone system of fixing fares, the relation of length of haul and density of traffic to cost of service, a comparison of American and British fare systems, and rate of return on capital investment. The authors reach the following condensed general conclusions:

That the flat-rate system as used on practically all the street railways of this country is an inheritance from the horse-car days, and is not now the proper or the best system for fixing fares, being too inflexible to meet changing conditions entering into the cost of furnishing service and discriminating between long and short rides.

That the only just and satisfactory way to meet present and future conditions in the street railway industry is for the companies to arrange their fare systems on a basis more nearly approximating distance, or zone, rates. A reasonable limitation of the length of haul for a 5c. fare in urban service, with a small excess charge for long hauls, and a lower unit rate than 5c. for a short haul in some cases, is the concrete suggestion offered.

While the authors made their study before the experiment of a 6c. fare in any city of importance had been made, they declare that their data show clearly that increased unit fares almost invariably result in a reduction in total passenger traffic, being especially discouraging to short riders. This view reinforces the present day opinion held by some that the popular recourse to a higher rate of fare to meet the added burdens of furnishing street railway transportation may not bring the results expected.

Before recommending a rate of fare each individual case must be treated as a special problem and studied separately, they hold. The rate as fixed should possess sufficient flexibility to lessen the risks of loss of dividends or interest as a means to secure capital at minimum rates.

And due consideration should be given to the sociological and psychological sides of the question as well as its financial and economic aspects.

STILES P. JONES.

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THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN WAR AND PEACE. By Charles Harris Whitaker, Frederick L. Ackerman, Richard S. Childs, Edith Elmer Woods and others. Washington, D. C.: *The Journal of the American Institute of Architects.* Pp. 116, illustrated. $2.25.

One of those who secured a copy of this thin, paper-covered volume and noted that it consists chiefly of articles reprinted from the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects,* first exclaimed over its price and then explained that lack of interest in the subject probably compelled a small edition. But however near to or far from the truth this explanation may be there is great significance in the fact that the *Journal* should be sponsor for such a book. Naturally architects have written much about houses, but here they have concerned themselves with other than architectural questions, have invaded the fields of economics and sociology and then have supplemented their own outgivings by including articles written by men and a woman quite outside the profession.

The *Journal* rendered a distinct service when it sent Mr. Ackerman to England last year to study the house-building undertaken by the British government in war time. It is increasing this service by putting his report and the other articles into a form which makes them available for others than architects, who alone may be presumed to keep files of the *Journal* on their shelves.

To be sure the architect's point of view is dominant in the book and it results in a somewhat unbalanced presentation of the subject, noticeable in references to such matters as "restrictive" housing legislation as opposed to "constructive" housing legislation. Perhaps this is not altogether unfortunate as the balance in American discussions has inclined to be the other way. Mrs. Wood in her article obviously seeks to keep the balance true though her subject, "Constructive Housing Legislation and Its Lesson For the United States," forces her to become a special pleader. But one wishes that Mr. Kohn had added to his brief but caustic comments on the New York tenement house law what "some of us think we know is needed to relieve a situation which is the result of our inelastic law joined to the profiteers' cupidity." Others of us would like to know what Mr. Kohn thinks he knows.

There are other explanations than the one in the first paragraph why this book will not be a best seller. It is a pioneer. Much of its content lies beyond the interest of many architects. It is not sparing of adjectives for another group in the community, the real estate operator. It contains an article by Richard S. Childs that shows a way by which the land owner may be put out of business and so counters an ancient tradition; another by Thomas Adams on the control of land, not for the benefit of individuals, but for that of the community; and another by Walter H. Kilham on Massachusetts as a landlord.

Dreams of a Utopia too far away to even seem possible may run into large editions, suggestions whose sponsors believe they can and should be acted on now don't take well until they have been accepted. They involve thinking and the overcoming of difficulties. The Housing Problem in War and Peace is one of a new crop of books on housing the number and popularity of which will increase.

JOHN IHLDER.

Philadelphia.

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THE PLAY MOVEMENT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE. By Henry S. Curtis, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 346. $1.50.

In these days of war, when at first to think of play seemed unpatriotic, until next it appeared that without recreation, which is merely another name for play, soldier efficiency was decreased enormously, and the firing line diverted by nearly 20 per cent of its fighting units, a broad discussion of the play movement is distinctly in order.

Dr. Curtis, who was formerly secretary of the Playground Association of America, and is now supervisor of Playgrounds of the District of Columbia, has written three other books on play. The present volume is an up-to-date survey of a movement by no means yet fully comprehended or understood in the United States, but which is of the utmost present relationship to that community efficiency and production on which, in the last analysis, the security of democratic institutions mainly depends.

The book discusses the play movement in the United States, in its relation to schools and towns. There is an important chapter on public recreation, and a frank and rather upsetting chapter in which the streets as playgrounds are considered for that purpose. Play in the country is discussed extensively, as is play for institutions. The two national organizations which can be so helpful, the Boy Scouts and the Camp-Fire Girls, are related to recreation, and there is adequate setting forth of the means for obtaining the equipment and supplies. A broad recreation survey is proposed and outlined, and the whole subject is brought down to "brass tacks" in the chapter entitled "What is the Cost?" Dr. Curtis urges the economy of playground provision, while putting to well deserved scorn the conventional attitude in American communities which are usually "working for a low tax rate, with the feeling that a city with a low rate must be an economical city to live in," while it is apparent that not infrequently "a low tax rate may well mean that the city will be an expensive city to live in." Stating that we are now spending about ten cents per capita on public recreation in America, Dr. Curtis insists that "an adequate system, which is really necessary for the people of the country, would cost us one hundred million dollars a year, or one dollar per capita."

It may properly be said that Dr. Curtis' book is the best available present day treatise on the one subject most likely to be overlooked, neglected and minified by the well-meaning but short-sighted patriots, who, if they had their way, would soon unknowingly destroy the working efficiency of the United States, as well as its ability to pay taxes and buy bonds. Proper attention to the play movement from the sane public standpoint is surely, at this moment, one of the very best ways in which to "keep the home fires burning."

J. Horace McFarland.

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American City Progress and the Law. Hewitt Lectures by Howard Lee McBain. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. 289.

This little volume provides a sound and discriminating discussion of the decisions of our courts on the method of securing municipal home rule, the doctrine of a strict construction of the grant of municipal powers and the limitations upon the powers of our cities when they enter upon such modern municipal activities as regulation of the smoke nuisance and billboards, city planning, including the limitation of the height of buildings, zoning and excess condemnation, municipal ownership of public utilities, regulation of prices, public recreation and the promotion of commerce and industry. The author not only collects most of the recent cases on the subjects under discussion but carefully examines the reasons advanced by the courts. No one who has read much in the cases can fail to agree with him in his strictures upon the frequent indefiniteness and meaninglessness of the phrases of some of the opinions and the unsoundness or inadequacy of the reasons often given. The treatment throughout is fair, moderate, progressive and sane. Where the author has a theory to suggest out of line with the law as settled he does not leave the real state of the law in doubt. The book again demonstrates the elasticity and expansiveness of the common law.

It may be slow moving but it does, to a considerable extent, adapt itself to the advancing needs and views of society. The volume is decidedly helpful to the teacher and student of municipal corporations as well as to the instructor and pupil in municipal government.

FRED W. CATLETT.

Seattle, Wash.

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IMPORTANT FEDERAL LAWS. Compiled by John A. Lapp, LL.D. Indianapolis: B. F. Bowen & Co. 1917. Pp. 1100.

The functions of the federal government, especially of supervision and control, are being extended so rapidly that a volume like this is of necessity of interest and importance to students of municipal affairs. It deals with such questions as vocational education, immigration and naturalization, regulation of business, foods and drugs, labor, elections, moral reform, public health, and penology, with all of which the municipal student is directly concerned. Dr. Lapp has brought together in this volume all the recent legislation dealing with these and kindred subjects, pointing out in his introduction that "the growth of federal power has been marked during the last two years, concrete evidence of which is found in many acts of Congress which regulate business. Twenty years ago it was hardly necessary for the lawyer or business man to refer to federal acts in the conduct of everyday affairs. The state laws governed the business relations of men almost entirely. This condition has completely changed." The list of acts compiled in this volume indicates the extent to which the federal government has gone in controlling the affairs of men and in providing for the common welfare.

It is significant to note that of the important acts in the volume more than two-thirds have been enacted since 1910, and more than half passed, revised or amended since June, 1916. The war is working many changes, but in none so extensively or effectively as in connection with the various subjects treated in this volume. A supplement gives the important acts of the special session of Congress which adjourned October 6, 1917.

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STATE SANITATION. By George Chandler Whipple. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Vol. II. $2.50.

In the second volume of his admirable review of the work of the Massachusetts state board of health, Professor Whipple summarizes the reports of that body. In this way the whole wealth of material accumulated during a long period of useful service has been made available. In making the selections especial prominence has been given to water supply and sewage disposal, in the investigation of which the board has been a leader and in the solution of the metropolitan phases of which Boston and adjacent cities have been so deeply concerned. Among the other subjects treated are public health in its broader aspects (the earliest contribution being a circular letter of 1870), preventive medicine, the Charles River basin, bacteriology, inspection of dairies and infantile paralysis.

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MODERN CIVIC ART. By Charles Mulford Robinson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.50. (Fourth Edition.)

That four editions of this admirable work should be called for is a striking tribute to its value and permanency. Written fifteen years ago, the author in his preface to his fourth edition said that a rereading of it impressed two things upon his mind: one was the endorsement which the lapse of time had given to its principles, and the other was the progress of municipal art within that period. The prefatory note contains a significant word as to the "seeming incongruity of a volume on such a subject at a period when modern civilization was fighting for its life, and when cities that long have been the pride of civic art are crumbling between shot and shell." But he adds, "Was there ever a time when civic art needed more urgently than now that its friends should rally for it, ever a more needed occasion for clearly enunciating its eternal principles than when the builders of cities are facing the despair of a shattered past and the opportunity of an untrammelled future? Surely it is not without significance that during the world war civic art has been the one phase of art which has proved a subject of international discussion. A half-dozen committees are concerning themselves while the war lasts to make sure that cities and towns shall be reconstructed in accordance with artistic principles."

This volume increases one's sense of loss in the passing away of its author.

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A Bibliography of Municipal Utility Regulation and Municipal Ownership. By Don Lorenzo Stevens, N. B. A. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. $4.

This is a comprehensive bibliography designed primarily for the use of business men, but of use to all students of this problem. Prepared as part of the editor's work on a volume on the regulation of municipal utilities, it represents more than the average bibliography in that the descriptive notes are fuller and so far as a brief examination discloses, accurate and helpful. The references are arranged under the following headings: general works, history of utilities and of regulation, franchises, public service commissions, fluctuation, rates, taxation, holding companies, municipal ownership. Perhaps it was to be expected there would be no reference to the effect of the war on transportation and the management and conduct of public utilities generally. It is only a question of time, and that a very short time, when most of the material on this subject will have only historical interest unless written from the new viewpoint of a larger social and community point of view. The volume is one of the Harvard business studies.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

A Chronicle of One Hundred and Fifty Years. The Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, 1768–1918. By Joseph Bucklin Bishop. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 310.

City Manager Plan of Government. By Edward Charles Mabie. New York: The H. S. Wilson Company. Debaters' Handbook Series. Pp. 245. $1.25.

A Community Center: What It Is and How to Organize It. By Henry E. Jackson. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 159. $1.

The Financing of Public Service Corporations. By Milton B. Ignatius, LL.M. New York: The Ronald Press Company. Pp. 508.

History of Labour in the United States. By John R. Commons, et al. Vols. I and II. New York: The Macmillan Company. $6.50.

Mediaeval Town Planning. A Lecture delivered at the John Rylands Library, December 13, 1916. By T. F. Tout, M.A., F.B.A. Manchester: The University Press. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

Municipal Ownership. Compiled by Julia E. Johnsen. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. Debaters' Handbook Series. Pp. 334. $1.50.

The New Voter: Things He and She Ought to Know About Politics and Citizenship. By Charles Willis Thompson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Pp. 349. $1.50.

Party Organization and Machinery in Michigan since 1890. By Arthur Chester Millspaugh, Ph.D. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. Pp. 189. $1.

The Real Business of Living. By James H. Tufts. New York: Henry Holt & Company. Pp. 476.

Theories of Social Progress. By Arthur James Todd, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 579. $2.25.

Use Your Government. What Your Government Does for You. By Alissa Franc. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Pp. 374. $2.

The Woman Voter's Manual. By S. E. Forman and Marjorie Shuler. New York: The Century Co. Pp. 180. $1.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Untaxed Wealth of Cleveland and Why.[1]—By untaxed wealth Mr. Zangerle means property liable to taxation but not actually taxed. From time to time persons, unfamiliar with Ohio conditions, cite Ohio as a wonderful example of an efficient administration of the general property tax. To all such persons Mr. Zangerle's pamphlet is commended.

Probably none of the admirers of the Ohio system from a distance know that practically all the property of public utility corporations is listed as personal property in Ohio and as real property in many other states, including New York. In Cleveland, public utility property constitutes 32 per cent of the total personal property listed. Other corporations, including banks, supply 55 per cent of the total personal property listed, leaving only 13 per cent for the contribution of natural persons. In the state of New York and in several other states, bank shares and trust company assets are not under the general property tax.

Mr. Zangerle enumerates some of the most troublesome features of the general property tax with those ordinary remedies that have been applied in states more fortunate than Ohio. He shows that he cannot collect taxes on automobiles satisfactorily and recommends that they pay a registration tax in lieu of all other taxes. He says that banks have a just grievance and implies that the New York and Pennsylvania systems are better than the Ohio. The attempt to tax bank deposits is a failure. He says, "Under the circumstances, no thumb screw or rack or fear of perjury could pry loose this property from thousands of owners."

He has nothing good to say for the taxation of mortgages and credits and recommends an amendment to the Constitution permitting the exemption of mortgages after payment of a recording fee. As to the taxation of the stock of foreign corporations he says there are not enough judges to try the cases that would arise if proceedings were brought against all persons suspected of having foreign stocks. The conviction of owners that the taxation of shares is double taxation renders the task of the administrator hard. He concludes that the personal property tax "takes three-fourths of all the time and expense of Ohio assessors, produces 4 to 5 per cent of the revenue, if corporation, bank, and estate listings are segregated."

There is much that is admirable in the statement of the method of assessment of land and buildings and in the suggestion of various improvements in the system.

LAWSON PURDY.

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Taxation in Saskatchewan Municipalities.[1]—Dr. Robert Murray Haig in a report to the government of Saskatchewan has made an admirable summary of an abnormal and difficult condition caused by the war.

The cities of Saskatchewan have depended chiefly for their revenue upon a tax on land values. In the aggregate, 86 per cent of the revenue of the seven cities in the province was derived from land alone; eleven per cent came from a tax on improvements; and 3 per cent from various other sources. The selling value and, in consequence, the assessed value of vacant land in these cities rose before the war to extravagant heights. Since the beginning of the war assessments have been much reduced, though probably not to the extent of the fall in selling value. In Regina the assessed value was seventy-three millions in 1914 and forty-three millions in 1917. In the next largest city, Saskatoon, the assessment was reduced from fifty-seven millions in 1914 to thirty-six millions in 1917. The owners of vacant land have complained quite bitterly that so much of the burden is imposed upon them. Taxes are in arrears to a rather alarming extent. On the average, for all cities, the arrears amount to very nearly one year's tax levy. The administrators who are responsible for obtaining public revenues fear to proceed to enforce the law and sell land for taxes lest it will result in the title falling to the city or in seriously disturbing assessable values.

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[1] By John A. Zangerle, County Auditor.

[1] Taxation in the Urban Municipalities of Saskatchewan. A report to the government of the Province of Saskatchewan, by Robert Murray Haig. 1917. 48 p.

Professor Haig says that "any plan for readjustment should be predicated on the assumption that the special taxation of land, to the extent that the same has come to be generally accepted as normal and proper, will be retained as the basis of the system. This source of revenue has demonstrated, however, its lack of dependability under conditions such as now prevail." Among other things, Professor Haig recommends that the tax rate be limited to twenty mills. It seems that this is much too low a rate. The present tax rates in the cities are not high when one considers that the tax is imposed almost exclusively on land value. In some of the villages the tax rates are quite high, being 14 per cent in one instance; but the highest tax in any city is in Moose Jaw—2.72 per cent; in Regina the rate is 2.4.

The problem seems to be chiefly one of efficient and accurate assessment. Assessments have not been reduced as rapidly as values have fallen. As the tax rate increases, values naturally fall more rapidly than they would otherwise. High tax rates sound much higher than they really are. Interest rates are high in western Canada so that while the capitalization rate in New York might be 5 per cent it probably is nearly 10 per cent in Saskatchewan.

Let us suppose that the capitalization rate is 6 per cent in Saskatchewan. In small cities a suitable building is usually worth twice as much as the ground and often considerably more. For convenience of calculation, let us assume the following facts; land rent, $1,800; building rent, $3,600; total rent, $5,400; tax, $1,200; net rent, $4,200. The tax is 28½ per cent of the net rent of $4,200 and yet the tax rate is 12 per cent, which, on the basis of a 6 per cent capitalization rate, is two-thirds of the rent before the tax is deducted. In this case it is assumed that there is no tax on the building at all.

The city of New York buildings are taxed at full value. We will assume that 5 per cent is the capitalization rate. A little computation will show that a 2 per cent tax rate will take 40 per cent of the net rent. If the rent before the tax were taken out were $5,400 the tax would be $1,542 and the net rent would be $3,858. For improved property, therefore, it appears, that a 12 per cent tax rate on land alone, where the building is worth twice as much as the land, is considerably less than a tax rate of 2 per cent when land and building both are taxed.

If the present policy shall be pursued and assessments reduced as values decrease, the highly desirable result may follow that land not yet ripe for building may have the barrier of speculative value thrown down. If the land is worth anything at all for use it must be for an agricultural use. So used and fairly assessed, the tax would be very small even though the rate were high.

Lawson Purdy.

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State Movement for Efficiency and Economy.—Because of low operating efficiency and impaired services in face of rapidly increasing expenses and added tax burdens, state government at last has begun to attract popular attention. State government, like the government of our counties, has not until very recently shared the consideration which municipal and the national government have received. During the past decade, however, the need for efficiency and economy in state government has been recognized, and in a number of states special agencies have been created to study the problem.

State government originally was planned to care for a relatively small amount of business. As our commonwealths developed and increased in population, and as our national, economic and social life became more and more complex, new agencies have been created to care for the additional functions which state government has had to assume from time to time. These additions have been tacked on the antiquated constitutional structure in a haphazard, illogical manner, and without regard to functional relation to existing agencies, so that to-day we find structural weaknesses, duplication of functions, inefficiency and much unnecessary expense.

In 1911 Wisconsin initiated a nationwide movement for economy and efficiency in state government by the creation of a board to investigate the organization and administration of the state agencies and to formulate plans for the "improvement of the state administration in general." During the next few years similar agencies were created in a number of states. Some of these commissions have called in specialists and critically examined the structural organization of their respective state governments, measured administrative services, and scrutinized methods. Reports have been made, a valuable summary and analysis of which are contained in a volume of 163 pages by Raymond Moley of the Western Reserve University, published as No. 90 of *Municipal Research* by the New York bureau of municipal research.

After reviewing the appointment, organization, duties, plan of work, and accomplishments of the commissions of Wisconsin, New Jersey, Massachusetts, New York, Iowa, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Connecticut, Alabama, Colorado, Kansas, Virginia, Oregon and of West Virginia in chapter one, Mr. Moley passes to a discussion of the recommendations of the commissions regarding the selection of public officers, and finds that "In no case was a recommendation made to increase the number of elective officers, while in four states, Iowa, Illinois, Pennsylvania and Colorado, a short ballot was suggested," and that all agree that too many state officers are now elected. Vesting the governor with wider and more unrestricted power of appointment, he says, is urged in all of the more comprehensive studies, although recommendations as to methods of removal are omitted. The merit system is treated in only five or six of the reports.

With but two exceptions every commission under consideration makes recommendations for budgetary reform, and Mr. Moley calls attention to the fact that "In all cases except one, that of Wisconsin, the thought of the commission seems to have turned to an executive rather than a legislative budget." Nearly all of the reports suggest simplification in governmental machinery and the consolidation of a multitude of offices. Mr. Moley discusses these suggestions in great detail in his chapters five and six under the heading "administration of public service functions."

Mr. Moley reaches the conclusion that the work of the economy and efficiency commissions has shown conclusively that a thorough reorganization in state government is impossible without constitutional amendment; although he frankly admits that the "need of economy is so pressing that the infrequent meetings of a constitutional convention cannot be relied upon for relief."

In discussing what has been accomplished by these commissions he concludes that "the commissions which placed the gathering of data and the formulation of advice in the hands of competent specialists seem to have accomplished the most," and that "the most fruitful results come from bodies made up entirely of members of the legislature. The temporary commission which sets out to offer concrete recommendations limited by and adjusted to actual conditions, and which has a first hand knowledge of the legislature has thus far been the most serviceable to the cause."

Mr. Moley, in preparing this volume, has made a very useful and valuable contribution to the literature on the state movement for efficiency and economy, and deserves the thanks of all students of comparative government and those who have to deal with the every day problems of state administration under the present system.

LeRoy Hodges.[1]

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[1] Secretary to the Governor of Virginia.

General Statistics of Cities: 1916.[1]—Twenty years ago it would have been considered worse than foolish either to ask or expect of the Bureau of Census information concerning the recreational facilities of cities in the United States. It is peculiarly significant that this present survey should appear late in 1917, at a time when the fighting value of recreation in the Armies of Democracy has been made apparent, and when the federal government itself, without any facilities for promoting the necessary recreation in its armies, has turned to the Young Men's Christian Association, as an available agency for keeping the soldiers fit, happy and ready to fight.

The cities considered are placed in five groups, in the familiar census separation. Two hundred and thirteen cities are reported upon. There are comparative diagrams, applying particularly to cities which have a park policy, like Kansas City. Park districts, metropolitan park systems, county park systems, national parks and national forests are all taken into account, so that it may properly be said that there is gathered here information of the utmost importance to those dealing with recreation in any form, and accessible elsewhere only through the consultation of ponderous volumes. The preliminary inquiry was made of men known to be informed and interested in matters of public recreation, and the questions asked, the answers to which are here set forth in tabular form, are consequently intelligent and important. For instance, the distance of parks from the population center of the city is discussed, as also the cost and the methods of park lighting, and policing, and a summary of revenue receipts and governmental cost payments on account of recreation. It is encouraging to note that one hundred and eleven cities now have swimming pools and bathing beaches, and that one hundred and eighteen cities conducted at public expense 5,944 public concerts. Dance halls, free moving picture entertainments, celebrations, museums and art galleries, zoological parks are mentioned and briefly discussed.

The writer does not find himself quite clear in his understanding of the figuring of the cost, and it may be that there has not been exactly the discrimination in obtaining these items that is desirable. Yet it is certain that there is here an important attempt at a fair and impartial comparative statement which is of the utmost value to the student of the sociological relation of recreation.

To the uninformed, the thoughtless and the well-intentioned rattle-brains, such as those, for instance, who have recently been pushing the effort to divert Central Park, New York, from its recreational uses, it may be a matter of information and a suggestion of importance to say that the federal value of all recreational properties in 1916, not related to the national parks, of course, was $1,263,279,877. It is not quite clear exactly how much was expended on the maintenance of this property and in making it serviceable to the large population dependent upon it, but the expenditures reported seem to total about thirty-five millions of dollars, which is important but scarcely serious, being not greatly in excess of the expenditure during the same year for the purchase of chewing gum. One dollar per year for each inhabitant of the United States would not seem to be an excessive expenditure for providing that ability to work, that sane outlook on things which goes to make up productive citizenship through publicly owned and managed recreational facilities.

J. Horace McFarland.

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Town Planning in Australia.—The town planning seed which Mr. Charles C. Reade has been sowing in Australia during the past three years is apparently yielding good fruit. The first Inter-State Conference on Town Planning, held in Adelaide in October last, was witness to the rapid growth of the movement as well as to the energy of its promoters. One of the striking facts shown in connection with the reports[1] of the conference is the extent to which members of government bodies join in its serious deliberations and social functions.

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[1] Including statistics of parks, play-grounds, museums and art galleries, zoölogical collections, music and entertainments, swimming pools and bathing beaches, and other features of the recreational service. Published by the Bureau of Census, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

There was revealed in the discussions reported the need for township planning as well as city planning—a point requiring emphasis in America. As the Governor General of Australia said, the town planning problem varies with the hemisphere, and in new countries is almost more a country than a city problem.

In Mr. Reade's paper on Municipal Town Planning he makes the statement that "the cardinal error in all Australian cities arose with the introduction of local government when the powers possessed by the state were not handed on to the municipality." In order to retain local government and yet enable the powers of the state to be effectively exercised in local matters he proposed the creation of a state town planning authority to work in conjunction with the local councils and in some respects to supersede them.

The draft legislation proposed is described in a pamphlet compiled by Mr. Reade, who is government town planner in South Australia. The legislation covers both housing and town planning and although not appropriate in form for American conditions is worthy of perusal by all interested in town planning law and procedure.

The close connection between the Garden City and town planning movements in the British Empire is indicated by the fact that war housing and planning in England is under the control of Mr. Raymond Unwin and other architects who were identified with the planning of the Letchworth scheme, that Mr. Reade who was assistant secretary of the Garden City Association is now government town planner in Australia, and that Canada has also a former Garden City secretary as its town planning adviser. It is because of this connection that housing reform and town planning are advocated together and dealt with by the same administrative machinery. The coming of government housing in the United States will establish the same link between the two movements in this country, and it is the most hopeful sign of the times that housing reformers and town planners are getting together in working out their schemes.

Thomas Adams.

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Arterial Roads for Birmingham, England.[1]—Here is a publication to astonish certain of our American citizens, some of them in high places, who believe that in order to win the Great War all public enterprise must be stopped and all civic advance forgotten. England is certainly in this war for Democracy, and Birmingham, the manufacturing heart of England, is in it about as deep as any community can be that is not directly under the guns of the Huns. Yet after more than three years of increasingly sanguinary fighting and man depletion, the city of Birmingham calmly prints a proposition for widening and improving the arterial roads which lead out from its civic center.

The first of the plans is a key plan, in which there is shown an "Inner Ring Road" from which radiate, or are to radiate, eight arterial highways, most of them 120 feet wide, save for certain distances restricted to 110 feet wide. These roads have not been laid out by the familiar American T-square method which requires no consideration of the contour of the land, the convenience of the people, or their prosperity. The detailed maps which follow show just what properties will be cut off in a thickly populated and extremely busy city in order to get highways wide enough to avoid further and more difficult congestion in business. Cross sections are given for these arterial roads, showing that they are also worked out with intelligent thought of the present and the future instead of under the simple and usual American scheme of paving all of the highways which cannot be turned into sidewalks. It may surprise American city engineers to learn that where property is to be acquired for widening roads in a large community by the difficult process of tearing down buildings, there is nevertheless thoughtful provision for trees—not less than two rows to any road and usually four—as well as for the trolley tracks. In fact, the standard cross section of the 120 foot arterial road divides so as to show a footpath on either side of 19 feet 6 inches, including tree space; two roadways of 24 feet each on either side of a trolley track, and tree space of 33 feet. The 110 foot section reduces the footpaths to 17 feet 6 inches, eliminates the two central rows of trees, and cuts down the trolley track space to 27 feet.

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[1] South Australian Town Planning and Housing Report and Synopsis, The Metropolitan Organization of Municipal Town Planning; Reports of Conferences, etc.

[1] Plans, etc., for arterial roads, accompanying the report of the Public Works Committee to the City Council of Birmingham, England, October 16, 1917.

Still more astonishingly, this widening proposition, which involves interfering with the fronts of many buildings, goes so far as to indicate how effective business displays may be made by depicting graphically a "type of modern shop front" suggested, as well as putting into the same graphic form a rendering of the completed 120 foot roadway.

That this is no fanciful scheme is indicated by the inclusion in the volume of maps of other cities which have gone along in the same direction ahead of Birmingham. Liverpool, for example, is depicted with several miles of "intended new and widened roads" as compared with many more miles of "recently completed new and widened roads." Edinburgh is called to witness similarly.

The writer's anti-billboard susceptibilities are stimulated by the photographic reproductions accompanying these plans, which show the signboards that will be forever disturbed by the proposed widening, as well as the sort of property that will be rendered more useful for business purposes. The inadequacy of what the English call a footpath and we call a sidewalk is graphically depicted in a number of views, as is the congestion of traffic at a "tramway stopping place." The proposed work is to remedy all these difficulties, and the planning for it seems to have gone on undisturbed by the Prussian menace. It is to be wished that Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip and some other of the public men of America who have recently given utterance to statements respecting the doing of anything but either fighting or sitting on the fence to watch the fighters, might realize how the courageous fighting English are going on with an approach to civic efficiency as the only means to keep their "tight little isle" worth fighting for.

J. Horace McFarland.

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Housing Conditions and Tuberculosis in Los Angeles.[1]—This little pamphlet presents an unusually clear picture of the conditions under which the inhabitants of a certain district in Los Angeles are living and presents with unusual force the effects of those conditions. The author says, "It was forcibly brought to my attention that the clinic treatments were relatively useless if the children lived under conditions that produced disease." She therefore made the study of which this report is a result.

Among the 1,650 inhabitants of the 331 habitations visited, 855 were Mexicans and 495 Italians. The rest were Spanish, Austrian, German, French, English, Irish and American—a conglomerate worthy of an eastern manufacturing city. Of the first group 42 per cent were born in the United States or had lived here at least ten years; of the second group 44 per cent. Of the third group 48 per cent were born in this country and 36 per cent more have lived here at least ten years. The study, consequently, does not deal with helpless new arrivals, but with people a large proportion of whom may be assumed to have achieved as good conditions as they are likely to know unless some new element is introduced into the situation.

The first conclusion drawn is that these people are living on a wage too small to secure the necessities of life. The next is that the "habitations" are inadequate both in sanitation and in size. Many families of Mexicans and Italians are living in dwellings made over from factories and stores. The characteristic dwelling of the Mexicans, however, is the house-court so common in the cities of the southwest. The Italians—and this bears repeating in spite of its re-discovery in city after city where choice is possible—"seemed to have a preference for the cottage." Along with lack of proper sanitation goes lack of sufficient space. In two room houses the family frequently numbers six or eight. "It was not uncommon to find two or three children under the bed on a poor mattress. Some of the most desperate cases of tuberculosis were found in these two-room houses. Under such crowded and unsanitary conditions, and without even the crudest conveniences, it is not surprising that personal cleanliness, as well as necessary care for the home, is neglected."

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[1] A Study of the Housing and Social Conditions in the Ann Street District of Los Angeles, California. By Gladys Patric, M. D., under the direction of the Department of Sociology of the University of Southern California. Published by the Los Angeles Society for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis. 28 p.

The following factors are found to be pre-disposing causes which lower bodily resistence and make ready the soil for the ever present germ:

1. The low wage.
2. Poor and insufficient food.
3. Overcrowding and lack of ventilation.
4. Lack of facilities for cleanliness.
5. Ignorance in regard to personal hygiene.
6. Prevalence of flies.

Dr. Patric's recommendations for the correction of existing conditions include the enforcement of the new state housing law, the registration of open cases of tuberculosis and an increase of sanitoria and open air schools.

John Ihlder.

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The Water-Works System of Chicago[1]. —Chicago is in the unenviable position of being in the top rank of American cities as regards water consumption and waste. During a period when her finances are in a most deplorable condition, when municipal and private thrift is a solemn duty, and when the country is suffering from a coal famine and freight movement stagnation, Chicago continues on her usual course of pumping immense volumes of water at great expense only to be wasted to no one's good. Add to this a muddled system of water-works financing, including a diversion of water revenues to help meet general municipal expenses, and some idea may be gained of the reforms that are needed in the management of the Chicago water-works. All this has been urged on the mayor and counsel and taxpayers for years by the engineers responsible for the water-works operation, but to no avail. In the hope of influencing the public to realize the seriousness of the case this report has been prepared and published. It reviews the history and status of the Chicago water-works, by means of text, tables, diagrams, and halftone views—all so plainly as to be within the easy comprehension of any intelligent citizen, and so forcibly, one would suppose, as to drive home to citizens and councilmen the need for drastic reforms. The remedy for water waste, which is one of the main burdens of the report, is the adoption of meters. This should be done not only to cut down waste and save coal and money, but also because the sale of water by meter measurement is the only equitable way of distributing the burden of water-works service among the consumers. The report deserves wide circulation and study and its plain teachings should be heeded, both in Chicago and many other cities where water is being shamefully wasted and water-works operated with no regard for sound principles of administration.

M. N. B.

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Street Railways in Washington, D. C.— The recent report of John A. Beeler on transportation conditions in Washington, D. C., is a notable contribution to the literature of constructive criticism which is doing so much to better operating conditions in the urban transportation field. Mr. Beeler's report is addressed to the public utilities commission of the District of Columbia and issued as Senate document No. 197.

Following a comprehensive study of

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[1] Report prepared by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency. Pp. 207; illustrated.

street railway operating conditions in the district, Mr. Beeler offers a series of definite suggestions for making the system adequate to meet the extraordinary conditions in Washington resulting from the enormous influx of government workers during the past year.

Mr. Beeler recommends ten measures for immediate relief from the intolerable conditions of street-car crowding and street congestion. Prominent among these are the skip-stop, loading platforms at various strategetic locations, double berthing, limitation of auto parking in the streets, one-way traffic on certain thoroughfares, rerouting, new extensions, and, finally, the "staggering" of the hours of business for private and government officers as a means of minimizing the peak-load problem. Most of the recommendations were put into effect promptly, and with obviously beneficial results. The application of the skip-stop, it is estimated, has increased the speed of the cars approximately 15 per cent. Application of Mr. Beeler's recommendations also affords opportunities for notable reductions in operating expenses.

Stiles P. Jones.

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Civil Service Progress in St. Louis.—The efficiency board of St. Louis, Mo., has recently published two documents of interest. One contains the "rules of the efficiency board governing the classified service," and the other gives a "description of the duties and classification of positions in the classified service of the city of St. Louis." The latter is of especial interest because it presents a departure from the usual procedure in standardizing public employments. After the efficiency board had worked out a classification of the service and had defined the duties of all the different positions it published the results in questionnaire form and sent them to employers of all classes for the purpose of ascertaining the prevailing rates of compensation and other conditions of employment of persons performing duties similar to those in the city service. The information thus obtained is to be used as a basis for fixing the standard salary and wage rates and will apply to positions under the city government.

It is interesting, also, to note that the efficiency board of St. Louis followed the New York plan of classification rather than the Chicago, or Jacobs plan.

William C. Beyer.

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Standardization of Salaries in Massachusetts.—On January 2, 1918, the executive council of the state of Massachusetts transmitted to the legislature its report on the standardization of salaries in the state service. This report was prepared by a special committee of the council which had been engaged on the work for the sixteen months preceding. The detailed work in connection with the state departmental and institutional service as distinguished from the judicial and county service was done by the supervisor of administration.

Unlike other reports on standardization of employments, this one does not embody the actual specifications of individual positions and groups of positions, but simply gives a sample specification to illustrate the method used. This sample specification and the classification of the service indicate that the New York plan of standardization has been followed as a model. It is noteworthy also that the agency by which the standardization program in Massachusetts has been undertaken is an administrative body other than the civil service commission, for the last two years have witnessed a decided tendency to make the department having to do with employment the standardization agency.

A word should be said by way of commendation for the exceedingly lucid and non-technical manner in which the matter of this report is presented. W. C. B.

⁂

"Know Your Own Town, State, Country."—Under this title, with the subheading "Prepare for Good Citizenship," the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association has provided a set of eleven questionnaires, covering town, city and state governments, as well as the United States government, and including such topics as health and recreation, industries, taxes, public utilities, police and fire protection, charitable and educational institutions.

"The purpose of this study course," as stated in the preliminary circular, "is to prepare for good citizenship." Obviously anyone who can answer 50 per cent of the questions is at least in possession of the knowledge which might make him a good citizen. It is perhaps too much to expect, however, that we patriotic, enthusiastic, lazy Americans should inform ourselves in detail upon matters so unessential as those relating to the protection we get from government, to the taxes we pay for maintaining that government, and to everything which surrounds us, including air, smoke, artificial light and the other appurtenances of civilization.

Very admirable are these questions. Anyone actually interested can obtain the sheets at five cents each, or fifty cents per dozen, upon addressing the headquarters of the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association, 448 Butler Exchange, Providence, Rhode Island.

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A Statistical Study of American Cities.—A comparison of various municipal conditions in thirty-six cities, made by the students of Reed College, Portland, Ore., under the direction of William Fielding Ogburn, professor of sociology, fills the some forty pages of "Reed College Record," No. 27, December, 1917. Wage rates, cost of living, death rates, child labor, church membership, parks, pavements, school attendance, and illiteracy are some of the eighteen subjects for which numerical and graphical ratings are given. The statistics were taken from published sources and range in date from 1905 to 1918. A grand summary gives the rank of the thirty-eight cities. Professor Foster states in his prefatory note that "all western cities are in the first quarter, nearly all southern cities are in the last quarter, and most cities of other sections are in the middle quarters."

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[1] Edited by Miss Alice M. Holden, Wellesley College.

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See also Baths.

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NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Home Rule in Maryland.—The legislature of Maryland at its 1914 session proposed an amendment to the state constitution providing for a limited grant of home rule to the counties and to the city of Baltimore, the primary purpose being to relieve the legislature of the burdens and complications of local legislation. The amendment was adopted by the people at the November election, 1915. With reference to Baltimore, it provides that on demand of the mayor and city council or on petition of not less than 20 per cent of the registered voters of the city, arrangements shall be made for the election of a charter board of eleven members. Nominations for members of the board may be made by the mayor and city council or by petition of not less than 5 per cent of the registered voters of the city. In case no more than eleven candidates are nominated, their names shall not be printed on the ballot, but they shall constitute the board. At the same election provision shall be made on the ballot for a vote for or against the creation of a charter board. If the popular vote is favorable, the board is given six months in which to prepare a charter, which, if adopted by the voters at the next general election, shall become the law of the city, "subject only to the constitution and public general laws" of the state, and shall automatically repeal all inconsistent local laws. Amendments to any home rule charter may be proposed by resolution of the mayor and city council or by a petition of not less than 20 per cent of the registered voters and shall be submitted to popular vote at the next general election when they may be adopted by a majority vote.

Having once adopted a charter in accordance with the amendment, the city will *ipso facto* come into possession of the constitutional grant of home rule powers; and thereafter the legislature is forbidden to enact any local law on any subject covered by the express powers which have been granted to the city; but the legislature alone is authorized to enlarge and extend these powers.

Prior to the adoption of the home rule amendment in 1915, the legislature was as free in its control over the city as it was "with respect to all corporations existing for like purposes in the state."[1] The home rule amendment provides that the power to make changes in sections 1 to 6, inclusive, of article xi, of the constitution, "when expressly granted as hereinbefore provided," shall be transferred to the voters of the city to be exercised in accordance with the other provisions of the amendment. Since the power to make such changes has not yet been expressly granted by the legislature, the city is unable to alter those features of its government which are prescribed in the constitution, *e.g.*, the bicameral council, election of members of the council by wards and councilmanic districts, and the qualifications, term, salary, and method of electing the mayor.

Prior to the election of 1917, the requisite number of signatures were secured to a petition for the authorization of a charter board and to petitions for the nomination of eleven able and representative men for membership on the board. The petitions were circulated by a committee of the city-wide congress and awakened at the time little interest. Nevertheless, at the November election, 1917, the proposition for the creation of a charter board was carried by a vote of 29 970 to 16 547; and, since no opposing candidates were in the field, the eleven nominees for the board automatically constituted the authorized charter board. The chairman is Henry D. Harlan, twenty-five years chief judge of the supreme bench of Baltimore; and the other members are: Alfred S. Niles, an ex-judge, a lecturer in the law school of the University of Maryland, and author of "Maryland Constitutional Law"; Edgar Allan Poe, a former attorney-general of the State; J. Kemp Bartlett, a prominent lawyer; Dr. John H. Latane, professor of history in the Johns Hopkins University; William H. Maltbie, a public-spirited lawyer; Charles E. Falconer, one of the city's leading business men; Dr. Charles O'Donovan, a physician; A. H. Hecht, secretary of the city-wide congress; David Bachrach, a radical reformer and single-taxer; and William J. Ogden, an ex-state senator.

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[1] Niles, Maryland Constitutional Law, 320; *Baltimore City* v. *Gorter*, 93 Maryland 6.

The first concern of the board has properly been to secure home rule powers for the city by submitting a charter that would probably be adopted at the polls; it has in consequence been averse to introducing radical innovations which might endanger the success of the charter and of home rule. As indicated above, the board is without power to change the governmental framework of the city and it will not undertake any administrative reorganization. In resubmitting the present charter practically without change, it will, however, incorporate in it an adequate provision for the merit system. From the beginning of the sessions of the board the advisability of adopting the merit system has been agitated by the newspapers, a number of prominent local supporters and opponents of the system were given hearings, and the plan agreed upon by a majority of the board, although it has not yet received its final formulation, seems certain to be endorsed by the electorate.

The board closes its labors in May and the charter will be submitted to the voters in November.

⁂

Boston Charter Amendments.—There have been several important amendments to the Boston charter act of 1909 (chapter 486). The first amendment was in 1910, when the bonds for rapid transit were exempted from the provisions of the law requiring all loans of money to be financed on the serial loan basis. The next amendment was in 1911, which provided for the use of the premiums obtained from the sale of bonds for the reduction of the total amount of bonds issued. Another amendment, passed in 1912, provided that when the appointment of a head of a city department had been certified to the civil service commission and was awaiting approval by that state board, if any charge was imputed to the nominee involving a crime, a misdemeanor, or act of dishonesty, the commission was required immediately to inform the nominee in writing of the charge and of the fact that he had a right to a hearing, and that at this hearing he could be represented by counsel and was to be given full opportunity to explain or refute the charge. The source of the information was not to be divulged, unless the civil service commission so voted.

In 1914, the date of the municipal election for mayor as well as for the city council and school committee was changed from the first Tuesday after the second Monday in January to the sixth Tuesday after the state election. Under the 1909 law the election generally took place in the second week of January and under the changed law it takes place the second week in December. By the same act the number of signatures of registered voters putting in nomination a candidate for Mayor was reduced from 5,000 to 3,000, and the number for candidates for the city council and school committee was reduced from 5,000 to 2,000. The same act also restricted the issue of nomination papers to 300 for any one candidate for mayor and 200 for candidates for the city council and the school committee, and were only to be issued to candidates upon their request in writing.

In the present year the term of office of the mayor of Boston was fixed for 4 years and the holder of the office made ineligible for reelection for a succeeding term. The provision in the 1909 law, ch. 486, sec. 46, providing for the recall after two years of the mayor was repealed.[1]

John A. Dowling.

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[1] The *Short Ballot Bulletin*, New York City, in commenting on the latest amendment to the Boston charter said: "The philosophy underlying this change is interesting, but why if the mayor is a good

The New Jersey Commission for the Revision and Codification of Laws Relating to Municipalities, created by the 1916 legislature, which rendered a report to the 1917 legislature, as a result of which a so-called home rule bill was passed, was continued by the 1917 legislature. The purpose of continuing the commission was threefold:

1. That they might continue the work of revising and codifying the statutes of the state relating to counties, as well as other statutes relating to governmental functions of all municipalities.
2. To study the operation of the bills theretofore reported by the commission.
3. To report a bill providing that salaries paid by counties should be fixed and regulated by local agencies, rather than by application to the legislature.

The very valuable report rendered by the commission to the 1917 legislature was even more valuable because of the revision and codification of the statutes relating to municipalities than for the merits of the bill which resulted from the report. The work of the commission which, in the words of Mr. Edward F. Merrey, one of the members of the commission, was chiefly for the purpose of revising and codifying the vast number of statutes relating to municipalities, was most thoroughly performed and resulted in paving the way for a proper approach to more complete home rule whenever that may be found possible.

The report of the commission to the 1918 Legislature has likewise been successful, and valuable, in clearing up the confusing and conflicting statutes relating to counties. The legislation resulting from both reports has worked out as planned and has resulted as expected in a great reduction in the number of bills introduced in the legislature.

However, the commission found that the statutes relating to counties, although not as numerous as those relating to municipalities, did not lend themselves as easily to codification. The following statement from the report of the commission shows something of their problem as the commission saw it:

> Good county government requires that there should be a governing body with full control over the various departments of the county. This cannot be accomplished in New Jersey without an amendment to the constitution. Our present constitution provides for a number of county officials with power to expend the county funds independent of any direct control and without responsibility to anyone. The board of chosen freeholders, the present governing body, which is responsible to the people of the county for the raising of funds and the expenditures of the county's money, has not proper control over such expenditures.
>
> In many respects the county is not an independent corporation, but merely a division of the state government. The commission felt that it was not within the scope of its work to revise the laws relating to this phase of county activity. Such laws cover matters which should be under state rather than county control.
>
> The commission directed its attention principally to the revision and codification of statutes conferring powers on boards of chosen freeholders.

The bills prepared by the commission were Senate Bills Nos. 17 to 34, inclusive. These were all passed with the exceptions of Nos. 20 and 23, both of which were relatively unimportant, so that, in general, it may be said that the entire work recommended by the commission was passed.

Eleven of the bills passed are repealers and greatly clarify the statutes relating to counties. In addition to this much desired end, among the advantageous features of the laws as passed are:

1. Provision for a system of county planning, by which it is made possible to have all the municipalities within a county, and adjoining it, co-operate in the laying out of roads and boulevards, and in the betterment and systematic development of the county.
2. One of the bills made several amendments to Chapter 152, Laws 1917, the result of the report of the commission to the 1917 legislature. Among the more important of these amendments is one which provides for a change in the procedure relating to the passing of ordinances. It abolishes the different methods of proce-

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one, should he not be retained—good officials are none too plentiful. If he is a 'bad one' don't reelect him. It is another attempt at government by repression instead of government of responsible power."

dure under all other statutes and fixes one method of procedure for all municipalities. Another provides a referendum in the question of fixing salaries of officers of municipalities. A referendum is also provided on the question of fixing the hours of service of police departments. There is also provision permitting municipalities to join with counties in doing certain work. Another amendment provides a method of procedure in appeals from assessments and awards of damages for local improvements.

While both the 1917 and 1918 reports of this commission have resulted in much immediate good in clearing the New Jersey code of the confusion and complexity previously existing in the statutes relating to municipalities, the chief good will come later. The way has been opened for laws that the municipalities sorely need and which the work of this commission has made more nearly possible of attainment.

C. H. Anderson.

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New Jersey Legislation Affecting Municipalities.—At last New Jersey has local option on the liquor question. This is a measure that, after years of importuning of the legislature from many quarters, the 1918 session has seen fit to pass. While perhaps not the most important of the laws affecting municipalities enacted by the legislature just adjourned, it is the first one of importance to appear in the new volume of the statutes. It is Ch. 2. The act authorizes municipalities, by popular vote, at general or special elections, to prohibit the sale of liquor within their boundaries. (Pertinent to the liquor question it may be well to note that the 1918 Legislature of New Jersey took no action toward ratifying the federal prohibition amendment.) Already several municipalities are planning to hold elections soon and a few have already voted on the question. The result of the vote in at least half of those that have voted has been to make their municipalities dry.

An important health and sanitation measure is Ch. 23, Laws 1918, which requires those in charge of water purification and sewage treatment plants to be examined and licensed by the state department of health.

Municipalities are authorized to buy and sell food and fuel during the present war and for six months thereafter. Ch. 53, Laws 1918. This act supersedes Ch. 8, Laws 1917.

Police powers have been conferred upon members of fire departments by Ch. 129.

The motor vehicle law relative to signals for slowing, stopping, turning or backing of vehicles has been amended by Ch. 141. Additional requirements to those just enumerated are bells on horses drawing sleighs and regulations for lamps and signals on bicycles.

An act of very considerable importance from the standpoint of city planning, has been passed by the 1918 New Jersey legislature. It authorizes governing bodies of first and second class cities to create building zones. New Jersey has two cities of the first class and thirty-four of the second class. Ch. 146, Laws 1918.

As a war measure the tenure of office of municipal employees entering the military or naval service of the United States, has been extended. Ch. 151, Laws 1918.

Another health measure is found in Ch. 155 of the 1918 session laws which authorizes municipalities to expend money for dental clinics for children of school age.

After a year's experience with a department of municipal accounts, which department was created as a result of the work, and the legislation resulting therefrom, of the commission for the survey of municipal finances, it was found that, in the interests of efficiency, the powers of the commissioner of municipal accounts should be enlarged. This has been done under Ch. 266, Laws 1918. This act is an amendment to Ch. 154, Laws 1917. The amendment gives the commissioner of municipal accounts supervision over the financial affairs of municipalities and counties, including the annual budget. This enlarged scope of authority is recommended by the commission that investigated the affairs of Jersey City, and from the conditions found in the department's examination of sinking funds and the careless methods employed by so many municipalities it would seem that a duly constituted state official with proper authority will prove a valuable safeguard of the taxpayer's interest.

In addition to finding it desirable to give the commissioner of municipal accounts more powers, it has also been deemed wise to place more responsibility upon the municipal officials in charge of accounts. Accordingly Ch. 267, Laws 1918, requires all auditors of public accounts to be registered with the commissioner of municipal accounts. Such registration will serve as a means of state control over the auditors of municipal accounts, by requiring their reports of audit to be filed with the commissioner of municipal accounts. In an amendment to Ch. 154, P. L. 1917, the commissioner is instructed to examine such report, and can proceed to investigate any irregularities.

A companion act to the one just mentioned, is Ch. 268, Laws 1918, which requires an annual audit by a registered accountant of finances of counties and municipalities with ratables in excess of $3,000,000 and the publication of same.

C. H. Anderson.

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City Manager Notes.—*Grand Rapids, Mich.* Manager Gaylord C. Cummin has resigned as a result of interference upon the part of his commission in certain of the administrative departments. He is succeeded by Fred H. Locke, formerly the director of the public welfare department. Judging from the comments in the Grand Rapids papers, trouble had been brewing for some little time. Mr. Cummin issued an ultimatum to the effect that he would resign if the commission changed the method of operation of his departments, on the grounds that he did not care to assume responsibility for the results produced by an organization which was altered without his consent. The commission, disregarding the challenge, made certain changes at the time of passing the budget and the manager's resignation resulted.

Mr. Cummin has been recognized as one of the leading men in the city manager profession. At the Detroit convention last November he was elected president of the City Managers' Association. He has had a rapid rise. His first experience under the commission-manager regime was as city engineer under Manager Henry M. Waite at Dayton, Ohio. He was appointed manager of Jackson, Mich., in 1915 at a salary of $5,000, this was increased the next year to $6,000, then to $7,500 and the Grand Rapids position has paid $10,000.

Mr. Locke, the new manager, receives a salary of $4,000.

Roanoke, Va., has adopted a commission-manager charter by vote of 1,102 to 368. The first election under the new charter was held June 11.

Manistee, Mich. Phillip H. Beauvais was appointed manager of *Manistee, Mich.*, May 1 to succeed Charles E. Ruger who had served since the commission-manager plan was adopted in 1913. Mr. Beauvais has behind him a long record of achievements as an engineer and had just resigned the position of superintendent of construction of Manistee's half-million-dollar break-water. He is a personal friend of Col. Waite, Dayton's first city manager.

Alpena, Mich. Harrison G. Roby, formerly manager of *Alpena, Mich.*, is now stationed at Quantico Marine Barracks, Va., in charge of the construction of a water supply, with the rank of senior lieutenant. Charles T. Park has been appointed city manager to fill the vacancy at Alpena.

Winchester, Va. Arthur M. Field, city manager, has been given a leave of absence for the period of the war and will be connected with the engineering department, bureau of industrial housing in Washington. Thomas J. Trier, assistant city manager, will assume the duties of city manager.

El Dorado, Kans., has had the unique experience of changing from a quiet country town of 3,500 population to a hustling city of 18,000, almost over night, as a result of the development of the oil fields. The commission-manager plan has allowed rapid adjustment of municipal machinery to cope with this unusual development. Bert C. Wells, the city manager, has been in charge of the departmental reorganization and construction of improvements made imperative by this rapid growth. El Dorado furnishes a splendid example of the efficiency permitted by the new plan.

St. Augustine, Fla. Winton L. Miller, who resigned as city manager in March, is now connected with the American International Shipbuilding Corporation at Hog Island. He has been succeeded at St. Augustine by Eugene Masters, who served temporarily as city manager when the plan was first adopted at St. Augustine, prior to Mr. Miller's appointment. He was at one time mayor and has had long experience in city affairs.

Towanda, Pa., a borough, has created the position of borough manager by ordinance. William T. Howie has been appointed borough master.

Crystal Falls, Mich., adopted a complete commission-manager charter March 11 and the commission has appointed J. H. Sanders as city manager, at a salary of $2,400. Mr. Sanders was superintendent of the electric light and water departments.

Grosse Pointe Shores, Mich., a village, a residential suburb of Detroit, has appointed as village superintendent H. N. Kennedy. Mr. Kennedy succeeded Gerard Alan Abbott who has been promoted to *Birmingham, Mich.*, as manager of that city. A. L. Sloman has resigned as city manager of *Albion, Mich.*, to enter the national army.

Other appointments. A. P. Marsh to succeed H. L. McDuffie as manager at Madill, Okla.; H. A. McKee at Otsego, Mich.; T. F. Older, Royal Oak, Mich.; O. O. Johnson, Three Rivers, Mich.

J. Hinman has resigned as manager at Hanford, Calif. Hanford "tried out" the manager plan by virtue of an ordinance, for a period of six months and Mr. Hinman's report furnishes interesting reading.

J. R. Kneebone, manager at Beaufort, S. C., has resigned to answer the "call to the colors." No appointment has been reported as yet.

Harrison Gray Otis.

Constitutional Revision in Illinois.—An advisory referendum on the subject of calling a constitutional convention in Illinois will be voted upon at the general election in November, the recent session of the legislature having taken steps to that end in view of the inadequacy of the present constitution and the present and prospective needs of the people. In his inaugural message Governor Lowden said:

> The time has come for a new state constitution. The constitutions framed since the Civil War, including our own, have not been limited to those things which properly constitute the fundamental law of the state; but have contained many matters which are properly the subject of legislation. Legislation always depends upon existing conditions, and conditions change. A constitution which seeks to legislate will inevitably be outgrown. This is our situation today. Therefore I strongly urge prompt adoption by the general assembly of a resolution calling a constitutional convention.

Among the changes that have been most generally urged are: a shorter ballot; unification of Chicago's 21 local governments; greater control of local affairs for cities; revision of the state's taxation system; reorganization of the machinery and procedure of the courts, to provide for more effective co-ordination in their work and for lessening the law's delays; greater elasticity in the process of amending the state constitution.

Other proposed changes relating to more widely controversial subjects than these have been widely discussed in recent years. In the view of the Citizens' association of Chicago, "It will be the duty of the convention carefully to consider which controversial matters are worthy of being submitted to popular vote. We believe that the non-controversial part of the new constitution should be submitted as one entity and that the controversial propositions should be submitted to the people in the form of separate proposals so that each may be voted upon separately."

In a striking bulletin dated April 15, 1918, the Chicago citizens' association sets forth the steps that have thus far been taken and the reasons for them. To revise the constitution the people must act three times: first, to call the constitutional convention; second, to choose the delegates; third, to ratify or defeat the constitution. A non-partisan state campaign organization has been formed under the chairmanship of Hon. Orrin N. Carter, chief justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois.

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Federal Supervision of Philadelphia Police.—The war has created a new situation in our cities which has resulted in the federal government exercising a control over the police department of our cities that bids fair to have far-reaching influence. The failure of a number of administrations to enforce the laws with regard to disorderly houses and the illicit sale of liquor has resulted in direct "interference" as it is called by some, and "control" as it is called by others, of the police force. In Philadelphia, Captain William B. Mills, the efficient head of the traffic squad, has been given control of the police under the supervision of Lieutenant-Colonel Charles B. Hatch of the marine corps of the navy department. In a statement Colonel Hatch refused to say that the government has "commandeered" the police force in the full meaning of that word. He said, however, that the government had determined to clean up the city if the police could not do so. He said that in addition to the police judges in Philadelphia, sixteen enlisted men would continue to operate with the secret service men in checking up vice conditions. He said: "Captain Mills has had military training and I believe he will clean up the city. Mayor Smith gave me his word of honor that Captain Mills will not be interfered with and that he can promote and demote men as he sees fit. I told Captain Mills that he is acting for the government and that I will back him in everything he does as long as he is not interfered with. . . . I am acting for Secretary Daniels and he is not desirous of taking control of the police here out of the hands of the municipal authorities. We intend to see, however, that young men in the service are protected and that evil resorts are wiped out. I believe that conditions at present are good, and all we want to see is that they remain good. Our investigators will keep in constant touch with the situation, and our reports will go to Washington."

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Municipal Ownership Defeated in Tacoma.—On April 2 and April 16, the people of Tacoma voted on proposed bond issues for the purchase by the city of the property of the Street Railway system of the city and for the acquisition of an additional power site whereon to erect another plant with the view to increasing the amount of electricity available to the city for light and power purposes.

More specifically, the first proposal voted on at the primaries April 2 was the purchase of the street railway system for five million, two hundred thousand dollars or so much thereof as might be necessary. This was defeated by a vote of 11,255 to 3,479.

One occasion for voting on this question at the present time was the fact that certain franchises would expire during the next twelve months and the car service is now totally inadequate, due to several causes, among which are the great increase in population, itself a result of industrial growth, and the fact that so many men are leaving the service of the street car company to go into ship-building and other better-paying, war-time industries.

The street car company had petitioned the public service commission for the privilege of raising its rate to 6 cents fare, which is contrary to the present franchise agreements. The case went to the Supreme Court on the question of whether or not the public service commission had the power and the Supreme Court decided it had not.

There is in Tacoma already one municipally-owned car line serving the tide flats, including the largest lumber mills and numerous ship-yards.

The other proposal was a bond issue of four million dollars for an additional power site and this was defeated by a vote of 11,611 to 2,909. We already own a municipal light and power plant at La Grande, Wash., about 35 miles southeast of here, and I believe the people were convinced that an auxiliary steam plant at most was needed. John B. Kaiser.

The Dayton Health Program.—Under Dr. A. O. Peters, successor to Dr. A. L. Light, the health program of Dayton is being carried forward along most progressive lines. Two notable achievements have been made during the past five months.

Under Dr. Peters' leadership, a Pasteurization ordinance has been passed, by the city commission, which will become effective in six months from the date of passage. Under this ordinance, all milk sold in the city of Dayton must either be pasteurized, or must be secured from tuberculin tested cattle, and must reach a fixed bacteriological standard.

The splendid program in child conservation began in April and will continue all through the summer months. Through the co-operation of the division of health, in the welfare department, and the visiting nurses association, of the city, and a large corps of prominent women of the city, 1,230 babies, ranging in age from three months to two years, were examined, by a corps of physicians and nurses, and scored, during the last week in May.

The highest number of babies ever scored before in Dayton, at one time, was 322.

The 1,230 mothers have received the score sheet, giving the entire medical examination of each baby. Prizes in war saving certificates were given to about thirty of the best babies of the city.

A series of stereopticon lectures was given in various parts of the city, as well as in the welfare department. The newspapers gave large publicity to this program. Dayton has never had before anything so comprehensive in child conservation as was secured during this campaign.

* * *

St. Paul's New Financial Program.—For many years St. Paul has been issuing tax levy certificates of indebtedness to raise the necessary money over and above the known receipts to run the city, these certificates being paid out of the taxes of the succeeding year. This system always leaves the city one year behind the time, and necessitates paying a large sum of interest. A simple way to have put the city on a cash basis would have been to double the taxes for one year, but this was considered impolitic and therefore impractical. The following plan was, therefore, proposed and voted upon affirmatively by the voters on May 7. In making up the budget each year an additional amount is to be added which shall not be less than four per cent of the next preceding tax levy and the council is to include this in the budget for each year. This amount when collected from taxes shall be kept separate and distinct from all other moneys and invested in tax levy certificates of indebtedness. In lieu of this the council may at any time by a four-sevenths vote issue and sell serial bonds drawing a rate of interest not exceeding 5 per cent, one series becoming due and payable each year and the last series not later than twenty years from the date of issue, to an amount which, added to the tax levy certificates already purchased from money set aside, will equal the city's indebtedness for current expenses. These two methods were provided in the charter amendments for the reason it did not seem desirable at present to float bonds to the amount of $4,000,000, but that in order to make a start in getting on a cash basis at once the sinking fund plan would be adopted for the duration of the war, and then as soon as conditions permitted the bond plan would be adopted.

* * *

Cleveland's Higher Street Railway Fares.—Cleveland no longer holds its proud position at the head of low street railway fare cities. Its demotion comes about as the result of three successive revisions during the past six months. The latest increase in fare went into effect April 9. The present rate is the highest allowed under the Tayler franchise, four cents cash, seven tickets for 25 cents, with one cent charge for transfer. It is predicted by the operating authorities that not even this rate will be adequate to meet the growing cost of operation, pay the interest return upon capital, properly maintain the system and assure good service. In such event the company's only remaining recourse will be to ask the city council to amend the franchise to allow subsequent revisions of fare whenever necessary to meet the increased cost of operation.

There have been four changes in fare since the Tayler ordinance went into effect, March 1, 1910, the first a reduction, the next four increases.

The latest raise in the rate of fare in Cleveland puts Columbus at the top of the list, of low fare cities, with a rate of eight tickets for 25 cents, 3$\frac{1}{8}$ cents per ride, with free transfers, as against 3$\frac{4}{7}$ cents in Cleveland, with a one cent charge for transfer.

Stiles P. Jones.

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The St. Paul Public Library is governed by the commissioner of education assisted by an advisory board consisting of representative of each ward in the city (appointed by him), together with the superintendent of schools, principals of the high schools *ex-officio*, and a teacher selected by the whole body of teachers in the public schools. Neither the commission nor the librarian is satisfied, however, with this form of board and some change is likely to be made whenever the charter is revised. Recently there was formed a library council consisting of the heads of library departments, which has to do, however, only with the internal library economy. A board of representatives of scientific and other societies to advise with the librarian with regard to the services of the library and to assist him with the preparation of the book budget has been organized.

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Welfare Officers of New York Police.—A new sphere of police activity in New York City has recently been assigned to Captain John McGrath. He has been assigned to a welfare bureau, consisting of crime prevention officers. These members of the force are required to prevent juvenile delinquency by reporting such youngsters to their parents and taking necessary action to improve their home surroundings, to check truancy by taking boys on the streets during school hours to the nearest public school; to exercise close supervision over such licensed places as poolrooms, moving picture theatres, junk dealers and second hand dealers where criminals congregate and to assist convicts released on parole in obtaining and retaining honest employment. These crime prevention officers attached to the welfare bureau are not expected to make arrests. Their work is preventive and educational and not repressive and correctional. The statistics of the welfare bureau show that its activities have been remarkably successful and this success has been due largely to the ability for work of this kind displayed by the officer assigned to organize this Bureau.

Leonhard Felix Fuld.

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Municipal Finance and the War.—One of the most urgent problems before American cities to-day is the re-arrangement of their finances on a war basis. The year 1917 showed a decided curtailment in the sale of municipal bonds. In January of that year there was a notable rise in the municipal bond market,[1] but February showed a decline,[2] owing to the uncertainty resulting from the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany. The outbreak of war furthered this feeling and the decline continued for the most part throughout the year. November reports of the "Bond Buyer" stated that values in that month reached the lowest point in twenty-five years. In January, 1918, they went even lower.[3]

And yet the demands for municipal bonds did not cease, owing first to the safety of the securities and secondly to the fact that they are tax exempt. This feature has caused some resentment in Washington[4] and doubtless would be changed were it not that Congress lacks the authority to levy taxes on bonds of states or their political subdivisions.[5]

[1] Weekly Bond Buyer, January, 1917.

[2] The Bond Buyer, February, 1917.

[3] *Ibid.*, Monthly reports and summary for 1917.

[4] Editorial in Weekly Bond Buyer, November 10, 1917.

[5] *Ibid.*, Sec. of War McAdoo before Am. Bankers' Assn.; Report Public Service Securities Comm. of Investment; Bankers' Assn. of America, December 5, 1917.

In order, then, to prevent municipal bonds from competing with loans of the Federal Government, some action is needed to limit municipal borrowing. The Governor of Indiana, for instance, sent out a letter asking that cities and counties refrain from issuing bonds except for refunding purposes and where needs were for war purposes. The success of this appeal is shown in a statement made before the investment bankers' association in Baltimore, November, 1917. Mr. Wade of the Fletcher National Bank of Indianapolis there reported that, whereas the bond houses of Indiana usually had several millions of dollars of Indiana municipal bonds, they owned at that time less than $300,000 of such bonds, and stated that by co-operation 75 per cent of municipal financing could be eliminated. Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, addressing the American Bankers' Association in Atlantic City last fall urged that the bankers of America study the question of limiting unnecessary expenditure of cities for public works and improvements until after the war.

The result of this request was the appointment of a committee which reported the advisability of establishing a financial priority board to assist the government in passing upon new security issues.[1] Much of the good of such a board would depend on influence exerted upon local officials since legal pressure could not be used. In its investigations the committee conferred with Mr. Basil R. Blachett, Sec. British Capital Issues Committee, which had charge of the problem of domestic finance in England. That country has practically reduced issues to government loans, but the United States cannot so easily attain such startling results since the English government is not hampered by state governments, and further, England could secure new capital through the United States. Many of these suggestions have been embodied in the war finance and capital issues committee bill recently passed by Congress.

The suggestions of the Lamont committee (organized by the American Bankers' Association) as to curtailment of municipal finances, well express the duties of American cities:

> It is obviously impossible to suspend all public improvements. Such public financing as may be required for sanitary development and improvement, dock improvements (in many cases subserving the government's interests), temporary financing in anticipation of taxes and certain refunding operations must continue. But the general scope of them should be made to conform to the necessities of the general situation; and in point of time any bond issues by local governmental bodies should be guided so as to avoid conflict with Federal bond issues.

R. G. Blakey.

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War Bonuses for Municipal Employes.—On April 12 of this year, the board of West Chicago park commissioners adopted an order granting a war bonus to the low and moderately paid employes under its jurisdiction. By the provisions of this order, extra compensation was allowed to common laborers and to all other regular employes whose monthly rate of pay did not exceed $150. The amount of this extra compensation varied from 6 per cent to 10 per cent of the worker's total earnings during the quarterly period ending March 31, 1918, the lower paid employes receiving the higher percentage rate of bonus. This action was taken in order to afford some measure of relief from the present high cost of living and yet not effect any permanent increase in salaries and wages at a time when economic conditions are abnormal.

The war bonus idea is not entirely new. It has already gained wide vogue in municipalities and other branches of government service in Europe and has been adopted by many private employers in this country. In February of this year the board of public education of Philadelphia began paying its teachers a monthly bonus of five dollars in addition to their regular pay. The board of West Chicago park commissioners, however, seems to have made the first application of the war bonus idea in this country to municipal employes other than teachers.

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[1] *N. Y. Tribune*, January 13, 1918.

A few important questions are raised by the introduction of the war bonus into our public service. A bonus of this kind is granted by the employer as a gratuity to which the employe can lay no claim on account of his services, and the employer may at any time withhold this gratuity without violating any formal obligation whatsoever. Does not this smack somewhat of paternalism? Is not the employe, in effect, made the recipient of charity? Can he be as self-respecting a public servant under such conditions as he would be if all his compensation was assured him as a matter of his own right? Will he be as efficient? Is it fair deliberately to underpay an employe and then to make up the difference by means of a gratuity? Is the return to pre-war economic conditions enough of a certainty to become the basis for important changes in public policy? Why would it not be better to work out a basic standard of living and then to make wage adjustments in accordance with the changing cost of this standard? These are questions that ought to be considered before we launch definitely upon a wide application of the war bonus policy in our public service.

William C. Beyer,

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Portland, Oregon, in Business.—One of the city commissioners of Portland is preparing an amendment to the city charter making it possible for the municipality to go into any business, his theory being to check in this way any tendency to profiteer in the necessities of life. He has already been instrumental in establishing a municipal fish market, about the constitutionality of which, however, there is a question. He has also in mind a municipal fuel yard.

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A Cleveland Division of Markets.—On March 1 the Cleveland council by ordinance created a new department to be known as the Cleveland department of parks and public property. One of the sub-divisions will be devoted to markets, in charge of George Samman as commissioner, who is the federal agent of the bureau of markets in Cleveland.

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New York's State Ice Comptroller.—The New York legislature has passed an act providing for the harvesting and storage of ice on the Hudson River, to regulate the manufacture and sale of artificial ice, and appointing former Governor Benjamin B. Odell as state ice comptroller, empowering him to contract for the storage during 1918 of ice to be harvested during the recent ice season. The act prohibits the manufacture of artificial ice in New York City, on Long Island and in the counties bordering on the Hudson River up to and including the counties of Albany and Rensselaer.

II. POLITICS[1]

Youngstown's After Graft. William F. Davis and William F. Mehlo, members of the Youngstown city council, were sentenced in the Mahoning county common pleas court to indeterminate terms in the state penitentiary, ranging from one to ten years, for accepting a bribe for their support of proposed municipal legislation. The court also ordered the two men removed from office. In announcing sentence Judge Klinger gave the prisoners at the bar a stinging rebuke, declaring they and their kind a greater menace to free institutions than the German army. He declared it was because of such perfidy in office, as theirs, that the public loses confidence in a republican form of government and that they were unfit to enjoy the privileges of freedom.

Mehlo and Davis also had been indicted for soliciting a bribe but they were acquitted of this charge. Judge Klinger told them that although they had been acquitted of the soliciting charge he believed them guilty. The court denied them a new trial and ordered them held on a $5,000 bond, each, while they carried their demand for a new trial to the court of appeals.

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated, the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

Five other councilmen, Harry Hogue, Hugh Best, David Shermer, D. J. Morgan and F. P. Galvin, were indicted on the same charges at the same time and are yet to stand trial. Their cases were set for hearing the week of June 10. Sherman, Mehlo and Davis were also indicted for soliciting a bribe for council's support of bridge plans favored by a traction company. Shermer when brought to trial on this charge some days ago, was discharged by the court who upheld the demurrer of the defendant's counsel that it would have been impossible for the councilman to commit the crime charged as the bridge matter was an affair that could not legally come before council. Similar indictments against Mehlo and Davis were automatically quashed as a result of this decision. The seven councilmen, constituting a bare majority of the twelve members of the Youngstown city council were indicted April 2, following their arrest a few days previous. The indictment charged that they had jointly solicited a bribe of $3,500 to enact a franchise ordinance sought by the Workmen's Transit company, an $100,000 concern but a short time incorporated, seeking the right to operate jitney cars in the city streets.

At the request of the local court the chief justice of the Ohio supreme court was asked to assign an outside jurist to hear the cases. Judge William Klinger of Lima, was appointed.

Of the indicted men Mehlo, Hogue and Davis were serving their second terms in council. Morgan and Best had been elected to fill vacancies but a few months previous, while Galvin and Shermer, the latter twice indicted, had taken office but ten weeks before their arrest. All of the indicted men are wage earners and had made campaigns as friends of the workingmen. The transit company from which the two convicted men attempted to get $3,500, was organized to give better service in the industrial districts and workingmen were heavy subscribers for its stock.

Ralph L. Kline.

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A Triumph for the Short Ballot and for Civil Service Reform.—The recent selection of the auditor of Los Angeles County, California, will be viewed with the greatest satisfaction both by the supporters of the merit system and by those interested in untangling the meshes of county government generally. Custom has decreed that county as well as city and state auditors should be elected by the voters directly. The fact that the largest vote-getter might be a saloon keeper, or a local boss equally ignorant of the accounting knowledge which a private organization would require in such an officer, seemed unimportant, and the auditor was thought in some mysterious way to be able to protect the "interests of the citizens" because he was "responsible directly to them." Moreover with the hopelessly complex problem presented to the voter by a ballot of seventy to a hundred names, what assurance could there be that the official selected would possess any more of devotion to the real interests of the public than of expertness?

Los Angeles County (unfortunately still separate from and overlapping Los Angeles City) in 1913 adopted a charter which took radical steps to end this sort of thing. Only supervisors and the District Attorney and Sheriff remained elective. The auditor was placed in the classified Civil Service! No change was made in the personnel of the office by the charter, the incumbent being permitted to continue to serve after the expiration of his elected term "during good service." In the summer of 1917 irregularities amounting to several hundred thousand dollars were discovered in the county finances. The auditor was absolved from any criminal intent, but the impression prevailed in many quarters that the situation could have been prevented if an experienced accountant had been auditor. Finally the incumbent was removed.

The selection of the successor was up to the county supervisors who were required to choose from the three highest on an eligible list certified by the civil service commission. The problem of the latter body was difficult. Not only must it find men qualified to install and operate an accounting system for the disbursement of nearly $10,000,000 annually, but the successful candidate must be a person who would command public confidence. The method of selection adopted by the commission under the able administration of F. E. Doty, the secretary, was such as to obtain both of these ends.

A committee of well known and respected citizens was asked to take charge of the examination. On this committee served the president of the Pacific Electric railroad, the vice-president of the Edison company, a certified public accountant, and five prominent business men. The result was a distinct and striking demonstration of the value of the competitive method. From the large number of applicants for the influential and remunerative position, three men of the highest qualifications were selected, all of them of extensive financial experience, and admittedly good executives.

H. A. Payne, the acting director of the city's efficiency department since the resignation of Dr. Jesse D. Burks, won the highest standing—90.66 per cent—and was on May 13 unanimously appointed by the supervisors. The new auditor had been research accountant of the city for four years. Before coming to California he was assistant auditor of one of the largest mail order houses in the world, and had had other commercial experience.

So far as known to the writer this is the first time in the history of the United States that any county has selected its auditor by means of competitive examination. It is safe to say that other counties will not be long in following the example. It is a triumph for the short ballot and for civil service reform.

Seward C. Simons.[1]

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A Socialist Mayor Vetoes Purchase of Liberty Bonds.—Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee vetoed the resolution which provided for a subscription of $500,000 towards the second Liberty Loan on the part of the city. His reason was that the city had no legal authority to invest its money in any other manner except that prescribed by the city charter; he stated, however, that if the common council would go on record in favor of having a bill drafted for the legislature to legalize the purchase, and for another bill to be drafted providing that any loss which might ensue would be assessed against the war profiteers, he would have no objection to the proposed purchase. At the council meeting at which this veto was considered one of the non-socialist aldermen submitted a resolution for a legislative bill to legalize the purchase later; an amendment was proposed by a socialist alderman providing for a bill to be drafted for the legislature "to legalize the purchase of said bonds, and also to provide a method by which an accrued tax or other revenue measure may be introduced in the legislature for the purpose of avoiding the necessity of directly taxing our citizens to reimburse the city, but by which any deficit created by purchase of said bonds will be met by revenue obtained from profits made by persons or organizations since the war, which profits are in excess of those made by said persons or organizations prior to the war." The amendment was lost 10 to 26 and the original resolution to legalize the bond issue was adopted 25 to 11, with 11 of the 13 socialists in the council voting in opposition, one socialist voting with the majority and one being absent. On the final question on passing the resolution over the veto of the mayor the vote was 24 to 12, all socialist aldermen present voting in the negative. Inasmuch as a vote of 25 was necessary to pass over a veto the plan to invest in the bonds was defeated.

During the previous Liberty Loan drive the socialists also opposed the purchase of $50,000 worth of Liberty bonds, but the non-socialists had a sufficient number in the council to override the veto.

W. J. Bollenbeck.

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Ousting Socialist Aldermen.—The two Socialist members of the Cleveland city council have been ousted for violation of rules of the council and for disorderly conduct. The reason for this drastic procedure was the refusal of the Socialists to approve the resolution introduced in the council, endorsing the creation of a war service league in Cleveland, to assist in the collection of funds for war relief purposes. The city charter provides that the council can "expel any member for disorderly conduct or violation of its rules, after the delinquent member shall have been notified of the charge against him, and been given an opportunity to be heard." Three charges were filed: 1st, disorderly conduct; 2nd, violation of an unwritten rule of the council; 3rd, interference with the prosecution of the war.

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[1] Former secretary, Municipal League of Los Angeles.

A formal hearing was called, witnesses for both sides were present, and the council, by unanimous vote, with the exception of the two Socialists, expelled the two Socialist members on the grounds above stated.

They appealed to the court of common pleas for an injunction restraining the council from the enforcement of the order, but the lower court held that they were guilty of disorderly conduct. In discussing the question—what constitutes disorderly conduct, the court held that the ordinary interpretation could not apply in this instance, and that the refusal of the Socialists to approve the resolution, was disorderly conduct. The case has been appealed to the higher courts.

Alderman Smith of *Toledo* was impeached for disloyal statements and, having been found guilty by the council, his seat was declared vacant and his successor chosen. A correspondent states that this result was due chiefly to an inflamed public sentiment and a very intense patriotic fervor on the part of the Liberty Loan salesmen. "An interesting feature," writes the same correspondent, "is that Mr. Smith's removal made it possible to remove the balance of power from the hands of the Socialist members."

Chicago, as will be noted elsewhere in the department, handled the matter much better, defeating all the candidates for aldermen who were tainted with disloyalty.

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Dayton's Scandal.—Early in May the Dayton papers contained stories to the effect that a grand jury was investigating the head of the department of public safety. The jury eventually handed down two indictments against the head of that department, charging larceny and graft.

When the case came to trial on the first count the state's witnesses failed them absolutely and after lunch the state attorney requested that a verdict be returned in favor of the defendant, which was promptly done. On the second count the prosecution produced no witnesses whatever, claiming that they could not have them ready, and the judge promptly dismissed the case. In commenting on this conduct the *Dayton News*, which is Governor Cox's paper and has always been strictly partisan, had these editorial comments to make under the head "Rascality Collapses":

> If the grand larceny indictment returned against Safety Director James was not the result of a frame-up, perhaps it was merely the outcome of an effort made by super-innocent minds to establish the degree of relationship between certain circumstances which happened to "present themselves" for consideration. There is a yellow smear all over this attempt to put the brand of the thief upon a reputable citizen and an efficient public official. That the case was nolled in court, owing to the inability of the prosecution to produce any evidence against Mr. James, is not a sufficient indication. He is entitled to a public apology from every one who had any part in this particular attempt to expose him to public contempt. The bribery charge, like the charge of grand larceny, has failed for lack of evidence, and, very properly, has been thrown out of court.
>
> From the beginning to the end of these proceedings it has been apparent that somebody was endeavoring to use the machinery of public justice for the satisfaction of personal spite or for some other rascally purpose. The News congratulates Mr. James on the complete collapse of the effort to besmirch his record.

Just what is back of this prosecution local correspondents are unable to say, but they state that it was clearly someone's intention to embarrass either the city government or the head of the department.

Municipal Elections in Tacoma.—On April 16, a new mayor and two members of the council were elected in Tacoma. Major C. M. Riddell a prominent attorney and chairman of our County Council of Defense, was elected mayor over A. V. Fawcett, who had been mayor for four years. The chief issue was the improvement in the Health Department of the city which is under the personal direction of the mayor. Quarantine measures had become so slack that the city was virtually threatened by a quarantine on the part of the military authorities at Camp Lewis. Matters have decidedly improved, however, and the Health Department is now being thoroughly re-organized under competent medical officers.

Mr. Fred Shoemaker, who resigned as city controller to run for the city commission, was elected by a splendid vote and was assigned to the position of commissioner of finance. Mr. Shoemaker is a Harvard graduate who has had post-graduate training in municipal government, an expert public accountant, and a man who for eight years was in charge of the municipal auditing for the Federal Government in the Philippines.

Mr. H. Roy Harrison, formerly secretary of the Central Labor Council, and a proprietor of a local restaurant was elected to the commission also, and assigned to the position of commissioner of public works.

Mr. Harrison is a young man, wide awake and alert, and goes into office with the confidence of the people. The hold-over commissioners are F. H. Pettit, commissioner of public safety, and Mr. Hamilton F. Gronen, commissioner of light and water.

John B. Kaiser.

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Chicago's Municipal Election.—The chief issue in Chicago's municipal election on April 2 was not a local one but that of loyalty. The municipal voters' league urged the defeat of all anti-war adherents and the voters followed this advice.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

Limited Town Meetings in Massachusetts.—A decision from the supreme judicial court of Massachusetts that the provisions of the bill for a limited town meeting form of government for certain towns in the commonwealth would be unconstitutional was presented to the General Court on May 16, 1918. This matter of the growth of New England towns and the methods by which they were solving their problems was covered in an article in the National Municipal Review, vol. vi, no. 1, January, 1917. Brookline had adopted the limited town meeting form of government, and some thirty towns, planning to follow Norwood, had petitioned the legislature for an enabling act to allow them to adopt the town manager form of government.

The question submitted to the court by the legislature was, "Has the General Court, under the constitution of the commonwealth, power to pass a general law enabling such towns as may adopt its provisions to substitute for the town meeting form of government, in which every qualified voter of the town may participate, a form wherein the town meeting shall consist of a certain percentage of of the voters elected as town meeting members, so called, by the voters at large?" The answer of the court was in the negative. The ruling of the court is of special interest to the residents of Brookline, inasmuch as they have just such a form of limited town meeting as that proposed in the bill that was before the legislature. It is possible therefore, that some of the acts of this limited town meeting for the past two years may be questioned under this ruling.

This is the second set-back which the towns of Massachusetts have had in the past two years in their attempt to adopt more efficient and up-to-date government. Last year the legislature passed an act to give Winchester a manager form of government (which was subsequently defeated by vote of the town) but referred to a recess commission the petitions of all the other towns which had agreed on the Winchester bill for their best method of procedure. This new opposition probably halts for this year at least the long-continued effort of the overgrown towns to substitute some form of government to relieve the crowded conditions of their town halls and the antiquated methods of their departmental organization.

The decision of the court is based on Article 2 of the amendments to the constitution providing for the establishment of municipal or city governments in any corporate town, with the proviso "that no such government shall be erected or constituted in any town not containing twelve thousand inhabitants, nor unless it be with the consent, and on the application of a majority of the inhabitants of such town, present and voting thereon, pursuant to a vote at a meeting duly warned and holden for that purpose." The court did not rule the principle of the limited town meeting to be unconstitutional but only the manner in which the procedure was possible. This technicality is one which could be removed, and has been removed by other towns, in instructing their selectmen or some special charter committee to proceed before the legislature for the special form of charter desired.

Edwin A. Cottrell.[1]

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

Ten Years of City Planning.—The tenth National Conference on City Planning was held by the American City Planning Institute in St. Louis, May 27 to 29.

The new cities, either created or being created by the Federal Government, naturally formed the chief topic of the entire convention. These are either the cantonments,[1] some of them with populations of 75,000, or the industrial towns, leaping up in regions to which the suction of war industries is drawing vast numbers of industrial war workers. At the conference in Kansas City a year ago, a resolution was adopted directing President Frederic Law Olmsted, to offer the services of the institute to the government. The president's address was a report of the result of the offer. Member after member of the conference has had his services drafted in the creation of these towns. The resulting influence promises to be enormous. In fifteen months the cause of town planning and of housing has been advanced more than fifteen years of peace would have advanced it.

President Olmsted seems to have regarded the direction with regard to the offer of the services of the institute to the government, as a personal call, and at great personal sacrifice he has given practically his entire time to the work. A resolution was unanimously adopted, putting on record the appreciation by the Institute of his public spirited action.

The determination of the institute to see to it that the best that has been done elsewhere shall be equalled in this country resulted in calling upon Thomas Adams, city planning adviser to the Commission of Conservation of Canada, for an important address on "City Planning in the Allied Countries During the War." The high standard set by England was well presented for emulation in America.

On motion of Lawson Purdy, president of the National Municipal League, a resolution was also passed, urging the government to adopt the principle of developing war towns as units, instead of buying individual lots here and there; in the latter case no adequate and self-sufficient town-plan could be carried out.

Two sessions, one on zoning and the other on blighted districts, presented closely interrelated subjects. Proper zoning will either prevent blighted districts or greatly reduce the evil effects of the blight. Of course, zoning is not the "fool-proof" portion of the city planning machine and speculation may still cause the usual results of inflation when the bubble bursts.

A number of topics local to St. Louis,

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. vii, p. 139.

[1] Director, Bureau of Governmental Research, Ohio State University.

but with varying application throughout the United States, were presented. A tour of the city demonstrated the truth of Thomas Adams' assertion that European garden suburbs are not superior to American garden suburbs for the well to do, and the St. Louis "Places" were referred to as proof; but, said he, "your problem is to get the same provisions for health and amenity into the neighborhoods where dwell the wage-earners." The United States to-day is endeavoring to do that thing. What happens in the next year, indeed, in the next six months, in the creation of war industrial towns, will decide the measure of the success of the endeavor.

The report on the city planning work that has been executed in the cantonments, and of the similar work under way in war suburbs and war towns, led naturally to the problem of the work to be done on the cessation of hostilities in four or five years,—perhaps sooner, perhaps later. A résumé of the activities of the British Ministry of Reconstruction was presented; it showed eighty-seven committees at work on various phases of the problem such as agriculture, commerce, finance, etc. Four of these committees have to do with housing and town planning. The American City Planning Institute adopted the following resolution:

> WHEREAS, it is evident that when the war is over, many problems of re-adjustment will need to be solved; and
>
> WHEREAS, the British Government, foreseeing similar difficulties, has appointed a Ministry of Reconstruction; be it
>
> *Resolved*, that the American City Planning Institute, in convention assembled, urge upon the President of the United States the early consideration of such questions and the appointment of some official body to deal with the matter.

Another resolution urges the preparation and adoption of municipal and state plans for improvements to be prosecuted immediately on the ending of the war. It was pointed out on the floor that the preparation and adoption of such plans requires more than a year, as a rule, and an equally long time is taken by the legal processes necessary to acquire the ground or public rights of way upn which the improvements are to be placed. If, therefore, no action is taken before the war ends, public work will not be available for months afterwards to relieve problems of non-employment that may be caused by the return of millions of soldiers and the slowing down or closing of war industries, throwing more millions of men out of work; their places have already been occupied, many of them permanently, by women. Even though a good deal of work has been held up by the war, it is at least doubtful if that will provide means of employment in sufficient measure to prevent suffering during the period of readjustment which we all foresee.

> WHEREAS, changed industrial conditions after the war may necessitate the starting of vast public works, and such improvements require time for maturing adequate plans, be it
>
> *Resolved*, that the American City Planning Institute urges on the Governors of the various states and the Mayors of the various cities that the planning of such work be undertaken at this time.

ANDREW WRIGHT CRAWFORD.

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American Federation of Arts.—The meeting of the American Federation of Arts in Detroit, on May 23 and 24, was remarkably well attended. Hardly a session scored less than 200 persons present. The program was shot through with war topics, including "Working Men's Houses in Industrial Centers," "Mobilizing the Art Industries," and "Art as an Americanizing Force." William B. Stratton of Detroit chose, as the medium of the first subject, views of the "delightful" war-towns, Well Hall, Gretna and East Riggs, built by the English Government since the War began. The object was to produce efficiency in war industrial workers by securing healthy surroundings, charm in environment and opportunity for recreation, thus increasing contentment and reducing that labor turn-over, the counterpart of which has been so costly in America since the war began,—costly both in money and in delay in getting results.

The convention adopted the following resolution:

> WHEREAS, the Civic Art of the United States will be vitally affected by the stand-

ard set in housing and in town planning by the Federal authorities,

Resolved, that the American Federation of Arts in Convention assembled, commends the interest already shown in this direction by the Federal authorities and urges as respects any permanent buildings to be erected that it establish in all such work a high standard for housing workers, equal to that in force in any other nation.

A large part of the program was taken up with the discussion of art in industrial work. The promise of America in this respect was physically demonstrated by a visit to the Pewabic Pottery. The convention met in the arts and crafts building, which is, in itself an exhibit of the advance that is being scored by American art in many directions. The thought was voiced on the floor that America has now reached the stage where Europe has much to learn of America. This is true in civic as well as in industrial art and in the fine arts. Monsieur Jacques Gréber of Paris is preparing a book on American suburban architecture, as examples for Frenchmen. In their park systems, European cities are as far behind American cities, as they are ahead of them in their water-fronts—but Rio Janeiro is the best, or one of the two best, of all.

The report of the secretary, Leila Mechlin, is always one of the features of the Federation's conventions. There is, however, more than a feature. Each has marked a milestone in the steady advance westward of the interest in and appreciation of art. In the last ten years, more than ten cities in the middle west have opened art museums, those in Minneapolis, Cleveland and Toledo being especially beautiful examples of architecture. The federation keeps a score of travelling art exhibitions on the road, reaching over 100 cities in the course of a year. An impressive story of the influence of such work was presented by a speaker from Washington state, who told of the first visit of one of these exhibitions to his town.

Robert W. De Forest was re-elected president, Charles L. Hutchinson, vice-president and Miss Mechlin, secretary. Mrs. John W. Alexander, Andrew Wright Crawford, Charles L. Hutchinson, H. W. Kent, Miss Florence N. Levy, Elihu Root and Joseph E. Widener were elected to the board of directors for terms of three years.

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Organized Women and Civics.—The Fourteenth Biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs was held in Hot Springs, Arkansas, from April 13 to May 9. It was pre-eminently in the nature of a war service conference and the attendance was surprisingly good considering the stress of present conditions and the interest of the audiences was intense. The eleven departments of work, literature, art, music, civics, civil service reform, education, home economics, public health, social and industrial conditions, legislation and conservation, each presented noted speakers to the main program whose messages bore particularly on the special work of that department under war emergency conditions. Among these speakers were Miss Julia C. Lathrop of the Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor; Dr. Jessica B. Peixotto, executive secretary, Child Welfare Department, Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense; Dr. Alonzo E. Taylor, U. S. Food Administration; Dr. J. Lawrence Erb, School of Music, University of Illinois; Mr. Dudley Crafts Watson, director, Art Institute Milwaukee; Jane Addams, Hull House; Helen Fraser, National War Savings Committee, England; Surgeon General Rupert Blue, U. S. Public Health Service; Dr. Theodore Gerald Soares, University of Chicago; Honorable Jeannette Rankin; Richard Henry Dana, president, National Civil Service Reform League; Mrs. Cora Wilson Stewart, chairman, National Illiteracy Committee; Mr. Herbert Putnam, librarian of Congress; Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, president, National Education Association; Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, chairman, Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense.

Numerous conference programs were held by the various departments where there was discussion of the more specific lines of work. Among department conference program speakers were Mrs. Herbert C. Hoover, Miss Jean Gordon of New Orleans, Mrs. Edward MacDowell, Jens Jensen, president, Friends of our Native Landscape, Charles Lathrop Pack, president of National War Garden Commission, Dr. Ellis P. Oberholzer, secretary of Pennsylvania State Board of Censorship of Motion Pictures.

The civics department centered its work upon Americanization, Liberty Bond campaigns, the community survey, the motion picture problem, clean-up campaigns, and the better organization of civic work in municipality and state.

A resolution was passed by the civic conference and board endorsing the movement for a public citizenship day in every community on July Fourth of each year and urging the women's clubs to work for it.

Surveys of the motion picture field had been made by the women's clubs in Illinois, Michigan, Rhode Island, South Dakota, New York and Arkansas and others are in progress. A resolution endorsing legal censorship of motion pictures and pledging efforts for the same was unanimously passed by the convention.

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The Socialist Aldermanic Delegation Bureau of Investigation and Research.—The seven Socialist members recently elected to the New York City board of aldermen have organized a bureau of Investigation and research to assist them in the performance of their legislative duties.

The functions of this bureau are four fold:

It furnishes, first, a centralized and systematized agency for legislative research. The staff of the bureau conducts a wide investigation into each subject upon which any one of the seven aldermen desires to introduce legislation. A summary of the bureau's findings in each instance is placed at the disposal of the Socialist delegation and all others who may be interested. As a means to this end the bureau maintains a library of city reports and other documents bearing on its work.

The bureau is also a bill-drafting agency for the Socialist delegation. On the basis of this investigation and research the bureau prepares a draft of each proposed measure which it submits to the seven aldermen as well as to those best informed on the subject in question for their citicism and suggestion. In this work the most expert advice is sought and followed by the bureau. It aims to make each measure not only in form but in substance stand every test.

The staff of the bureau in the third place forms a sort of vigilance committee on city legislation. The files of the office contain a complete record of all the public activities of all the members of the board of aldermen. The vote of every alderman on every measure, and a list of all bills for which each member is responsible, is recorded in the bureau's files. Apart from this more specialized vigilance the staff keeps in touch with the latest developments in all departments of the city government.

The last but not the least of the bureau's functions is publicity. One of the staff is specially assigned to this work. His duties are to rally favorably public opinion for each measure introduced by the delegation and to focus this sentiment where it will accomplish the most, on committee chairman, public hearings, etc. He is charged further with the work of securing fair and adequate notice of the delegation's activities in the public press.

The Socialist aldermen believe that the work of the bureau is such that every socialist legislative group in the country will eventually be equipped with this weapon of legislative efficiency. The quality of their faith may be judged by the fact that each member of the delegation contributes to its support out of his aldermanic salary.

Evans Clark is director of the bureau. Mr. Clark graduated from Amherst in 1910, took his post graduate work at Harvard and Columbia, and previous to his acceptance of his present position was for three years instructor in politics at Princeton University. Mr. Clark has also been an associate editor of the *Utilities Magazine*. Charles Solomon acts as executive secretary. Mr. Solomon was secretary to Congressman Meyer London during his first term and has been active in the Socialist movement for many years.

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Community Luncheons.—The San Francisco chamber of commerce recently held a community service week, holding a luncheon each day, to each one of which a certain section of its membership was invited. These promoted a more direct contact between the members and headquarters and gave to the members a conception of the many different kinds of service which the chamber could render to the membership if they availed themselves of the opportunity afforded. It also was designed to impress upon the members the idea of community services in war work and the obligation of every one to stand ready to render service whenever called upon. One sixth of the membership was invited each day. The total attendance was 3,565 or 62 per cent of the chamber's membership.

A leaflet entitled "Community Service Week" has been published by the chamber giving interesting details concerning the meeting. It constitutes an important document in effective community work.

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A Brooklyn Merger.—The new Brooklyn chamber of commerce came into existence on February 6, 1918, through the merger of the manufacturers' and business men's association and the civic club. The former has been in existence twenty-three years and the latter was organized in April, 1915, by the consolidation of a comparatively new organization known as the city club of Brooklyn and a somewhat older organization known as the Brooklyn league formed in 1897. John B. Creighton is the business manager of the new chamber.

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A Research Bureau's War Service.—In these days of multiplied and multiplying municipal and voluntary war activities, it is highly essential that there should be a co-ordinating center, at least so far as information regarding them is concerned. The Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research is supplying this co-ordination in that city, having established a pavilion manned by a paid staff of intelligent young women and located at the crossings of the two principal streams of foot traffic. This information booth acts as a clearing house and directs inquirers to the proper sources when it is not able to answer inquiries directly. Among the most usual topics of inquiries are the following: war gardens, war organizations, home service, food economics, war legislation, enlistment, employment, housing.

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National Municipal League Prizes.—"County Government in the State of ———," was the subject assigned for the 1918 Baldwin Prize contest. The prize was awarded to Harris Berlack, Harvard 1920, with honorable mention of the essays of Maurice Hitchcock Merrill, University of Oklahoma; T. Henry Kutz, Harvard; Benjamin Fisher Pollock, Harvard; and Charles Frederick Zukoski, Jr., Harvard. The judges were H. S. Gilbertson, secretary of the National Short Ballot Organization, and Prof. W. B. Guthrie of the College of the City of New York.

The Portland National Municipal League prize was awarded in 1918 to James Watson Gantenbein, the subject being "City and County Consolidation for Portland." The judges were Prof. F. W. Catlett and C. J. France, both of Seattle, Wash.

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Manager Reed of San Jose Resigns.—Thomas H. Reed, who has been city manager for two years, has resigned. Manager Reed had previously been a professor of economics at the University of California, and had maintained a bureau of municipal experts. He had been employed, by public subscription, to draft a city manager charter for the city, for which he received $1,000. When the voters approved the charter the council selected Reed as manager at a salary of $6,000 a year. The immediate circumstances preceding the resignation were the small majority 3,352 to 3,211, given against an ordinance which would have limited candidates for the managership to those with a five years' residence qualification. This was opposed by manager Reed. The administration's request for an increase of 15 cents in taxes was voted down, and a measure to increase the salaries of policemen and firemen, opposed by the administration, was approved by the voters. The city manager's resignation was accepted to take place on or before August 1, 1918, and he was granted a fifteen-day leave of absence, dating from May 31. The city engineer, assisted from time to time by the individual members of the council, will transact the business of the city manager's office in his absence. In his letter of resignation, manager Reed says:

> My primary motive in accepting the position of city manager was to play a part in the establishment of the city manager form of government in this country. I have now seen the success of the city manager form of government demonstrated by its accomplishments in San Jose, and doubly proved by the persistent opposition of those political elements whose control of this city it has effectually displaced.
>
> No man has ever been so fortunate as to lead in the moral cleansing or political regeneration of any community without becoming a shining mark for ridicule, abuse and misrepresentation. I expected nothing else, and I would be prepared to go on with the struggle here indefinitely were it not that circumstances beyond the control of the manager and council have made it certain that further sacrifice on my part would be futile for reasons fully explained in the accompanying statement. Furthermore, continued controversy with my fellow citizens is peculiarly intolerable to me in the critical situation in which our beloved country now stands. I have, therefore, made final arrangements to return to the University of California and to take up actively again the practice of law with my former associates, the firm of Haven and Athern in San Francisco.

In a statement of the situation of finances accompanying the resignation, manager Reed says in part:

> The past two years have given ample proof of the validity of the principles underlying the charter of the city of San Jose. Centralized power and responsibility, modern financial methods and the merit system of appointment have produced, as was expected by the advocates of the new charter, an honest and economical administration free from the taint of partisanship.
>
> The work of the health department has been made vastly more effective than ever before in the history of the city. Even the strongest critics of the administration admit that the fire department is better than it has ever been, and the results in the low percentage of loss from fire prove this fact beyond the peradventure of doubt. Our parks, streets and buildings have been maintained in an improved condition, and may be favorably compared with any period in the past.
>
> The methods of the police department have been modernized. The city is now in a cleaner condition morally than ever before. We no longer have a single open house of prostitution, and our last saloon has gone.
>
> Public utilities, especially the street railway company, have been brought to fulfill all their obligations to the city.
>
> The indebtedness of the city is less and the tax rate less than it was two years ago. The fact that $23,000 clear balance existed in the treasury December 1, 1917, a situation previously unheard of, demonstrates that economy has kept pace with energy in the present administration. Whatever financial emergency arises in the future can be met in the light of the full facts supplied by our modern accounting system instead of groping in the dark as would have been the case under the old methods.

After referring to the increased costs of operations and salaries due to the war the statement continues:

> Not only have we had to face the conditions produced by the war, which affect the city as they do every other business concern, but the people of the city of San Jose have imposed upon us other difficulties for which the city administration is no wise responsible. On the 1st of January by reason of a popular decision, which I, myself, consider to have been wise, saloons ceased to exist in San Jose. San Jose is undoubtedly a cleaner and better city as a result. The benefits of the non-saloon policy, however, have not found their way into the city treasury, and we are running the city this year upon a revenue $40,000 less than last year because of this change. For this year this loss of revenue has in part been taken care of by the $23,000 balance resulting from our economy and care of the year preceding. * * *
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> There are two ways in which the situation created by the votes of the people can be met. The first of these is by reducing the expenditures, which means that the city must discharge employees or re-

frain from doing work that has been contemplated.

The other method of meeting the situation is by an increase of income. All possibility of such an increase by taxation has been eliminated by vote of the people. The only recourse open that can help this or next year's situation is a system such as obtains in Fresno of business licenses levied upon the merchants and other business men of the city. Either course will bring criticism that will be unjust because it will be undeserved. You will necessarily be involved in a kind of controversy especially irritating to broad-minded, patriotic men in this hour of the nation's supreme emergency. Into this situation you have been forced by the indifference of the public and the machinations of a few selfish politicians who need assume no responsibility for their conduct.

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Robert W. Speer, City Builder.—When Robert W. Speer, mayor of Denver, died, May 14, the city lost the most enlightened and capable executive that ever guided its destinies. Previous to his first election as mayor in 1904, he had held office in various capacities, both municipal and federal. At that time the adoption of the "home rule" charter opened the way to a new régime, although the path lay through a tangle of legal and political difficulties. His administration gradually brought order out of chaos, and a united city came into existence. Mayor Speer was a Democrat, at first with a partisan tendency, but his ever present care for the welfare of the community, and his close attention to the problems of municipal government, led him to realize that politics can have no place in the plans of a city builder.

In 1908, on the initiative of the business men, he reluctantly again became a candidate, and was reelected for a second term. Towards the end of this period he decided to return to private life. Then a spasm of so called reform, semi-political in character, aided by an unscrupulous press which had not been able to control him, foretold a coming storm. A reform administration was elected, which lasted one year. It was succeeded by a commission form of government, which lasted until 1916. By that time Denver had learned to estimate at its true worth the ability and integrity of its former mayor, as well as the danger of hasty legislation. In response to a genuine and widespread call, he consented to enter the field for a third time, provided he could do so under an amended charter that placed the chief authority in the hands of a mayor, with all officers except the auditor and elections commission appointed by him, and with greatly extended powers safeguarded by the initiative referendum and recall. This met with the emphatic approval of the electors, and in May, 1916, Robert W. Spear again became mayor of Denver. The two years that have since elapsed have been marked by rapid progress in all directions. The amended charter provided for a non-political administration with economy and good service as its aim and purpose, and further provided "that all appointments be made solely upon merit and ability." Mayor Speer fulfilled this intention, both in letter and in spirit.

In his first administration he gave evidence of his desire to see Denver become a model city, and he surrounded himself with a group of men who cordially co-operated with him, and remained his firm friends to the end. Civic beauty, became a passion with him, and social betterment made an equally strong appeal as the years passed by.

To cite the great civic undertakings that will always be associated with his name, would be superfluous—it is sufficient to say that he found Denver a provincial town and left it a modern city. That he died a comparatively poor man must not be forgotten. His dauntless courage, sympathetic nature, personal loyalty, the purity of his motives and his executive skill, formed a combination as rare as it was worthy of admiration.

Henry Read.

✤

Resignation of Dr. C. C. Williamson.—In the resignation of Dr. C. C. Williamson, librarian of the Municipal Reference Library of New York, to accept the position of statistician with the Americanization Survey of the Carnegie Corporation of New York City, the field of municipal science and the library field both lose a highly efficient worker. The position of librarian in charge of a special library requires qualifications of an exceptional character to obtain for the library a large sphere of usefulness. This is peculiarly true of a municipal reference library which covers a wider range of interest and a larger number of technical fields than other special libraries.

By courtesy, intelligence, and energy Dr. Williamson made the municipal reference library helpful to thousands of city employees of all classes, as well as to the public—to the recruit striving to pass his entrance examination, to the junior employee seeking to master his new duties and to win advancement by study, to the expert seeking to keep informed of the progress made in his profession by reading important new books and contributions to periodical literature. His printed weekly "Notes" were of especial value because of their timeliness and helpfulness,—qualities which are none too common in bibliographical publications. His time was always at the service of any employee, irrespective of rank, who had a problem which the Librarian could assist in solving,—and there were few problems which he could not assist in solving.

Dorsey W. Hyde, Jr., Dr. Williamson's successor is a graduate of Cornell University, subsequently studying at the Sorbonne and in London. After newspaper experience in New York he became in June, 1915, a member of the editorial staff of the *American City*, and later was appointed research manager for the American City Bureau, which position he resigned to become municipal reference librarian.

⚜

Addison L. Winship, for twelve years the efficient secretary of the Boston city club and one of the largest contributing factors to its upbuilding, has resigned to become a vice-president of the National Shawmut Bank, Boston. In commenting on Mr. Winship's retirement, the *Boston Advertiser* pointed out that during the years he had been civic secretary of the club, it had been a wonderful influence in bringing the various elements in the complex life of that metropolitan community into better mutual understanding. "He has had much to do with guiding this work and the achievements accomplished afford him and his friends a fine retrospect." The *Boston Post* said editorially that Mr. Winship "had practically created the role of civic secretary and developed it with immense energy, diplomacy and a fine ability that was as sincere as it was effective."

⚜

Walter L. Fisher of Chicago has been appointed representative for the Great Lakes district (extending from Buffalo to Duluth) of the ship building labor adjustment board having jurisdiction over wages, hours and other labor conditions in the ship yards having federal contracts. This board was formed under an agreement between the navy department, the American Federation of Labor and the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

⚜

Wendell F. Johnson, editor of the *Toledo City Journal*, has been appointed acting director of the Municipal Research Bureau maintained by Toledo University. Professor W. M. Leiserson, director of the bureau, has been granted a leave of absence to undertake a study of methods of Americanizing immigrants for the Carnegie Corporation. W. M. L.

⚜

Anthony Pratt, at one time secretary of the old Detroit Municipal League, is acting secretary of the Los Angeles municipal league, of which Seward C. Simons who is now in the aviation service, was secretary.

⚜

Andrew Wright Crawford has been appointed field secretary of the American Civic Association, with offices in the Stephen Girard Building, Philadelphia. Miss Eleanor E. Marshall will continue as executive secretary.

⚜

Judson King, secretary of the National Popular Government League, has been canvassing North Dakota in the interests of the initiative, referendum and recall under the auspices of the Non-partisan League.

Julia Lathrop, director of the Children's Bureau of the federal government, was elected president of the National Conference on Social Work.

⁂

Edward T. Paxton, who has been in charge of the bureau of municipal research and reference at the University of Texas under Professor Herman G. James, has resigned to accept a place with the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research.

⁂

Professor Herman G. James, of the department of government of the University of Texas, and an associate editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, has accepted work with the war camp community service.

⁂

H. S. Gilbertson, executive secretary of the National Short Ballot Organization has been made captain in the National army and attached to the intelligence bureau of the general staff. In the same bureau with Captain Gilbertson is Captain Henry T. Hunt, former mayor of Cincinnati.

⁂

Henry G. Hodges has resigned as secretary of the Cleveland city club to enter business with his father in Philadelphia. In commenting on his resignation, *The City* which is the weekly bulletin of the city club, referred to the fact that during his term of office 483 new members had been added to the club. Charles S. Findley has succeeded Mr. Hodges as secretary of the Cleveland city club.

⁂

Richard S. Childs, vice-president of the National Municipal League and secretary of the National Short Ballot Organization, has been appointed associate director of housing in the war department. He will represent that department in its dealings with the labor department's housing bureau. This gives him a large opportunity to put into practice his special housing ideas which he has recently been advocating.

⁂

John F. Putnam, formerly director of the Milwaukee citizens' bureau of municipal efficiency, is now attached to the emergency fleet corporation in Philadelphia, as is W. J. Bollenbeck, secretary of the voters' league of Milwaukee. W. B. Holton, Jr., of the San Francisco bureau of governmental research is also with the same corporation.

⁂

Sedley H. Phinney has been elected secretary of the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research, succeeding Robert E. Tracy, now director of the new research bureau in Indianapolis. Mr. Phinney is a civil engineer with degrees from the universities of Rochester and Wisconsin.

⁂

C. W. Roberts, secretary of the Henderson, N. C., chamber of commerce, has been elected secretary of the southern commercial secretaries association and of the North Carolina commercial secretaries association.

⁂

Mayo Fesler, who has been secretary of the Cleveland civic league for eight years, has resigned to assume the secretaryship of the recently organized Brooklyn chamber of commerce formed by the merger of the manufacturers' association and the civic club of Brooklyn. Before going to Cleveland Mr. Fesler was secretary of the St. Louis civic league.

THE 1918 ANNUAL MEETING

NEW YORK, JUNE 5-6, 1918

Held in conjunction with the War Time Economy Conference, the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the National Municipal League was singularly interesting and auspicious, interesting because of the program and of the spontaneity of the discussion; auspicious because of the action taken to enlarge the scope of the League's activities.

The eleven recommendations of the survey committee were approved and forwarded to the Council with a recommendation to put them into effect as speedily as possible. Here are the recommendations as approved:

Recommendations of Survey Committee

1. The personnel of the Council and of the Executive Committee should be more frequently changed.

2. Committees of the League should be given greater assistance and encouragement in their work, by supplying them with investigational service, and publishing their reports.

3. Separate and more commodious offices should be provided for the League's secretary and assistants.

4. An editorial and research secretary should be appointed to whom will be assigned all the editorial duties now performed by the executive secretary.

5. The Review should be changed:

a. By making it a monthly instead of a bi-monthly magazine.

b. By improving its typographical appearance.

c. By changing its name.

d. By popularizing the reading matter contained in it.

6. A committee on publications should again be appointed to give closer and more critical supervision to the editing of the volumes printed in the National Municipal series of books.

7. A special committee on annual conference should be appointed to work out a plan governing the arrangements to be made between the League and local committees for the holding of the annual conference.

8. Regional conferences might be arranged by the League in co-operation with local civic and commercial associations.

9. The League should develop its informational service by printing and distributing pamphlets and other reports, thus becoming a vigorous leader and advocate of governmental reforms, rather than a passive observer and critic.

10. An annual budget should be prepared and the League's accounting methods improved.

11. Plans should be developed for increasing the membership and raising an additional income of at least $10,000 to meet the cost of the proposed increased service.

The report of the survey committee has been printed and will shortly be mailed to all the members. It is based upon a detailed study of the League's records and upon the questionnaire which was sent to all the members of the League and upon a special, detailed study by the members of the committee. The report was not designed to be a "praise document," but an appraisement of the work of the League, and of the possibility of extending its usefulness to meet the increased demands which rapidly changing conditions are making upon us. The discussion of the recommendations was of the most encouraging sort and while there was division on several points, there was substantial unanimity with regard to the importance of the work that had been done, the work to be done and the usefulness of the League in both connections.

At the Wednesday morning session the usual business was transacted including the election of the following officers and council for the ensuing year:

Report of the Nominating Committee

President—Lawson Purdy, New York.

Vice-Presidents—

Richard S. Childs, New York.
*Westmoreland Davis, Richmond, Va.
*Morton D. Hull, Chicago, Ill.
*Otto Kirchner, Detroit, Mich.
*W. D. Lighthall, Montreal, Canada.

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* New members.

Meyer Lissner, Los Angeles, Cal.
A. Lawrence Lowell, Harvard University.
Oliver McClintock, Pittsburgh.
J. Horace McFarland, Harrisburg, Pa.
Charles E. Merriam, Chicago, Ill.
Charles Richardson, Philadelphia.
L. S. Rowe, Washington, D. C.
*Albert Shaw, New York.
*Mary K. Simkhovitch, New York City.

Secretary—Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia.

Treasurer—George Burnham, Jr., Philadelphia.

Council—

*Claude H. Anderson, Princeton, N. J.
Charles W. Andrews, Syracuse, N. Y.
M. N. Baker, New York City.
W. P. Bancroft, Wilmington, Del.
*Charles A. Beard, New York City.
Alfred Bettman, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore, Md.
*H. L. Brittain, Toronto, Canada.
*Allen T. Burns, New York.
John A. Butler, Milwaukee, Wis.
*Fred W. Catlett, Seattle, Wash.
Harvey Stuart Chase, Boston.
*Edwin A. Cottrell, Columbus, Ohio.
Caroline Bartlett Crane, Kalamazoo.
*Frank P. Crunden, St. Louis, Mo.
George B. Dealey, Dallas, Texas.
Albert DeSilver, Brooklyn, N. Y.
*Henry D. Faxon, Kansas City, Mo.
Mayo Fesler, Cleveland, Ohio.
William Dudley Foulke, Richmond, Ind.
*D. Frank Garland, Dayton, Ohio.
*William W. Grant, Jr., Denver, Col.
Albert Bushnell Hart, Cambridge, Mass.
*Herbert Harley, Chicago, Ill.
A. R. Hatton, Cleveland, Ohio.
*John B. Kaiser, Tacoma, Wash.
*William Kent, Washington, D. C.
*Robert D. Leigh, Portland, Ore.
William Bennett Munro, Cambridge.
*Harrison G. Otis, Auburn, Me.
Robert Treat Paine, Boston.
J. W. S. Peters, Washington, D. C.
Bessie Leach Priddy, New York City.
Thomas H. Reed, San Jose, Cal.
*Frank S. Shaw, Des Moines, Iowa.
*George C. Sikes, Chicago.
Howard Strong, Minneapolis.
Theodore F. Thieme, Fort Wayne, Ind.
*William E. Upjohn, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Lent D. Upson, Detroit, Mich.
A. Leo Weil, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Lionel Weil, Goldsboro, N. C.
*Addison L. Winship, Boston.

The secretary presented an extended review on "Preparedness for War and Peace," and Hon. W. L. Ransom, counsel for Public Service Commission Number 1 of New York City gave a highly illuminating address on "The Municipality and the Public Utility in War Time," which will be published in a subsequent issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. The franchise committee reported through its chairman, Dr. Delos F. Wilcox, and the committee on county government through its chairman, Otho G. Cartwright, of White Plains, N. Y. Mayo Fesler, Cleveland, presented the report of the survey committee.

At the joint luncheon of the National Municipal League, the Governmental Research Conference and Association of State Muncipal Leagues, held at the Greenwich House, where all the sessions of the League were held under most hospitable and delightful auspices, the subject for consideration was "The War Time Work of Civic Organizations." Lucius E. Wilson, the director of the American City Bureau acted as toastmaster, opening the session with a highly instructive address on "The Relation of Civics and Commerce." The other speakers were C. H. Anderson, secretary of the League of New Jersey Municipalities; Harrison Gray Otis, city manager, Auburn, Maine; Winton L. Miller, formerly city manager of St. Augustine, Florida; L. D. Upson, director of the Detroit bureau of governmental research; Miss H. Marie Dermitt, secretary of the civic league of Allegheny county; W. J. Donald, secretary, chamber of commerce, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; LeRoy E. Snyder, director, Rochester bureau of municipal research. An article summarizing these addresses will be published in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

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* New members.

* New members.

At the afternoon session, Otto Kirchner, president of the Detroit bureau of governmental research and a vice-president of the league acted as chairman, the meeting being a joint meeting of the three organizations named above. The general subject of this meeting was "How Shall We Head Off Bolshevikism in American Cities." For the purposes of discussion the committee on program gave "Bolshevikism" a special meaning of its own, namely, dangerous unrest—"a tendency to disregard the established political mechanism in efforts to secure results by unlawful short-cuts.

"In other words, what things should we do to set our house in order so as to make government so responsive, effective and obedient that the shortest and easiest way to get social and economic progress will be by way of lawful and orderly governmental action?

"A municipal government that is tied hand and foot with red tape and complex charter limitations in the hands of a tight political ring which capital can easily control, gives considerable excuse for the kind of impatience that wants to kick the whole fabric of society into the discard."

The speakers at this session were Thomas H. Reed, city manager, San Jose, Cal.; Prof. Augustus Raymond Hatton, Western Reserve University; P. W. Wilson, M.P., London, England; Frank Dilnot, London, president, Association of Foreign Press Correspondents in United States; A. Leo Weil, Esq., president, voters' league of Pittsburgh[1]; George Everson, executive secretary, committee on criminal courts, charity organization society of New York; Richard S. Childs, secretary, committee on industrial housing. An interesting letter from R. P. Farley, of Baltimore, bearing on the same subject was read.

The ten-minute rule which was adhered to at both the luncheon and afternoon sessions worked out most satisfactorily. Concerning the afternoon session, Dr. Charles A. Beard of the New York bureau of municipal research declared it to be one of the most profitable he had ever attended anywhere.

In welcoming the several organizations at the luncheon, Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch, the director of Greenwich House, explained, by request, the scope of the community work being done under its roof and likewise described at length the details of an ordinance in which she is interested, designed to bring home the government of the city more directly to the people.

It was a happy thought that led the Council to meet under such hospitable auspices. Greenwich House has done remarkably successful community work and the League and allied organizations had all the advantage of meeting in the midst of a great city but away from the distractions of business. At the same time they were in close contact with the teeming population of a representative section of this metropolitan city.

On Thursday evening there was a joint dinner of the delegates to the Conference on War Time Economy, the National Municipal League, the Governmental Research Conference and the Association of State Municipal Leagues, at the City Club of New York. President Lawson Purdy of the National Municipal League presided, delivering his annual address on "State and Local Governments in the Light of War Necessities." The general subject for consideration by the speakers was "New Duties of City and State Governments in War Times." This was given a pretty broad definition and a very great latitude was allowed the speakers, but it was generally agreed that it was a profitable occasion. Those who spoke were: Major Bascom Johnson, U. S. R., Commission on Training Camp Activities, War Department; Otto Kirchner, Esq., president, Governmental Research Conference; Thomas H. Reed, city manager, San Jose, California; Prof. Augustus Raymond Hatton, Cleveland, Ohio; H. H. Freeman, secretary of the Kalamazoo charter commission.

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[1] Mr. Weil's talk was a summary of an address entitled, "An Awakened Social Conscience, The Interests' Best Preparation for Post-War Conditions." copies of which can be had from Mr. Weil at his address, Frick Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

The opening session of the National Conference on War Economy was held at Columbia University and the others at the Astor House. Among the questions discussed were: Executive Leadership in a Democracy; Financing Local Governments; The Government as Employer; The New Era in Budgets. The proceedings of this conference will be published by the Academy of Political Science, of which Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, Columbia University, is president.

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE

The fourth annual meeting of the Governmental Research Conference was held in New York, June 5, 6 and 7, in conjunction with the meeting of the National Municipal League and the National Conference on War Economy. It is perhaps stretching the facts slightly to speak of this as the fourth annual meeting, but the organization of governmental research agencies goes back to a small meeting held in Dayton in November, 1915, which was followed by a meeting in Springfield, Mass., in November, 1916, where a temporary organization called the Association of Governmental Research Agencies was effected. This in turn was supplanted by the Governmental Research Conference (of the United States and Canada), formed in Detroit in November, 1917.

The New York meeting was probably, in respect of tangible results, the best meeting so far held by the governmental research agencies. It was entirely lacking in spectacular features, but was marked by a spirit of cordial co-operation and earnest purpose to work for more effective results in the field occupied by the members of the Conference.

The first meeting was held at Greenwich House, Wednesday morning, June 5. It would perhaps be better to say "the first meetings," because three round table discussions were under way at the same time, one on "Municipal Accounting and Finance," under the leadership of Robert James Patterson, of the staff of the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research; one on "Street Cleaning" under the leadership of James W. Routh, of the staff of the Rochester bureau; and one on "Public Health," under the leadership of Dr. Carl E. McCombs, of the staff of the New York bureau. These conferences discussed questions of interest in their particular fields, and one at least resulted in the formation of a committee that may be expected to function as an active agency for co-ordinating the work of all members of the Governmental Research Conference. This was the group which discussed "Accounting Problems."

The accounting conference was well attended. There was a lively discussion concerning the classification of accounts for municipalities, looking forward especially to the establishment of a standard classification of accounts for all cities, and the adoption of a simple form of balance sheet and operating statement which should have a nomenclature that would be easily understood by the man in the street, with a statement of affairs that would more closely resemble commercial forms. To this end a standing committee was appointed, composed of the following members: Chairman, L. A. James, of the Ohio Institute for Public Efficiency; Herbert R. Sands, of the New York bureau of municipal research; M. George Lawton, of the Rochester bureau of municipal research; Henry Steffens, of the Detroit bureau of governmental research, and Mr. Patterson. Several meetings of this committee were held during the three days of the conference, and the work is to be continued during the year, both by correspondence and conference.

The subjects discussed by the group interested in public health were as follows:

1. The possibility of training physicians for public health work by actual service in the health departments.

2. The training of nurses for public health service by actual field work in municipal health departments.

3. Survey of hospital and clinic facilities, with special reference to facilities for the care of industrial diseases and venereal diseases.

4. Infant mortality prevention and its importance in the national defence program.

5. Food protection and conservation from the standpoint of public health. The following are important things that it was felt a municipal health department can undertake:

(a) The physical examination of food handlers for the purpose of eliminating from contact with food those who are suffering with communicable diseases.

(b) The thorough inspection of meat at slaughter, so that all health dangers from disease contaminated meat may be eliminated.

(c) The elimination of the fly nuisance as it concerns the transmission of diseases in food.

(d) Supervision of the cleanliness of workers in food establishments, with particular reference to their use of toilet facilities.

The group that discussed engineering problems was small, illustrating a fact which has been familiar to most persons interested in the governmental research field, that so far public works and engineering questions have been somewhat subordinated by most bureaus of governmental research to other interests, especially accountancy. It is interesting however, to enumerate the subjects discussed by the engineering group, as showing the special engineering activities of municipalities which are being recognized as legitimate fields for the interest of research agencies. These subjects included the following:

1. *Contract* vs. *municipal garbage collection and disposal.*

2. *Contract* vs. *municipal street cleaning.*

3. Methods of snow removal.

4. Organization of street cleaning.

5. The location of public markets.

6. Municipal participation in improvement construction—

(a) Competition with contractors for work.

(b) Municipal purchase and supply of materials of construction.

7. The possible curtailment of street cleaning work because of the war.

Wednesday noon, June 5, the Governmental Research Conference joined with the National Municipal League and the Association of State Municipal Leagues at a luncheon at Greenwich House, at which Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch, director of Greenwich House, presided at the head of the table, exemplifying the charming hospitality for which Greenwich House is noted.

All of the speakers at this luncheon laid emphasis upon the necessity of keeping civic agencies actively in the field during the war. In various ways reference was made to specific work done by civic agencies that contributed directly to the efficiency of the nation for the carrying on of the war, by strengthening the forces "behind the lines" in the home communities. The point was also made that civic agencies had an important work to do in helping to conserve all of the moral and physical resources of the nation, not only for the prosecution of the war but for the reconstruction period that must follow.

Wednesday afternoon the Governmental Research Conference joined with the National Municipal League and the Association of State Municipal Leagues in a discussion presided over by Otto Kirchner.

Two other general discussions were held by the Governmental Research Conference, the first on Friday morning, June 7, following the business meeting of the Conference, and the second, Friday afternoon. In the first discussion there was an interesting consideration of questions of bureau management, under the leadership of Dr. Horace L. Brittain, managing director of the Toronto bureau of municipal research. The Friday afternoon discussion was presided over by R. P. Farley, formerly executive secretary of the Winnipeg Citizen's Research League, now of Baltimore.

This discussion was led by Colonel LeRoy Hodges, secretary to the governor, Richmond, Va., who spoke of the "Use of Specialists in the War and Afterwards," and from that topic the discussion went through several fields of great interest to men engaged in governmental research work. One of the points discussed was that ever fruitful source of speculation (which has not yet produced many concrete and practical suggestions)—the necessity of promoting, by education and propaganda, widespread popular appreciation of the service that can be performed by specialists and by such agencies as were represented in the Conference. It was recognized that, without popular approval, movements for more efficient government will continue to be abortive, as so many have in the past.

Friday noon the delegates to the Conference had luncheon at Greenwich House, as guests of the New York bureau of municipal research. There was no discussion following this luncheon, the guests being welcomed quite simply by Dr. Charles A. Beard, director of the New York bureau of municipal research, who assured them of that organization's desire to be of genuine service to all agencies in the governmental research field.

The discussion of Friday afternoon was concerned with problems of public employment, under the leadership of Dr. D. C. Sowers, director of the Akron bureau of municipal research. There was also some discussion of the problems of university bureaus,—one of the more important questions that must be worked out by the executive committee.

A short business meeting of the Conference was held Friday morning. Questions of classes of membership were considered, especially as they relate to citizen agencies which are interested in efficient government and which yet cannot be considered as exactly within the class represented by bureaus of municipal and governmental research. It was finally decided that the chair should appoint a committee of three members to co-operate with the secretary to dispose of the question of new members, and Mr. Kirchner, president of the Conference, who was in the chair, appointed Dr. Beard, Dr. Brittain and Dr. L. D. Upson.

It was also decided that the Executive Committee should be requested to appoint a committee of five, to act just prior to the next meeting of the Conference for the nomination of candidates for office for the then ensuing year.

The Conference re-elected the present officers. These comprise the following: President, Otto Kirchner (President of the Detroit bureau); Vice-President, Bruce Cornwall (President, San Francisco bureau); Secretary and Treasurer, Leroy E. Snyder (Director, Rochester bureau); Assistant Secretaries, Robert T. Crane (Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan); and Gertrude E. Woodard (Secretary, Bureau of Government, University of Michigan); Trustee, Frank L. Olson (Director, Bureau of Municipal Research of the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association); Trustee, R. P. Farley (formerly Executive Secretary Winnipeg Citizens Research League). The Executive Committee is composed of the president, the vice-president, the secretary and treasurer, and the two trustees.

LEROY E. SNYDER.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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Ordinarily the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW should be in the hands of members and subscribers within a week of the first day of the months of publication, to wit, January, March, May, July, September, and November. The extraordinary conditions of the last six months, however, have resulted in numerous delays. If the magazine is not received by the 15th of the month of issue, the Editor will be greatly obliged if a postal to that effect is sent to his office, 703 North American Building, Philadelphia.

THE BOLSHEVIK SESSION OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE ANNUAL CONFERENCE

INTRODUCTION

BY CHARLES A. BEARD[1]

AMERICA is the land of organizations and annual conferences and so it is a poor and unnatural American who does not belong to many societies and who has not to his record many national conventions. The writer of this introduction pleads guilty to having done his full duty in this line of citizenship. He has heard enough papers, learned and otherwise, and listened to enough discussions from the floor, illuminating and otherwise, to entitle him to the crown of wild olive. With all proper respect to other associations and conferences he is compelled to record. out of sheer thankfulness of spirit, that the Bolshevik session of the National Municipal League annual meeting held in New York city last June, was the most informing and entertaining affair that it was ever his privilege to attend in the course of nearly a quarter of a century of peregrinations.

Usually there are two or three good papers at every conference, but even the most seasoned sinner expects to be bored to distraction by all the others. Indeed by continuous loitering in the lobbies with old companions in arms he usually misses the good things with the bad. But the Bolshevik session, having piqued the curiosity of both conservatives and radicals, attracted a large audience at the outset—an audience which was not only retained but, marvelous to note, steadily augmented.

For the purposes of the session Bolshevikism was defined as a "dangerous unrest—a tendency to disregard the established political mechanism in efforts to secure results by unlawful short cuts. . . . A municipal government that is tied hand and foot with red tape and complex charter limitations in the hands of a tight political ring which capital can easily control gives considerable excuse for the kind of impatience that wants to kick the whole fabric of society into the discard." The question to which the speakers were invited to direct their attention was "What things should we do to set our house in order so as to make government so responsive, effective, and obedient that the shortest and easiest way to get social and economic progress will be by way of lawful and orderly governmental action."

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[1] Director, New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

It would be invidious to comment on any of the addresses or the speakers. Suffice it to say that there was a representative group of thinkers. The East and the West met. Pittsburgh was heard from. The British Empire furnished three men of whom those who speak the English tongue may well be proud. Though none on the program directed their attention specifically to the question in hand, yet curiously enough it will be found on careful examination of their papers that all of them were talking to the point—even more effectively than most academic logicians who march with stately tread from q. e. d. to q. e. d. The topic itself was a sign that we are passing from the consideration of mere political machinery to the purposes for which it is created, from the discussion of institutional abstractions to the content of institutional life.

Only one of the scheduled speakers failed to render an account of himself, Edwin A. Rumball, who could, it is well known, have said something worth while if Providence or forgetfulness had not prevented him from attending the meeting. Two other men on the program, who were unable to come, nevertheless added to the value of the meeting by putting their views on record in brief letters which are included in this collection. One paper, read at the conference, is not included in this sheaf, namely the address by Dr. Hatton on proportional representation in Kalamazoo, but happily that has already been published in full in the July issue of the National Municipal Review.[2] Whoever turns to it will find an intensely human document, illuminating in every line, showing withal how possible it is for an acute observer to clothe in living flesh the rattling bare bones of political science. The remaining papers are here published seriatim as presented to the conference.

THOMAS H. REED[3]

I am somewhat embarrassed at having to start this discussion this afternoon; because, although I was advised by wire some time ago that Mr. Woodruff expected me to speak upon this subject, he did not advise me in the limited space of the night letter as to what he meant by Bolshevikism. I puzzled my brain over it all the way from San Francisco, until I finally got into a state of mind in which I gave up in despair endeavoring to figure what I might say; because I could not fathom the exact nature of the subject.

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[2] See National Municipal Review, vol. vii, p. 339.

[3] Mr. Reed has been city manager of San José, California, which position he has resigned to return to his academic work at the University of California. (See National Municipal Review, vol. vii, p. 438.)

Now, I was greatly relieved when I discovered the way in which Bolshevikism had been interpreted upon the program; because it leaves me free to talk about certain things that I know about. We are talking about Bolshevikism this afternoon as a dangerous state of unrest which may, in the critical situation of the United States at the present moment, come to the surface and overthrow the institutions which we are endeavoring at the present time to maintain by force of arms. An effort of a portion of the community to secure, by self-help or by some other means, a slightly greater measure of democracy than they now enjoy, may result in overturning all democracy; and that is a situation which, essentially, no people can afford to tolerate. We have begun a contest with the German Empire which has to be won; and we cannot allow any interference with that main purpose. After that is achieved, we can talk all the rest of it out—all the rest of the questions—if we win. If we don't win, we will be Prussianized, to begin with; and we might as well not talk about the evolution of democracy in the future.

Now, naturally, as a person engaged in the actual administration of city government under the new city manager plan, I am going to speak, in the few brief words I have to say upon this subject, from the point of view of one who is interested in the mechanism of government. If what I have to say appears to be unduly emphatic upon the side of mechanism, you will understand that I realize that mechanism alone cannot solve our problem; that there must be impulse and force—the spiritual force, if you want to put it that way—behind the mechanism, if the mechanism is to work properly. On the other hand, it is highly important in these times that we have a mechanism of government that will work smoothly and efficiently for the purpose of securing the essential results which the great majority of the people desire. It is highly important that, at this time of all times, there should be no waste or lost motion. Everything should be done to supply the machinery best adapted and intended to its purpose. We cannot afford to delay. If we do, we are likely to find ourselves lying in the ditch long before we have realized the danger of our situation.

THE CITY MANAGER FORM OF GOVERNMENT

And I may be pardoned if I say a word about that plan of government, because I have been a city manager. Parenthetically, let me say, I can't claim to any particular courage. I enjoyed being made a city manager. It pleased me greatly, and it hasn't taken any courage on my part to keep on being one; perhaps because I have a hide like a rhinoceros. I am going to quit being a city manager and go back to the University of California to talk on the theory of government some more, after the first of August of this year. But I have had two years' experience with the city manager form of government; and I do not hesitate to say that it is the best device for the government of any city which has yet been worked out. I feel this to be true irrespective of the size of the community; it may be big or little. The city manager form of government essentially is simply nothing but the focusing of all power and responsibility in the hands of a single executive head; and there is no place in this world where a single is not better than a multiple head, so far as obtaining results in action are concerned. A five-headed man is a very interesting thing as a biological phenomenon in the side-show of the circus; but he is no good as director of the executive policy of a great community. A single head in an army, a single head in a city, and a single head wherever you need a head at all, is the only system.

Futhermore, the city manager is not only the head, but he is a responsible head. He has to report to a body of councilmen, who are more or less long-headed business men. It makes the manager keep his feet on the ground to have to report to such people. He has to expose his plans and lay them on the table, and it is a great thing for plans to have to be exposed and laid upon the table. It takes the crotchets and the turns and the twists and the peculiarities of one's personality out of them and makes them really plans.

The scheme works. It is effective, from the democratic point of view, because the people know exactly on whom to lay their finger when anything goes wrong. And we have got to have that kind of government, if we are going to get away from Bolshevikism. We must have a government which the average man in the community believes is responsive to his will—a government everyone knows is on the level; and if we have got that, we don't need to worry very much about the thing from that standpoint.

We have got to take the government to the people. We have been trying to do that in America for the last ten or twelve years. Through the long history of progressive movements we have been striving to get government back to the people. But something has got to be done in these days. We must get the people back to the government.

In the first place, the people almost exclusively are interested in winning the war. They don't take an interest in the affairs of the local community, as they ought to. In our own little city of San José, every man who stands for anything, who has any weight or influence or power, or any ability to judge of the merits of the municipal administration, is giving all the time that he can spare to war work of some kind or other. That leaves the old gang opportunity—the chance to slip in unawares into the control of the situation, a thing which, from the political point of view, is absolutely undesirable; but which, on the other hand, is difficult to avoid, when the real people are so continuously giving their attention to another proposition.

INTEREST IN GOVERNMENT?

Now, sometimes the people don't want to know about their government—they don't in peace times. We have in our San José charter a lot of provisions about the publicity of the budget. You have to have copies of the budget on file in the office of the city manager, and print abstracts for general distribution. I had a copy of the budget on file in my office last year for six months, and there was but one citizen came in to look at it; he turned over one page, spent three-fifths of a minute in the examination of the budget, and went out. There wasn't another soul examined it. When we came to distribute the printed copies of the abstract, which were worked out according to the best of modern systems of accounting to throw light upon the transactions of the city, you couldn't get fifty people in San José to apply for a copy of it. You couldn't cram them down their throats, or oblige them to read them.

Therefore, to have good government in the United States we have not only got to have good mechanism; we have not only got to have a system that will work; but we have got to bring the people back to the desire to run that mechanism. There has got to be, in these days as there has been at times in the past, the same kind of an appeal to the people, the same kind of propagandism, the same kind of preachment, the same kind of moral argument addressed to the conscience and the heart of the people, to induce them to perform their civic duties. No mechanism can automatically bring it about; and it seems, sometimes, as if all our efforts to reproduce that civic conscience, or a civic consciousness if you want to put it that way, on the part of the people, were unavailing; because they don't seem to have any more of it now than they did before. That perhaps is what makes the problem of politics interesting.

MR. P. W. WILSON[4]

I am only visiting this country; and, therefore, I take no part in what may be described as American politics, and what I say must be taken rather as applying to Great Britain.

I am not quite sure whether we wish to "head off" unrest in Great Britain. It is much more important, I think, to remedy the unrighteousness which is the cause of unrest. I am not, also, quite certain whether we put the same meaning on the word Bolshevik in Great Britain that you do here. I rather agree with the President of the United States, who, in a message which had a great effect in England, associated himself in sympathy with the Russian revolution. That freedom of opinion in

[4] Former member of the British Parliament.

England has not meant any relaxation, whatever, of war effort. You may take it as certain that no country in the history of the world has ever done more or sacrificed more than Great Britain has done and sacrificed during the last year for the cause of liberty.

Professor Reed, in his most interesting speech, said that every job should be run by one man. America is, of course, a country of presidents. We are a country of committees; the British Empire, which has not been entirely without effect on human history, was built up on committees. We prefer, on the whole, discussion to dictation; on the whole, we like to have all sides put; and that shows how difficult it is for one man on one side to express any opinion upon the affairs of a nation on the other side; because the genius is usually so different. I do not in the least doubt that your plan is right for yourselves; I am equally convinced that the cabinet or committee system is right for us.

ENGLAND A SOCIALIST COUNTRY

Of course, England is very rapidly becoming a socialist country. I suppose that, in the matter of representation, we shall have 400 labor candidates at the next election. We have in the present government the most extreme socialists, right in the very heart of the governmental system.

The Chairman: You mean in the cabinet?

Oh, yes, in the cabinet; and, broadly speaking, all through the parties. Liberalism, conservatism and labor, all are committed to socialism as an economic policy. At the present moment, the practical ownership of the post-office, the telegraphs, the telephones, the railroads, the ships, many of the war factories and the coal mines is vested in the state—I say the practical ownership. The reason for that was, that we absolutely had to adopt the most efficient form of government in our economics. It was impossible for us to go on any system which permitted waste or inefficiency; and the industrial output of England per head has gone up very largely, since we adopted that policy, even though we sent away five million men to the war—half our wage earners; and the first effect of the state interfering in industry was to sweep away trades-union regulations and adopt American machinery; for which, if I may say so, we paid a very good price!

We have found that workingmen, although they are getting much better wages than they did before the war, respond to the argument that they are putting in their toil for the state and the nation rather than for any private employer. And therefore, very largely, private employment in England today is a fabric which is preserved for purposes of convenience; and even the food is served out now, very largely, by the state.

Among other things, I may mention one fact, the post-office, which is an enormously important department, employing three or four hundred thousand people, and with a revenue of $150,000,000 a year, and with other functions of distributing superannuation allowances and soldiers' allowances. That entire department is run by a secretary who receives, if I remember rightly, $12,500 a year. A single railway in England to-day pays double that salary to its general manager. I suppose that under the whole co-ordinated system, under the state, we will find plenty of people ready to work on a comparatively low salary with, of course, a promise of a retiring allowance and, what counts for a great deal with us, a knighthood at the close of a distinguished career.

ENGLAND'S PROBLEMS, EDUCATIONAL

The problems which we have to face very carefully are educational. In one sense America is a younger country than we are—in everything except brains. You develop your brains earlier than we do. Our educational birthday was 1870; and, therefore, we sit at your feet in the matter of all the higher accomplishments. But there is no use educating the people if you leave them with the old social conditions; it is no use refining the child's mind, if you send him back into the old type of house or tenement where he was living. In this, I am not saying anything about your housing, which has always been most comfortable—I have lived in the right part of New York!—but in England we shall probably spend, after the war, any sum up to $500,000,000 on our housing—rural and urban. It rather depends upon what our workmen charge per hour, or per minute, which is now, I think, the more usual way of reckoning. That housing will be in the hands of the state, or the municipalities,—one or the other. The municipality is working out this system, and the state will help to finance it.

Of course, we have, broadly speaking, a minimum wage throughout the country—for everybody, that is, except my own profession! But then, I don't do any work that can be seen—it only goes on inside! And we shall be extremely careful with demobilization, to apply the scheme through the labor exchanges which we have all over the country, so preventing the soldiers being thrown onto the scrap-heap when they come back. Your system of pensions after the Civil War contradicted fifty years ago our system of taking the soldier, using him for the defence of the country, and then sending him back into the workhouse.

I am sure my ten minutes must be up; but there is only one thing further: with regard to representation, we are adding, I suppose, six millions of voters—indeed more nearly eight millions—to our register. A very large number of them are women. That, broadly, is how we are going to deal, as far as possible, with social unrest. The state must have a very clear conception of a democracy when it demands, as we are demanding, what would amount to an enrolment of 12,000,000 men here. With us, every family in the country has its sorrow, and its anxiety, and its burden. A great many questions are being asked as to the meaning of the state, the rights of the state, the duties of the state; and I feel, myself, that in every country in Europe to-day, without exception, the state is on trial. The state I repeat, is on trial; and we in England, with a great freedom of opinion and a great freedom of expression—perhaps with more than some of you may think advisable—are doing all we can now to bring the state into closer relations with the human needs of the people as a whole.

MR. FRANK DILNOT[5]

I have followed, with considerable attention and pleasure, as I and others always do, the remarks of my old friend and fellow countryman, Mr. Wilson; but my attention has been united with some curiosity as to the relevance of his general remarks as to how we shall head off Bolshevikism in American cities; because, so far as I understand his mood of gentle humor, it has been to demonstrate that England is a Bolshevist country and will, henceforth, enjoy all the advantages, in an extended degree, of that delightful method of government.

It is true, he has adroitly dealt with the matter so as to offend no susceptibilities; but he cannot deceive one who has seen him in public work for many years in the old country. With regard to Bolshevikism in England, may I venture on one personal word; and that is to say, that I was associated for some years with the labor movement in that country. I was selected as the editor of their daily paper, "The Daily Citizen," and have had personal association with the leaders, especially Mr. Arthur Henderson and Mr. John Hodge; and I venture to take issue with my friend on a specific point or two; because I rather think that he may have conveyed what to me are, not quite adequate expressions with regard to one or two phases. I disagree with him fundamentally with regard to the progress of what may be called socialistic legislation and administration in England.

THE CONSERVATISM OF BRITISH LABOR

I have told you of my association with the labor movement. I am a Liberal in politics; but I say soberly, although I do not expect all my friends in England to agree with it, that the labor interests in the cabinet of England and in the ministry are among the bulwarks of conservative legislation and administration in our country. I say that deliberately.

The Chairman: Would you say that of Mr. Arthur Henderson? Certainly. I know him; he is a friend of mine.

There has lately been published a program—some parts of it impractical, other parts very visionary, but all very advanced; and Mr. Henderson indeed, had a great deal to do with it; but I would ask you to look, for one moment, at the facts with regard to our country, and not only at the theories. The labor movement of England, is, I think we can say certainly, the most powerful labor movement in the world. In its organization it comprises somewhere approaching 4,000,000 persons, who, in their respective unions, are united together, and who exercise an enormous influence on the government of the country. There are three or four of the labor leaders in the cabinet; there are a half dozen in the ministry; and the Federation of Trades-Unions, which is the heart and soul of the labor movement, has, by suggestion, by criticism, by formulative proposals, had a great deal to do with the molding of legislation during this past ten years or more.

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[5] London, England.

But amid that 4,000,000 people there is not a handful—well, it may be a few thousands, amounting to a handful—of what we understand, and what this program understands, as Bolshevists. The steps which have been taken to forward socialist legislation or administration, have been taken with a slowness which would seem a tortoise pace to this swifter country. They have been thought over for years; they have been gradually taken into the programs of the other parties; and the theoretical programs—the visions for the future, which, perhaps, Mr. Henderson's book to some extent indicates, are not practical programs in the sense that they are actual immediate legislative projects. Some parts will become assimilated; other parts remain as signposts for the future. The whole story of the labor movement in our country is that of slow progress, of gradual assimilation of ideas by other parties, and the slow accretion of aims, one by one, into the fabric of the constitution. That is the story of the labor movement in England. It is a very wonderful story. It is hard to realize the difficulties they have had to encounter in the last fifty years; it is a slow and more or less educative movement, which is entirely apart from, and is the chief enemy, of that Bolshevikism about which we hear so much in a number of countries.

Some of the leaders were, in their early days, I am quite sure, rather violent in their expressions; but it is very remarkable that—to see how responsibility, even as the executive heads of their unions, has induced a slower judgment, perhaps a more conservative one; and how their voice in parliament has made them—well, let us say, as conservative in action as it is possible for British statesmen to be. No wild Bolshevist has a place in authority. He leaves off being a Bolshevist when he is put into office.

BOLSHEVIKISM: AN ATTITUDE OF MIND

Bolshevikism—I am not now alluding to the English variety with which Mr. Wilson has dealt so exhaustively—seems to me to center around an attitude of mind. I heard, with a great deal of interest, the remarks of Professor Hatton, who, to me, seemed to touch the heart of the matter. Before you can deal with Bolshevikism, you have got to know what it is. Bolshevikism as I understand it, is the creed of certain groups of people whom you find in all countries. They have a mental twist. Some of them are enthusiasts; some of them are moved by very excellent motives; some of them by motives not so excellent; but they all have a mental twist. One phase of it is their aversion from authority; I don't mean governmental authority—but any kind of authority—though when they get into power, they have no such aversion to authority. They resent and they rebel quite seriously against any kind of direction. They are not perhaps very powerful by themselves alone. When however, they have a field to work in where there is discontent, a legitimate discontent, through poverty or bad conditions—then they have a very wide field for action which, to put it mildly, does not make for the general welfare. That is my general conception.

I have been in America only eighteeen months, but as an observer perhaps I may respectfully suggest some ways to avert this cult, or creed, or danger.

THE QUESTION OF LANGUAGE

It seems to me for America one of the first points to-day to handle is the question of language. Those who accept the responsibilities of citizens of this great, free and wealthy nation, should accept fully the responsibilities which that relation brings to them; and although language may seem a small thing to many, the one tongue among a people introduces a unity not merely of expression but, in some directions, of thought, of impulse, and adds enormously to the general unity of the community. A foreign language, however excellent it may be in its own country, brings with it certain shades of thought—merely from association, it may be, but which are not to be disregarded in a great country in which millions of its inhabitants are directly or perhaps a generation back, from other nations.

I would suggest, secondly, that there should be a very systematic and extended effort to get the cities—the young people—to take an interest, a vital interest, in studies affecting local government; because interest in local government leads to interest in the national government. How that can best be done, you are much better able to say than I am; although I know something about it in my own country. There are not only practical things affecting economics, and administration, but ideals as well; enthusiastic work springs from high ideals. Real work can only be done by those who feel a very deep and profound interest in it.

NEED FOR REPRESENTATION

Another point which was touched upon by Professor Hatton is, that there should be a wide opportunity for the introduction into the government of those classes—I speak now of what I know in our own country—who in years gone by have not had a great share in government. Labor should be drawn on. When you have an aspiring laboring man and you find him a man of character and capacity holding maybe advanced views, give him a chance to enter into the government of the community. You will find that it works out for the advantage not only of his own constituents, but also for the advantage of those he doesn't profess to represent at all.

The final point is, that among all these great, vast masses of millions of people here, many of whom are but a generation old, you should never cease the great work of implanting the spirit of love of their country upon them; because in that is the greatest bulwark against Bolshevik progress. People who come here should learn that Americanism—when they become American citizens—must become a sacred thing to them. They may have affections for the land they have left; their children may have imbibed that; but, after all, they are Americans. When they become imbued with the spirit of regarding their citizenship not merely as an obligation, but almost as a religion—when that spirit becomes the possessing spirit over all sections of the country—you won't have much bother about Bolshevikism in any part of the United States.

A. LEO WEIL[6]

I can only skip from one high place to another in the ten minutes allotted to me. Municipal leaguers have learned these many years, that our greatest opposition, or better stated, the least sympathy, in the movements we initiated was encountered among those elements of the community from whom we would naturally have anticipated co-operation and assistance. Let us call them the "interests," not in any evil sense, but as embracing the captains of industry: the manufacturers, the financiers, etc., of each community. Whenever and wherever advances in municipal government, experiments in social betterment have been launched, the interests were either openly opposed or dishearteningly complacent. I have no time now to inquire why, or to explain. We know to-day that after the war there can be no return to conditions prevailing before this war. We know that the taking over by the government of the railroads, the practical control of industry, the administration of fuel and food by the government has brought about a public sentiment that will leave its impress and will have to be reckoned with when the war shall have ended.

LABOR LEARNING ITS POWER

We know that labor—and when I say labor, I mean that even larger element of the community which does not work with the hands, but sympathizes with labor, the masses, have learned their power, their indispensability to every activity, of war or peace. We knew in 1914 the danger that confronted this country; we knew it in 1915; we knew it in 1916. What did we do? What preparation did we make, until we were thrown into the midst of war? What preparation are we making now for that struggle, that contest which is to come when the war will have ended? Looking at history, we find that the great political parties of this country have arisen out of the issues or have been brought about by the clash of arms; and isn't it manifest now, that the post-war contest is going to be between labor and the masses,—for want of a better name to designate the then political party—on the one side, and capital or the interests, on the other.

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[6] President, Pittsburgh Voter's League. Mr. Weil's address has been printed in pamphlet form and copies can be had upon application to him.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

What preparation can be made for that coming contest? It is this, remove the antagonisms by getting together, by the interests on the one hand becoming aroused to their social obligations to the community and the community on the other hand recognizing the importance and the necessity of the interests in the working out of the community's welfare. Neither can get along without the other. Why not get along together, consulting together, working together? This is no utopian dream. There were movements on foot to introduce this plan in at least one great industrial city when the war stopped the movement.

Great captains of industry had approved the plan and promised their co-operation and support. One part of this plan provided for a committee to consist of every interest in the community—capital, labor, education and the arts. They were to consider and plan for the city. The great industrial and financial, as well as educational and artistic organizations, were to loan their experts in working out this plan, looking forward perhaps twenty or a hundred years and having regard to the physical, financial, moral and intellectual development of the city and its people. I have no time for elaboration. My ten minutes have run. Such a getting together of all the elements would do much to arouse the social conscience of the whole community, and this public sentiment after all is the only protection we have under our system of government against the extremes of radicalism or of reaction against capitalism or Bolshevikism, against the evils of selfishness by whatever name it may be called.

MR. GEORGE EVERSON[7]

It is my part to discuss the administration of the criminal court as it is connected with the topic of the afternoon. Until I came here, I had a vague idea of what Bolshevikism is; and I sat here hoping to get a more intelligent idea of it. And I will be frank to say, that I am more confused now than at the beginning; but I'm convinced that it is something bad, that we are supposed to fear, which may come along and cause us a great deal of trouble; and therefore we have got to stop it; and it is my duty to tell you how to stop it in the court administration.

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[7] Executive secretary, committee on criminal courts, Charity Organization Society of New York.

In the public mind the picture of the court generally is a murderer up at the bar, and a counsel pleading for him; the jury are there asleep, or half asleep; and all sorts of people sitting around weeping. That is a spectacular trial; and there are very few of them. If you want to see the courts of New York city, you go to the inferior courts. There are 250,000 people of New York city who go through the courts each year. They are mostly the poor, the misguided and the unfortunate. I suppose there are a million people affected by the cases that come in the courts—through their relatives and families.

THE CHAIRMAN: You mean in the criminal courts.

THE INFERIOR CRIMINAL COURTS

Yes, the inferior criminal courts of the city. The courts are the right hand of the city administration. If they do not support the city departments and the police administration the orders of these departments are of no value. If a police order goes out to suppress this, that or the other thing, or to arrest people for this, that or the other offense in a public health campaign or for seditious utterances, the police's hands are absolutely tied if the men are brought in before the judge and the judge discharges them and gives the police a calling down. The courts are the right hand of the law. If the regulations of the city departments, the health department, the labor department, are violated, it is the business of the inspectors to bring these people into the courts. If the violators are turned out, these great departments fall down in their administration, but, aside from that, the courts are most important institutions in New York in that they handle such a vast number of the poor and the unfortunate and the ignorant. They are the courts of the poor.

It is strange to say, but may be said with truth, that there are a great many of these people, largely foreigners, that get their only contact with the American government through these courts; therefore, if these courts are not just they go away with the idea that the American government is an unjust government; so these courts must deal justly and rightly if our institutions are to survive and to have any respect in the minds of these people. They are also of educational value; and if the courts are dignified, and well manned, and well organized, and the people receive courteous and just treatment, it is an education in the dignity and solemnity of our institutions. They can be made great American institutions. A very large number of foreigners come into the courts that have to be spoken to through an interpreter. These interpreters can speak in I don't know how many different languages and assist the court in the way of interpretation. In spite of their great versatility in language it is often necessary to search the town for one who can speak some particular dialect. Therefore, if these courts are to do anything in heading off this Bolshevikism that we are talking about, they must first be intelligent; then they must be kindly, they must be fair and they must be helpful.

NEED FOR A NEW SYSTEM OF COURTS

In the most of our American cities the courts have sort of grown up out of justice-of-the-peace courts. There has been no idea of any attempt at sitting down and working out a system for a great city, or semi-great city, or for a city of 100,000; the courts are mostly simply a sort of patchwork of the old justice-of-the-peace courts. Politics, which ten years ago were the controlling interests in the city, made it very difficult for the courts. Because lawyers and judges are very conservative, you cannot expect reform to come from within—it must come from without. In New York city, reform has come from without. It has come from without through the work of citizens who have awakened public sentiment, who have put their idea of office administration and organization into the courts and have practically reorganized the administration of the courts of the city.

In most any community where you want to reorganize your courts you can't simply go and preach about it and say that the courts are rotten; you have got to have them fixed over. But you have got to get down to brass tacks and run out a rotten administration—see that you get some people interested in it and awaken public sentiment and go to it and get it done.

It is the prime essential to have a body of intelligent citizens become interested and work for administrative changes. It should be their business to study the courts, suggest changes for the better and enlist the public interest in the clean, honest and kindly administration of justice in the courts of the poor.

MR. RICHARD S. CHILDS[8]

The committee on new industrial towns has its eye on one of our social problems which has a bearing on the subject of the afternoon.

Boiling it down to its last analysis, the social problem is essentially one of securing at the same time and place, high wages and a low cost of living. It is an economic fact, with some fluctuations and limitations, that high wages are apt to carry with them a high cost of living—at any rate, are apt to carry along high rents. In a community where wages are high, you will find that rents are higher than they are in a community where wages are low. In other words, rents are largely determined by the paying capacity of the people of the neighborhood. And, as rents come partly from land values, that leads us, in the end, back to the unearned increment which follows the flow of population into new territories.

[8] Secretary of the Committee on New Industrial Towns.

For example, we know that if we provide sewers in a certain locality, you can assess the cost of those sewers against the land, and do this equitably and reasonably. In this city we could have built the subways by assessment on the land benefited and still left to the landholders nine-tenths of their profits. A great many other benefits of human progress adhere to the land values. If for example, New York city created a municipal market that reduced the cost of food for people who lived within a reasonable radius thereof, the neighboring landlords would urge that as one of the advantages of their properties—one of the reasons justifying such and such an enlarged rental for an apartment.

One of the forms of human progress that is capitalizable by land owners, is high wages. When the government builds the big shipyards along the Delaware river, the back country feels the effect, and realizes that here in this region men can get good jobs at high wages. Land values feel the effect; rents feel the effect. I know of two manufacturers in that part of the country that have been attempting for some time to buy land for the housing of their workers on an adequate scale; and I think a year or two ago it would have been possible to find any amount of cheap agricultural land, favorable for the purpose; now it is almost impossible to find a parcel that is loose. Prices are up. There is a land boom now. It is related that certain landlords near one of our great new shipyards recently advanced rents that were already absurdly extortionate. The workers pleaded that they could not afford the new rentals. "Oh yes, you can," said the landlords. "We've heard that your wages will go up next month." It is said that in Detroit, when Mr. Ford made that spectacular increase of wages in his great plant, Detroit real estate felt the benefit. It would seem reasonable to believe it. Certainly, if there is a sudden and large increase of wages, or of demand for employment, or a cure of the unemployment problem, in increasing ratio it results to the benefit of the land values; which is another way of saying, after all, that rents, not only for the housing for workers, but for the housing of their purveyors, the grocer and the meat man and the rest, will go higher, too.

ENGLAND'S RADICAL SOLUTION

Now, then, England has found a most remarkable and radical method of giving at one time and place high wages and low rents. It had to be a radical solution—it was a radical solution. Several hundred thousand English workers now are living in towns that have been built by the government on land that was purchased at pre-war values, regardless of the fact that the development of the great munition plants in those neighborhoods had caused a boom in land values. Nevertheless, they ignored that boom and that temporary war value, and retained the right to take additional land adjacent to the new villages that they built, at the *pre-war* value. Furthermore, by law they limited landlords, and prevented them from raising rents. The result is, that there are now several hundred thousand British workers living adjacent to the munition plants, where they can get good wages, who, nevertheless, are not being charged on the basis of an unearned increment of the land values adjacent thereto, but are being charged there on a basis of costs—the cost of the land at the pre-war value, and the cost of the housing. That procedure was the final, and, indeed, the only effective solution of the great difficulty with the labor turnover which England had experienced. As a result of finding that solution, England, to-day, is turning out an overwhelming munitions output; and the statesmen of England say that they could not have maintained any such output from their munition plants without solving the housing and living problems by some such radical method.

In this country we have an appropriation of a hundred million dollars for housing shipyard workers and munition workers; and the Washington authorities are now spending that money and building towns. The first and most important of those towns is now being built for the workers of Camden, for a population at first of about 5,000 and presently of 12,000 people, all on one tract—a tract of land which, a year ago, was known as the Cooper farm. That village when completed will be owned by the government—more accurately, it will be owned by a corporation capitalized by the government through the loan of some 80 or 90 per cent of the necessary funds. It will still be under government control, in effect. The town will be completed presently with the first 907 houses, which are now being built—beautiful little houses, all in colonial style, by Electus D. Litchfield, a prominent architect of this city, with its own commercial center, a complete municipality with an ideal town plan, and all public utilities, and a permanent limitation on the profits to the company which operates it all, of 5 per cent a year.

In other words, the workers will enjoy boom wages without the corresponding burden of boom rents.

To perpetuate that condition, is the object of our committee.

RICHARD P. FARLEY[9]

A WINNIPEG PRECEDENT

It seems to me that Bolshevikism or any equivalent of it is the natural and logical result of Romanoffism. The outbreaks in Russia are only what might be expected from the régime of corruption and tyranny which for so long existed in Russia, and while it would be unsound to suggest any single and universal cause for industrial unrest in the United States where conditions are so utterly different from what they are in Russia, nevertheless there is a strong probability that where there is anything in the States which may generally be described as Bolshevikism, it is due to something corresponding to Romanoffism,—to be more explicit, to corruption and industrial tyranny. A recent experience in Winnipeg may be of some interest. A few weeks ago the firemen in that city went out on strike, their slogan being the right to have a firemen's union. Inasmuch as the trouble was not settled by the city council, the workers in the city public utilities and a large number of other labor unionists went out on sympathy strike. The city council at first took the attitude that under no circumstances would they countenance the formation of a labor union of firemen. As soon as there appeared a danger of a general strike a large and representative meeting of citizens was held at which it was unanimously agreed to support the action of the city council. From this meeting a committee of 100 was formed which represented mainly capital in the shape of industrial and manufacturing interest, with a sprinkling of disinterested people. This committee of 100 were asked to confer with the two parties to the strike. After sitting in constant session and conferring with both parties a sub-committee of the committee of 100 presented a unanimous report and set of recommendations to their full committee. The report was accepted by the full committee and in turn by the strikers and the city council. What is important to notice is that this report granted practically all of the strikers' demands, and I was assured by several active members of the committee that the more they heard the case of the labor unions the more it became clear that the real faults have lain with the city council, although naturally in this as in most quarrels there was some blame to be attached to both sides. The fact that an independent committee of this kind which certainly at the outset was not biased in favor of labor should come to such a conclusion is remarkable. It seems to me that if the machinery already established by the federal government is not sufficient to deal with unrest of the kind in question, it might be helpful to have independent and representative committees such as that appointed in Winnipeg, which, while not having any legal authority, could make impartial inquiry and present independent recommendations which would have a fair chance of being generally accepted.

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[9] Formerly of London and Winnipeg; now educational secretary of the Baltimore alliance of charitable and social agencies.

FREDERICK L. ACKERMAN[10]

As the affairs of the week develop I find that the urgency of housing ship workers prevents me from being present at the discussion of the topic "How shall we head off Bolshevikism in American Cities?" This is a tremendously important subject; for I take it for granted that Bolshevikism means substantially restlessness of men raised to the nth degree—or chaos. I interpret the phrase: "How shall we head off . . . " as meaning,—what conditions must obtain in order that there be no occasion whatsoever for the growth and the development of restlessness of men? Or in a broader sense, "How can we lead the rational life?"

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[10] Mr. Ackerman is a New York architect now connected with the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

THE NEED FOR ADEQUATE HOMES

If all factors of the complex question be eliminated, except that which, relates to that phase of interest concerning which I am asked to speak-we have this simple answer. Provide adequate homes in an adequate environment for every man, woman and child in the U. S. A. This expresses, in a word, the goal toward which a certain phase of British social politics was directed in the pre-war days: this is the goal toward which England is striving during the days of this great world conflict; this is the basis of the program of action through which she sought to attain the maximum production of munitions of war to support her vast armies at the front; it was this program conceived in war and phrased in terms of the future which has made vivid to the British workman that the sacrifices of the war were not to be made in vain,—which actually developed maximum production and brought into being that magnificent expression of integrated social and industrial purpose which it was my privilege to experience during my visit last fall.

Within this field of interest, expressed by the phrase "physical environment," the "heading off" of Bolshevikism means, not the thwarting of rational purposes in men, not the repression of rational instincts and desires, but rather the adequate provision for the expansion and development of life in an environment which will not thwart nor stifle nor crush the social, the spiritual or even the wholesome animal instincts in men.

The swelling tide of discontent which we witnessed in the Western World before the days of the conflict had its root in the condition that the modern community, the modern city, is at bottom an artificial development. All of our talk about leaving the development of our physical environment,—the town, the city, the nation, to "natural laws" is sheer nonsense. Their growth and development results from action based upon irrational conceptions; and we attempt to direct their growth by statutory rulings and laws based upon social and economic fallacies. By our feeble remedial measures we have tried to curb the evils; but the restlessness of men within them grows apace.

Here is a problem for science, for the expert; but the aims of science and the vision of the expert must be expanded if the aims of a rational life are to be attained.

A LIBERAL PROGRAM OF HOUSING AND TOWN PLANNING

What we must have—and right speedily—is a "liberal" program of an action within a field popularly expressed by the phrase housing and town planning which will make it vivid to the men who live in the cramped quarters of the tenement or the slum or the utterly inadequate social and physical environment of the "factory towns" or the "industrial area" that life in a democracy contains a clearly defined hope,—not that a man or his son may some day become president of the United States or a captain of industry or even a multi-millionaire,—but that he or his son who labors may, in the days to come, live a rational life in an environment which will neither blight nor utterly depress.

In our scheme of education we hold out the former hope—but not the latter; and to the millions, therefore, who live in our slums and our tenements and our sordid industrial towns the education which they receive is but a taunt.

Here is a problem—a real problem—a problem which must be solved; for if we fail, that discontent of men of which we heard the mumblings in the days before the war, will be with us again. That element which was merely restless has measured its strength in the days of war and sooner or later it will try its hand. Let us hope that its first attempt will be no less worthy than that which we see expressed in the program of the British Labor Party.

THE USE OF COLLECTIVE CAPITAL AND INCREMENT

To head off Bolshevikism in American cities, therefore, is not to thwart nor curb, but with a "liberal" open mind to attempt to grasp the aims of the mass of men and to train ourselves to make their aims vivid and tangible. And to make those aims vivid and tangible means that in our cities there shall be no slums, no sordid tenements, no congestion. And this means that the huge increments of land values which result from the growth of the community must be conserved for the benefit of the community. It means that credit, collective capital, shall be organized and used equally for the advantage of those who consume as well as those who produce. It means that the state must project its cities along rational lines to the end that men may lead rational lives within them.

To talk about "heading off Bolshevikism" before we "head off" the increment of land values which squeezes the mass of men into more and more inadequate quarters—before we turn this increment to a proper use, or before we "head off" the use of credit for the sole benefit of the speculation in jerry built houses and tenements,—before we provide that our collective savings represented by state credit and the vast sums controlled by our huge loaning institutions be used equally for the benefit of those who consume and those who produce; or before we "head off" by constructive legislation the development of the slum, the congestion of population, the sordid insanitary towns,—in a word, to seriously propose that we attempt to "head off" Bolshevikism before we head off the forces which render our environment a sterile waste of buildings, is not an act of intelligence to say the least.

NEW RELATIONS OF CITY AND STATE GOVERNMENTS

BY LAWSON PURDY[1]
New York

I HAVE been asked to speak to the National Municipal League on the relation of the national government to the states, the relations of the state government to counties and cities, and the counties to the towns and cities.

I was brought up in my early days to feel that home rule, that is to say, the doing of all things political by the smallest possible unit, was vital to the welfare of the nation. I feel just that way still, and yet we cannot in these days fix upon any particular unit as the sole unit for all governmental functions. Conditions have so changed that the proper unit of government has changed with those changing conditions. A good many, I think, still worship the idea of local self government and resist the changes which are inevitable, instead of guiding those changes and planning such powers for local government that the old advantage of home rule shall not be lost.

If you will think back a moment over the well known history of the development of this country, you may see exactly what I mean. When the country started every community was an economic entity, practically sufficient unto itself; and until after the Civil War new towns were planned on the verge of civilization that were still practically sufficient unto themselves. That made for a very great strength in the country from the point of view of self sufficiency. You cannot crush a country where each town can live on its own resources. It had enormous value in the education of our people.

TRAINING FOR GOVERNMENTAL SERVICE

Our governmental institutions of late years have lost in efficiency because of that concentration of governmental powers locally, but I am not sure but what they have gained still more in the education of our people. I believe we all take pride in the fact that our selective service law, a new idea to this country, was framed in a few weeks, and over night was put into execution, and in the main has been well administered. I believe the underlying cause of the good administration of that law is the fact that in every town of the United States there are men who have been trained to perform governmental functions. I have become acquainted more or less with a good many men throughout the state of New York who have been town supervisors, who have been town assessors, who have been town trustees, who, in one way or another, have carried on local self government in this state. Nowhere can one say that that government has been in a high degree efficient government, but it has had enormous influence in training the citizens of every one of the nine hundred fifty towns in the state of New York.

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[1] Annual address, President, National Municipal League.

When it became necessary to find some 13,500 men from 4,500 small units throughout the United States to administer the selective service law, there was material all over the United States in every community from which to select the men to perform that duty. It seems to me that it must be the fact that that is due to the kind of government that we have had in these United States.

From New England we had the town as the unit of government. From the south we had the county, with larger powers, and those two forms have spread westward, the county form perhaps being more prevalent throughout the states west of the Alleghany Mountains. The state of New York is sometimes said to have obtained all the evils of both, and if you will examine the chart of county government in New York produced by the Association for Improving County Government, or by the Short Ballot Association, I think you will believe the story.

DISSATISFACTION WITH OLD UNITS

It is no longer true, however, that many functions of government now necessary because of the complexity of our economic life can be carried on with any degree of satisfaction by the old units. For illustration, here in this state of New York, a little over twenty years ago, it was found absolutely essential that the insane of the state should be cared for by the state. The condition of local care was intolerable. The same thing was true of the state care of prisoners. In recent years we have found it necessary to expend by the state an enormous sum to aid in the building of highways. More and more we have found it necessary to extend state aid for the proper administration of our public schools, that the rich communities of the state shall help out the poorer communities of the state.

THE TOWN AS THE UNIT

Only two years ago, or a year and a half ago, a very great reform, although a partial one, was effected by the agency of the department of education of the state in making the town instead of the school district the unit of the state of New York, and there has been a reversion of feeling, I am inclined to believe, solely on the part of those who pay more money now toward the schools than they did before. That reform has been for the time being undone, but it will not stay undone. It is no more fair to impose upon little school districts of the sparsely settled parts of the state of New York the care of their school children than it was in the city of Pittsburgh, which, up to a few years ago, raised all the money for each school district within the city separately. Now, that may not appear to you at once such a dreadful thing, but Pittsburgh will illustrate the state of New York and the rural parts of the state. Stand on the hill at Pittsburgh and look over the valley, and you may see a part of the city shaped not unlike our downtown financial section in the borough of Manhattan, and they pay for the schooling of their own children. There was the concentrated wealth of Pittsburgh, and there were the fewest children throughout the whole city. Practically there were no children there except those of the janitors of the great buildings.

Turn a little to one side and you will see, thickly clustered, little houses one and a half stories high, the homes of the factory workers of Pittsburgh, swarming with children, and that poor territory had to pay for its own schools.

OUR PUBLIC UTILITIES

That is the condition that to a degree obtains in the state of New York in spite of improvements, and that obtains throughout many of the states. But, I must not spend further time on that illustration. Turn for a moment toward the administrative regulation and taxation of our public utilities. One hundred years ago they were unknown, the problem did not exist. To-day it is impossible effectively to control a public utility that runs across a state, save by state power. It is impossible fairly and effectively to tax the property of that public utility save by the state power, and it is more difficult for the state to perform that function than it would be for the nation to perform that function, far more difficult. We have recently empowered the United States to have an income tax, and, thank Heaven, we got that amendment to our constitution put through in time. You cannot satisfactorily administer an income tax for state purposes. It may perhaps be a better system for some states than we now have, but it cannot be as efficient as if you cover the whole United States, because in each state and especially in the rich states, the men who live there own property in many states, and corporations again own property in many states. The state boundaries are political and not economic, and government must proceed on economic lines as well as on political lines.

CHANGES IN UNITS OF GOVERNMENTS NECESSARY

I am not to-night intending to attempt to lay down any plan for change, only to point out the fact that, as conditions of our economic life have changed, our old ideas of political units must change with them, and if we are to have a government which shall be responsive and effective there must be changes in units of government. With all that it is vital that we shall not lose the old interest and participation in local government. One of the recent successes of political reform, one to which many of us have looked forward for these many years, has been an election of city officers at large. Still, the movement is confined to cities not of the greatest size.

The election of a commission to perform the functions of a board of aldermen, and the election by the commission of a manager to perform the functions of a mayor, is progress toward an efficient government, and a government that is brought close home to the people and under their control, and yet that form of government, if applied to a city of the size of Chicago or Philadelphia or New York, may lose something that it is vital and necessary to preserve. We cannot slavishly follow the example set by smaller cities that have won success.

REPRESENTATION ESSENTIAL

A friend of mine pointed out to me not so very long ago that the board of aldermen of the city of New York performed a very useful function. It performs other functions, and some of them it has performed in recent years very well. If you should listen to the debates there, however, you might not, perhaps, come away with the idea that the board of aldermen was a highly expert body. But, he said to me, "Suppose you went to the district of some of these men from parts of the city with which you are not very well acquainted and attempted to explain political institutions, how well do you think you would succeed?" I confess that I should have no success whatever. I am not in touch with those constituencies, I do not speak their language. I do not mean that one must speak a language other than English; not at all, but I do not use the terms to which they are accustomed, I do not think about things in the way they think about them, so that I could not effectively present city affairs to those people. The fact is that these aldermen do represent their constituencies, some well, some less well; but when they speak to their own people they speak to them in the language that those people understand, and so bring back to the board of aldermen from their own constituencies some part of the ideas of those people with whom they associate, who have just as much right to have their thoughts and their feelings expressed in the legislature of the city as have any communities throughout the city. We must not lose that, whatever change we may make in our political institutions.

There are coming, however, in the very near future, hastened greatly by our experiences due to the war, very great changes in the structure of our state governments and of the relations between state governments and the local governments. How those changes are to come perhaps no one can foresee. Many of us believe and hope that they will make for far greater efficiency in local government. The fact I wish to leave with you is that while we seek that greater efficiency, that greater responsiveness, if you please, to the public will, you must at the same time keep close contact with all the people of our towns and of our cities and not let them lose that old contact, that old close relationship with their own government; for, after all, what government is for is not cheapness of product, it is not clean streets, it is not efficient administration, it is the making of a self-governing, educated, happy constituency. It is men and women that we want to make for the future.

THE CIVIC WORK OF STATE COUNCILS OF DEFENSE

BY CLAUDE H. ANDERSON[1]
Princeton, N. J.

WAR for war's sake is certainly not socially profitable but if it were possible to divorce this war from the great and heroic cause for which it is being waged on the part of the Entente Allies it would still be found, notwithstanding its colossal cost in blood and wealth, to have produced, as by-products, many much-desired improvements in our social, political and economic affairs.

It was recognized immediately, if not before, the United States entered the war, that this was a war not between armies but between nations, and one of the first acts of the administration was to create a Council of National Defense whose duty would be to organize and direct the civilian part of our population in such a way as to contribute most to the winning of the war. It is undoubtedly a fair statement to say that the Council of National Defense faced a task as big and as difficult as that faced by the commanders of our armies. In the condition in which our country found itself at the time of our entry into the war, it was absolutely essential that all the forces of the nation be organized and co-ordinated so as to provide, equip and maintain our armies in the fields and at the same time keep the social and political structure of the nation intact and continue the operation of the activities at home which were essential to the life of the people.

State councils of defense were created at the instance of the Council of National Defense. Even before we formally entered the war the governors of the various states were requested to effect such an organization. The ideas of the national council were not then thoroughly developed, however, nor were their recommendations detailed and specific. Therefore, the different councils in the various states were not uniformly organized, although to-day they have attained a much greater degree of uniformity. But regardless of the degree of uniformity in organization, state councils are accomplishing in general the same tasks.

ORGANIZATION

All state councils regardless of the nature of their original organization, have amplified their organizations in much the same way. They have all found it necessary to create numerous committees and elect associate members properly to perform the many and varied tasks which they have been requested by the Council of National Defense to undertake. In general these committees are as follows: home guard, agriculture, publicity, state and local legal committees, Americanization, scientific research, public policy, co-ordination of societies, sanitation and medicine, food, industrial survey and preparedness, survey and organization of man-power, labor, military affairs, transportation, communication, shipping interests, public morals, coal, education, women's activities, employers' co-operation, training camp activities and recreation.

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[1] Secretary, New Jersey State Council of Defense.

Some councils have decentralized their organization into departments. A few states have organized separate state and local auxiliary councils or divisions for negroes where it was thought that all citizens, regardless of color, could not co-operate to the best advantage.

Justice Brandeis has called the state councils forty-eight laboratories in which exciting experiments in war government are being conducted.

POWERS AND DUTIES

The powers of state councils vary. In twenty-three states they have been given an official existence by legislative enactment, but the powers specified in such acts have been in most cases very general, granting power to carry on all war enterprises that may be requested by the Council of National Defense or initiated by the controlling body of the state council itself. In some cases they have been given the power to examine witnesses, hear testimony and compel the production of documents, but this is not absolutely essential to the successful prosecution of their work.

The duties of state councils are so varied as almost to defy classification. Where a jurisdiction has been mentioned in the creating acts it is, and very properly, like the definition of powers, very general and extending to all war activities. However, it is our chief purpose here to outline the work that the state councils have done and are doing and we shall, therefore, mention their duties in some detail without exercising any special care in the matter of logical classification.

In summarizing the work of state councils, the state councils section of the national council has said:

"State councils have developed a wide range of activities both at the instance of the Council of National Defense and various federal departments and on their own initiative."

The chief object in all state council work is to promote efficiency. Each one acts, and endeavors to get its local councils to act, as though the entire burden of making the democracy of their state and community efficient to win the war against autocracy, depended solely on them.

CO-OPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

Are, of course, not the same in each state but each state council is actively co-operating with at least the following organizations: state medical section of National Council, woman's committee of National Council, Labor Department and U. S. Employment Service, Food Administration, American Red Cross, war loan organizations, National War Savings Committee, state department of agriculture, state agricultural and mechanical colleges, department of education, four-minute men, Army Y. M. C. A., U. S. Fuel Administration, U. S. Boys' Working Reserve, liberty loan committees, War Department commission on training camp activities, U. S. Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

THE HOME GUARD

One of the first tasks undertaken by state councils was the creation of a "home guard" or substitute militia organization to take the place of the regular state militia or "national guard" that was being called into federal service. In states where the "home guard" organizations have been taken over as a militia reserve, the state found itself deeply indebted to the State Councils of Defense for providing such an admirable source upon which to draw for the second line of defense which the state was obliged to have.

Perhaps no phase of state council activity has been greater than that which might come under the head of "thrift, economy and conservation." In an endeavor to induce the people of the nation to practise thrift and economy state councils have given wide publicity to, and requested all local councils to reach all citizens with, the recommendations of the national council, the Commercial Economy Board, the federal, state and local food and fuel administrators and war savings committees. Undoubtedly state councils have been of great value in extending aid to these agencies in their conservation activities.

FOOD CONSERVATION

The first distribution of the food conservation pledge cards of the Food Administration to the housewives of the nation was performed by state councils through local councils. The thorough propaganda of food conservation ideas and the almost universal recognition of the necessity and importance of conservation of food which exists in nearly every household of the land to-day is due primarily and in by far the greatest measure, to the U. S. Food Administration, but state councils of defense have been of some value to Mr. Hoover in his work.

State councils were able directly to aid the Food Administration in at least one other of its big endeavors, namely—inducing wholesale bakers to abolish the policy, which was in practice everywhere, of accepting returns of unsold bread from retail dealers. It was recognized by Mr. Hoover almost immediately after he undertook his big job, that here was a great wastage in labor and in efforts expended all along the line of bread distribution as well as a tremendous waste of flour that went into bread left over from day to day in the hands of the many bread retailers and sold as stale bread for animal feed and other purposes. The plan generally followed by state councils was to furnish every wholesale baker with full information about the matter, show him of the need for a change in the policy, convince him that it was to his interest voluntarily to accept the plan recommended and secure his pledge to do so.

In addition to this co-operation, state councils have done valuable food conservation work by means of educational instructions on canning, drying and preserving foods.

REORGANIZED DELIVERY SERVICE

Perhaps the biggest single task undertaken by state councils in the matter of conservation has been their efforts to carry out the recommendations of the Commerical Economy Board (now the Conservation Division of the War Industries Board), for curtailed delivery service by retail stores and reduction in exchanges of merchandise. This board, under the direction of A. W. Shaw, discovered that conservation of almost unlimited magnitude in the matter of both men and materials might be effected by taking advantage of the existing emergency to put into operation through the country, efficient, non-duplicating and systematic methods of the delivery of goods by retail stores. After fully perfecting their plans they called upon state councils to carry them out. They were requested to see that each retail merchant doing a vehicle delivery business, was reached with the information on the matter prepared by the board and induced to put the recommendations into operation. The specific recommendations were: 1. One delivery a day over each route. 2. The establishment of co-operative delivery systems wherever possible, especially in small and medium sized cities and towns. 3. The limiting of the privilege of returning merchandise to three days. 4. The adoption by merchants of plans to curtail special deliveries and C. O. D. orders.

It can readily be seen that it was no small task to effect this big change in the manner of doing retail business. Many merchants have attributed their success to building up a reputation for service of excessive and duplicating deliveries, many of the articles delivered being, very often, so small as to yield a profit less than the actual cost of the delivery of the article. The retail merchants of the country were doing, before the war, a delivery business far in excess of what was required by the needs of the communities and the consumers had to bear the cost. Now the distribution of commodities by the retail distributing agencies of the nation is placed on a much more efficient and economical basis and promises not only to be permanent so far as it has gone, but to be extended and improved, and that particular part of the business of our country permanently better managed.

FIRE PREVENTION

The National Board of Fire Underwriters proved that the needs for conservation rendered this a favorable time for carrying on an educational propaganda among the people to prevent unnecessary fire losses which annually run into many millions of dollars in the United States. They have shown that a large percentage of fire losses might be prevented by the exercise of simple and easy plans of care and foresight. Their plan was endorsed by the Council of National Defense and the state councils were requested to give their endorsement and lend their support to the board in securing the adoption of their recommendations by manufacturers and other large insurers. Further efforts to prevent fire losses have been made in many cases by state councils by insisting that better methods of fire fighting are provided by municipalities, co-operation in the use of apparatus by adjoining or near-by municipalities and general publicity and education regarding proper methods of fire prevention.

HEALTH

It is apparent that the war places a premium on human life barely recognized, and rarely exercised, before. The startling revelations made by the draft with regard to the physical incapacity of a proportion of the male citizens of draft age, much too large for the welfare of the nation, also indicate physical incapacity in a large percentage not touched by the draft, which, if not seriously alarming, must nevertheless give concern to all who have the best interests of the people at heart. Therefore, the national council has endeavored to stimulate interest in the conservation of human life and to promote such activity as will insure better and more virile generations of Americans in the future. Splendid efforts are being made to aid in this matter by eliminating and preventing diseases in the army, but we are concerned here with only such efforts, which may be considered civic in character, among the civilian population. This includes all increased efforts in the matter of public health and personal hygiene and sanitation. Aside from the accelerated activity of the regular public health service of the nation and states, the national defense council has instituted efforts in this direction, for the performance of which they have depended upon state councils, which will undoubtedly aid greatly in promoting better health and maintaining the citizens of the nation in better physical condition. The regular health departments in many states have been the best co-operating agencies of state councils in carrying on these activities and the work has resulted in securing a support for health departments which they have long desired and has forced a recognition of the importance of matters which the health authorities can teach that previously were unheeded.

A large number of states have carried on campaigns against venereal diseases and made other efforts to inhibit the spread of these diseases among the civilian population comparable to the efforts along the same lines as applied to the army. In Oklahoma they had a "Social Hygiene Sunday." In New Jersey a law was passed by the 1918 Legislature which considerably enlarged the powers of control of the state department of health over venereal diseases, giving them the power to isolate persons suffering therefrom. The Colorado council co-operating with its state board of health has perfected a plan for the proper care of tuberculous soldiers upon their return. The whole movement for increased health activities has resulted in such encouragement for the appointment of full-time health officers that it is probable that few communities will fail to appoint such officers in the near future.

The matter of physical welfare is one which can best be begun, if not with those yet unborn, at least with those who have just seen the light of day. It has been discovered that a large proportion of those men discharged under the draft for physical defects could have been made physically fit by proper attention in their childhood. Accordingly the National Defense Council, through the child welfare committee of the medical section of its general medical board, has formulated an elaborate plan for child welfare. The woman's committee of the council has been charged directly with the duty of seeing that this program is followed by all states. The program covers a year's activity as the necessary preliminary work to the establishment of proper childhood welfare efforts and the year which began April 6, 1918, has been designated as "Children's Year." In some few states this work is not yet well started but 29 states have already reported preparations for launching the campaign in accordance with the program. This gives promise of results of a civic nature in the matter of the improved physique and the general health of coming citizens that will improve the nation immeasurably.

OTHER CONSERVATION EFFORTS

Such other conservation projects as the saving of wood ashes to secure potash to be used as fertilizer, which has been undertaken by the Connecticut council and the extermination of pests of various kinds, have been effectively carried out. In New Mexico a campaign has been conducted to exterminate wolves, coyotes, bobcats, prairie dogs, rats and other noxious and destructive animals. The California council has made war upon rats and ground squirrels. They designated a week as "Squirrel Week" and issued instructions as to the best means of eliminating them. The dog has come in for considerable blame for the meagerness of sheep raising. It has been found that sheep raising in a number of states is practically impossible, on any substantial scale, because of the large number of dogs.

There are few wasteful and inefficient processes in our ways of doing things not now under scrutiny and attempts at the correction and elimination of which will not be made by the forces now in operation as a result of the war.

PUBLICITY

Publicity has undoubtedly been used to more civic advantage than ever before. It was early conceived by the national defense council and the committee on public information that the morale of our fighting forces could only be kept up by a proper morale at home and publicity as a means of enlisting the solid support of the public and keeping public opinion informed on war activities, has been considered a most vital part of the war program. Here the state councils have carried on work for the committee on public information which is not a part of the Council of National Defense. However, the work has been done with the approval and under the direction of the national council. One of the first of these activities was the effectuation of organizations of "Four Minute Men." Their work is too well known to need extended comment. Suffice to say strong organizations of Four Minute Men have been effected in practically every state and there are something over 50,000 such speakers in the United States. State councils were the instruments through which these state organizations were effected. These state organizations are most thorough and satisfactory, each being under a state chairman and each local organization under a local chairman. Each of the 50,000 speakers receives regularly the same instructions and information from the committee on public information which enables each man to present a standardized speech.

Twenty-five state councils have organized state speakers' bureaus to furnish speakers on war and patriotic subjects. The work of such bureaus has been quite extensive and to the same degree educational. One of the best instances of effective work in this field is in Indiana where the bureau issued a speaker's syllabus giving instructions to all speakers both on effective speaking and on the particular war subjects about which they were to speak.

The motion pictures as a means of publicity has not been overlooked by state councils. Taking the lead from the division of films of the committee on public information and taking advantage of the opportunity to secure films from this division, a number of councils have presented war pictures to the people in even the small villages and rural districts. The Texas council made a special appropriation for stereopticons, slides, and motion-picture films.

Colorado originated the idea of mobilizing barber-shop publicity for spreading reliable information. A barber was placed on the publicity committee of the state council and assigned the duty of perfecting the plan.

COMMUNITY SINGING

Community singing has received a decided stimulus by the war, not so much as a matter of publicity as a means for stimulating and maintaining patriotism at a high degree. Such organizations as patriotic choruses, community singing associations, and "Victory" and "Yankee Doodle" glee clubs have been organized everywhere. Membership and participation in these organizations has not been limited to trained singers but has been thrown open to the entire population of the community. Pennsylvania has done excellent work in this regard. Connecticut has also successfully mobilized the musical forces of the state and reports the organization of 120 choruses.

RETURN LOAD BUREAUS

A particular activity of state councils of considerable importance in aiding in the solution of the transportation difficulties, has been the endeavors to establish "return load bureaus" in the chief cities and rural motor express lines. This has been done at the instance of and under the direction of the highways transport committee of the national council defense. Like the plans of the Commercial Economy Board for curtailed deliveries it is a movement which has already resulted not only in aiding in relieving transportation congestion to a considerable extent, but is of such importance and value, of such obvious benefit to all concerned, so simple in operation and of such timeliness in view of the rapidly increasing use of motor trucks, that it will undoubtedly be established on a permanent basis and continue with growing improvements and extensions after the war. The idea in the "return load" movement is that all important cities shall establish a central office to be known as the "return load bureau" which shall perform the function of gathering information from shippers as to available shipments for points reached by trucks leaving or passing through the city, this information to be furnished to owners and drivers of auto trucks thus bringing truckman and shipper together to their mutual advantage, and also to the advantage of the public in relieving transportation congestion. As the plan now stands no attempt has been made to establish rates although that will very likely be a natural outgrowth of the plan as it develops. At present, however, the return load bureaus act solely in an informational capacity and assume no responsibility whatever to either party.

INCREASED FOOD PRODUCTION

Supplementing efforts at food conservation, state councils have also been active in endeavors to increase food production. Here state agricultural departments have, of course, been made use of, also state departments of labor in efforts to relieve the farm labor shortage. Many of these activities have been very extensive and permit of only brief mention here. The national council, in co-operation with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, furnished to state councils of defense an agricultural program for 1918 which was very elaborate and thorough. It includes such matters as agricultural publicity, purchase and proper distribution of seeds, financial aid to farmers, introduction and further extension of the use of farm machinery, attempts to relieve the farm labor shortage and, passing from the farm to the cities, towns and villages, it includes the widespread cultivation of home gardens and methods for their proper cultivation and supervision in order to insure the production of the greatest possible amount of food. Such a large amount of work has been necessary in this field that it could not have been done by state councils alone. They have only been useful co-operators of the regular agricultural departments but have at least been able to lend sufficient official impetus to the activities of agricultural departments, placing them upon a war basis that it has aided in bringing success to the various agricultural enterprises.

Much good work has been done by extending financial aid to farmers in the form of farm loans. It was found that even under the new federal finance law it has been still too difficult in many cases for farmers to secure money. California has done especially good work in extending financial aid to farmers, thus bringing about increased crop production and the development of hitherto undeveloped lands.

A big impetus was given direct by the U. S. government to the introduction and extension of the use of farm tractors by providing that federal reserve banks should re-discount notes secured by farm tractors. Express provision was made that the tractors purchased were to be used for agricultural purposes. The Ohio state council was able to help solve the farm labor shortage in Ohio by providing for the purchase of 1,500 new farm tractors for that state and established a school for training tractor operators. The war board of Michigan contracted for 1,000 tractors to be supplied to farmers at cost.

WAR GARDENS

The growing of war gardens has not only been a means of adding greatly to our food supply but has caused many people to profit by getting back to the soil to that extent and has been instrumental in greatly improving and beautifying the backyards and vacant lots of our cities. The national council sometime ago requested state councils to encourage all local councils in cities of 10,000 and over to employ a full time paid supervisor of gardens and where this has been done it has resulted beneficially. In Indiana a thorough survey of vacant lots and unused land resulted in turning practically every foot of available land into war gardens. Under the plan followed, when any idle land was found, the owner was compelled to use it himself or make it available for other people. In Utah an elaborate system of prizes for efficient work in the growing of war gardens resulted in their successful cultivation.

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The educational activities of state councils have been considerable. In addition to the educational value of the publicity work already explained, state councils have, at the instance of the national council, created state and local legal committees which have had for their particular duty the education of drafted men and their relatives and dependents on legal matters with which familiarity was necessary for the proper discharge of the domestic obligations of the men being inducted into service. Home service sections of the American Red Cross have been valuable co-operators in this regard. State councils have also, through their local councils, held meetings for drafted men, immediately preceding their departure for cantonments, at which the men have been instructed by lawyers, physicians, business men and others, in matters pertaining to their legal affairs and their obligations as citizens and soldiers, and matters of health and personal hygiene and sanitation.

State councils have also performed an educational function in the establishment of scientific research committees whose duties it has been to encourage the inventive genius of citizens, especially students in mechanical and scientific courses of universities and colleges, with a view to stimulating the production of war inventions.

Many state councils have carried on somewhat extensive educational work among the entire state population, some of which has been of a very elementary but highly valuable nature. Such work in some cases has also served other purposes than education. For instance in Colorado information was issued to all the householders of the state on how to save fuel. In teaching the people how to save fuel they also taught them how to provide proper living conditions with respect to the consumption of fuel, proper ventilation, and care of the heating plant.

Interest in reading and study have been stimulated to a very considerable degree by the exceedingly valuable work done in practically every state in sending books, magazines and papers to the soldiers in camps both here and abroad. It is safe to say that many enlisted men who have heretofore had very little or no interest in learning have been stimulated to the pursuit of knowledge by the encouragement thus received, the contagion of the demand on the part of their fellows for reading material, and the premium placed by the government upon trained men.

AMERICANIZATION

A further sphere of educational activity of state councils is one which has been referred to under the particular designation of "Americanization." Various enterprises to educate foreign-born citizens and aliens have been undertaken. These activities have been more than efforts to merely naturalize them. We have come to realize that naturalization must be accompanied with a thorough process of Americanization. The national council, in co-operation with the bureau of education, has issued extensive and elaborate plans. Much of the work called for by these plans must naturally be performed by the schools, but state councils have been and will continue to be useful in aiding in the matter. Many different methods have been followed in almost as many places for giving foreigners who are regularly and fully employed, instructions on subjects which after a course of time would provide them with a fair educational basis.

WAR LEGISLATION

War legislation, much of which has a civic value, has been enacted by every state legislature that has been in session since the entry of the United States into the war. Much of this will remain permanently on the statute books. It covers subjects too numerous to mention at this time, among which have been soldiers' and sailors' civil relief acts which follow in general the federal act, as a movement on the part of the states to aid the government by enacting a law to safeguard the interests of soldiers and sailors by protecting them against civil suits in their absence. In a few cases, where legislation was desired at a time that the legislatures were not in session and it was deemed inexpedient to call a special session, uniform municipal ordinances, suggested by state councils, were passed by a large number of municipalities, thus securing practically the effect of the desired legislative enactments. An instance of this is the passage of a vagrancy ordinance simultaneously by 300 towns in Minnesota at the suggestion of the Minnesota commission of public safety.

HOUSING

All state councils in states in which shipyards, ammunition plants and other war industries are located have made effective efforts, in some cases with financial help from the government, to provide proper housing accommodations for the influx of workmen. While such efforts have been made primarily for the benefit of the newly-migrated workers, it is clear that the provision of proper housing will react in providing substantial improvements in the housing of the regular resident workers as well, and will be an improvement the good results of which will continue after the war.

THE OUTLOOK

It is manifestly clear that out of these efficiently-directed efforts of the citizenry of America, exercised in conjunction with other forces now in action, is going to come a new nation. We know that we will win the war and everybody knows, even down to the humblest and the most ignorant, that in the winning of the war we are placing such an emphasis on democracy as has never been placed on it before; and it is no mere lip emphasis. As President Wilson well said in speaking of the organization of community councils, "It will result when thoroughly carried out in welding the nation together as no nation of great size has ever been welded before."

Long-cherished ideals of free government, economic, industrial and social, as well as political, are being sought for anew and with greater vigor, old faiths in man and his destiny are being strengthened, old hopes of the attainment of at least a somewhat saner social system are being revived, and, with it all, new forces are being liberated and exercised which must certainly lead to the establishment of a better as well as a safer democracy.

BETHLEHEM BUILDS TWO BRIDGES

BY W. J. DONALD[1]

Niagara Falls, N. Y.

THE amalgamation of seven or more contiguous boroughs, comprising a mixed population of about 85,000 persons, and the unification of the citizens by a vision of "The Model Industrial City of the World," is an undertaking which is worthy of the admiration of the best judges of civic advancement and which challenges the courage of the best of leaders. It is this program, however, which Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, with its "hill-to-hill" bridge, its commission form of government and its remarkable chamber of commerce, proposes to achieve and is certain of accomplishment.

Twenty-nine years ago, George H. Meyers conceived the idea of a bridge to link the three boroughs of Bethlehem, West Bethlehem and South Bethlehem, which were separated by two valleys through which run the Lehigh River and Monocacy Creek. Several plans of bridges were prepared and from time to time the subject was seriously considered but as frequently abandoned. Responsibility for delay in such an important proposal rests on the usual plurality of causes, both minor and major. The physical separation of the three communities had been met, only by means of an ancient covered wooden bridge joining two winding and hill encumbered streets, together with two single track toll bridges, only one of which is used by the interurban trolley company which operates the city's only street car service. To a certain degree racial and religious antagonisms played an important rôle in preventing an understanding of the larger problems of the district. The usual—some say unusual—doubters, critics and pessimists opposed every progressive suggestion before the wisdom of the idea was fully apparent and before the possibility of success was proven.

Without doubt, civic affairs did not prosper. The boroughs lacked good streets, the libraries starved for lack of financial assistance: But why recount? The situation was neither better nor worse than in a hundred or more other cities familiar to civic reformers both professional and lay. The past in Bethlehem is being quickly and deeply interred.

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[1] Secretary, Niagara Falls, Chamber of Commerce.

Neither is the city living in or on its future. It is living an extremely active and constructive present.

A VISION AND AN IDEAL

For a good many years, Charles M. Schwab, chairman of the board of directors of the Bethlehem steel corporation, who had made Bethlehem not only his place of business but also his home, had been looking forward to making Bethlehem an ideal industrial city. First, however, must come unification and, of first importance in such a movement, physical proximity. The "hill-to-hill" bridge was the key to the long locked door.

As early as 1903, the necessary proceedings had been instituted in the courts of quarter sessions in Lehigh and Northampton counties, but nothing had actually been accomplished, chiefly because the two boroughs were keen, if not bitter, rivals and opposition was too great. In 1913 Dallett H. Wilson, a young attorney who had recently come to the city, suggested an overhead bridge as a means of eliminating three exceptionally bad grade crossings over the Philadelphia and Reading, Lehigh Valley and New Jersey Central railroads. At first the idea was not taken seriously, but Mr. Wilson secured the necessary three signatures to a petition and presented the case, with favorable results, to the Pennsylvania public service commission. Fortunately or unfortunately, according to the viewpoint, the commission had not the power to order the construction of a bridge that would do more than eliminate the grade crossings. Such a plan would indeed provide a bridge beginning at the top of a hill on the south side, but it would not reach the high land on either side of the Monocacy Creek on the north side of the Lehigh river. The ideal plan provided for ramps runnings into the business district of the south side and ramps running to the residential and business districts of the north side, without descending to the flood endangered Monocacy valley. Neither would it provide a bridge with the architectural and artistic merits desired by the awakening community and especially the leaders in the movement.

Taxation under the direction of the public service commission was certain to provide $533,000. At least $280,000 more was necessary to provide for the ideal. This had been anticipated by Mr. Wilson, who promptly asked for thirty days in which to raise the balance by public subscription. Doubters agreed to the plan but predicted that $15,000 could not be secured. It was not ten minutes, however, before J. E. Matthews, chief of the ordnance department of the steel company, had pledged $25,000 for himself and associates or if necessary for himself alone. The financial campaign which was immediately organized, was concluded by contributions of $100,000 from the traction company and $250,000 from Charles M. Schwab and the steel corporation. The campaign for funds conducted in October, 1916, raised not only the necessary $280,000, but

$418,000 in addition. There were 64,687 subscriptions and the enthusiasm of the city ran riot. The necessity for the campaign may have been a misfortune. For the most part it was a God-send, for it gave the occasion for the first expression of the civic patriotism of the neighborhood of boroughs. The way had been opened for the building of a new city.

"THE MODEL INDUSTRIAL CITY OF THE WORLD"

The crystallization of the new spirit into definite plans occurred at an historic dinner given by Mr. Schwab in November, 1916. Over 800 attended as his guests. Mr. Schwab outlined his plans for the city: one Bethlehem comprising the seven or eight separate boroughs and districts, one citizens' organization and "the model industrial city of the world." A committee on a program of civic improvement which met at Mr. Schwab's office the next day, appointed two sub-committees: one to establish a Greater Bethlehem Association with R. S. Taylor, a leading attorney, as chairman and another to consolidate the Bethlehems, with Archibald Johnson, vice president of the steel company, as chairman.

Consolidation of the boroughs of Bethlehem and South Bethlehem, containing the chief business districts of the affected area, was undertaken first. Every ward in both boroughs was organized, every ward boss was made a captain of a team of workers for consolidation and every legitimate method conceivable was used to exercise all the pressure necessary to guarantee the success of this step in the program of the Greater Bethlehem movement. In May of 1917, an extensive campaign was conducted to take a "straw vote" on the proposals. Luncheons, held daily at the Colosseum, were attended by 522 workers. Parades were held daily. On the final day of the campaign only 23 persons had expressed opposition to consolidation, while 7,860 had pledged themselves to support it later at the polls. Several bands led 7,500 people in a final parade. It was therefore scarcely surprising when on the occasion of the official balloting on July 10, 1917, 5,994 voted in favor and only 169 against the unification of the two boroughs. The letters patent were issued seven days later, on July 17.

THE NEED FOR CITIZEN ORGANIZATION

To secure an administration of the new city by competent public spirited citizens was the next step to be solved. Sixty days later the primaries could be held. By consolidation of the two boroughs, the new city had become a third class city and automatically under the Clark Act became a commission government city. Meanwhile, every ward boss had circulated a petition asking Archibald Johnson, vice president of the steel corporation, to be a candidate for mayor. At first Mr. Johnson persistently refused, but over 7,000 names on the petition provided too convincing an argument.

Bethlehem could not, however, be the "model industrial city of the world" without a large and effective citizen organization. R. S. Taylor, chairman of the committee on Greater Bethlehem association, expressed the need fully at a meeting of the newly organized chamber of commerce in the following words:

> An almost ideal form of municipal government was provided in early American history, by the New England town meeting. Every citizen participated in and took active interest in the affairs of the community. Obviously, however, this form could not continue indefinitely and the next stage was the large council form of municipal government, such as exists in England and on the continent to-day. Just as the town meeting form of government had the effect of educating all of the citizens in civic matters, so too the experience of a considerable number of men in the council had the effect of training a large number of community leaders. But with the adoption of the commission and city forms of government, the number of persons who take a direct official part in community life is greatly reduced. As a consequence, there is in every commission-governed city, an especial need for a citizen organization to bridge over the gap between the official governing body and the citizens at large.

A COMMUNITY PROGRAM

The Bethlehem chamber of commerce (under the name Greater Bethlehem association) was organized during the first week of December, 1917. Local citizens hoped to secure as many as 800 members paying dues of $25 annually and a budget of $20,000. The campaign[2] closed at the end of a week with 2,100 members, which total was shortly increased to 2,250, providing an organization income of nearly $60,000. The board of directors was elected by the Hare system of proportional representation. Instead of immediately going to work on a haphazard lot of activities, the chamber took the time to develop a carefully prepared community program as a basis of action for the community. The members of the chamber were called in small groups of from ten to forty to discuss the scope and possibilities of the new organization, and the problems facing the new administration and the new city. To those who expect nothing except the traditional activities from a chamber of commerce, it will be of interest to know that scarcely a single selfish note was struck in all the program of work meetings. Manufacturers, retailers, bankers, real estate men, and citizens generally joined in a demand for the provision of those amenities of life without which no city can be ideal. "Getting industries," and the ordinary first hand stock in trade of the uninventive chamber of commerce, were passed by as negligible compared with the human lives that must be conserved and developed. Thus it was that the Bethlehem chamber of commerce presented to the city a program of community action on which industries, city officials, the chamber of commerce and citizens generally may work for a generation.

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[2] Mr. Donald, the author of this article, was one of the staff of four men of the American City Bureau that in December, 1917, conducted the campaign in Bethlehem for the chamber of commerce. Later Mr. Donald was acting secretary for three months. The result was, the largest membership of any city in the United States having a population under 100,000 and dues of $25. This was accomplished in a city which never had a chamber of commerce and where consequently the people were not aware of the functions of one.—EDITOR.

Bethlehem is building two bridges: one to close the physical gap between the two sections of the city, the other to bridge the chasm between the new city administration and the people. Charles M. Schwab's dream is on a fair way to realization.

WAR TIME CITY CLUBS

BY HENRY G. HODGES, PH.D.[1]

Philadelphia

ORGANIZED flexibility requires occasional write-up if posterity is to appreciate some of the stages by which it "arrived." One needs only to read Dr. Beard's article on "Recent Activities of City Clubs." published in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.[2] to appreciate the progressive activitity of these organizations. We extract one line from that article, dealing with a noteworthy feature of the New York city club, to wit: "The club entertained His Excellency, Count von Bernstoff."

Scarcely a year ago the Civic Secretaries Association was organized in Detroit. The group now has 27 members, most of whom are secretaries of city clubs. Prior to the Detroit meeting the association existed as a committee of its foster-mother, the National Municipal League. The secretaries of the women's city clubs of Los Angeles, Cincinnati, Chicago, Louisville and Cleveland, and the civic club of Philadelphia, a civic organization for women, are members of the association.

In the past three years a goodly number of new city clubs has been organized, in all parts of the country. In the far west and the southwest the movement has been particularly active. From the region of the Great Lakes come reports of several new clubs. Probably the women's city club of Cleveland has made the most rapid strides to sizeableness and influence. Organized in January, 1916, it had, in June of this year, a membership of 2,500, its corporate limit, and a waiting list of 375. The dues are nominal, and the general policy is modeled after that of the men's club which does not participate actively in civic affairs. Word comes of contemplated clubs in Minneapolis, Columbus, Atlanta, Phoenix, and a number of smaller cities.

On the other hand, several names appear on the list of the merged, moribund and the unconscious. Three years ago the city club of Brooklyn was merged with the Brooklyn civic club, which, in its turn, merged, in February of the present year, with the reorganized Brooklyn Chamber of commerce. One or two other places report such mergers. From one large city comes the report that the organization of a city club is contemplated to offset the dominating conservatism of the leading agency already in existence. The secretary of the city club of New Rochelle, New York, writes of a gloomy outlook for his organization. After a career of twelve years, during which time its committees were active in fighting for "a new charter, better municipal garbage incinerator, improved street lighting, intelligible municipal accounting, and an improved trolley system," the membership has dwindled until "the club is now on the eve of disbanding." The city club of Galveston, Texas, gave up the struggle three years ago. Letters addressed to several other clubs were returned, marked "unclaimed." Binghamton, New York, was in this group.

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[1] Formerly; secretary, City Club of Cleveland.

[2] vol. i, p. 431.

TWO TYPES OF CLUBS

City clubs are of two distinct types, the "militant" and the "non-militant." The former, as the name signifies, interests itself actively, through its committees, in pushing a definite civic program. The latter attempts, through its open forum, unconsciously to guide civic public opinion in finding itself, depending on some other method for expression. This type provides post-prandial discussion on popular and civic topics, usually having all sides of a given question presented. It aims to turn the civic container inside out and expose the idea. Neither method is, *per se*, the correct one. Local conditions must determine which will produce the best results. Proponents of the latter type prefer to define it as 'a social club with a civic purpose,' while the friends of the militant idea would rather define it as ' a socially organized group of civic Sitting Bulls.' The one type emphasizes opinion organized, while the other expresses itself through organized opinion; the latter is the non-partisan intellectual melting pot, while the former is the bi-partisan enunciator. The Boston city club represents the forum idea, and the Chicago club is an example of the militant organization. Between these two extremes there are all shades of "militancy."

LOS ANGELES CLUB

The success of the militant club depends largely on the size and prestige of its membership, and the efforts of its civic secretary. The Los Angeles club has been active during the past year in safeguarding the interests of the city's municipal electric power system. Although essentially a forum club the Kansas City organization developed a hobby in correcting the smoke nuisance. They kept at it until a municipal ordinance was passed providing for a smoke commission and a smoke inspector. The chairman of the city club smoke committee was named chairman of the new municipal smoke commission.

MILWAUKEE CLUB

The Milwaukee city club has grown from a membership of 700 to one of 1,375 during the past year, due, as the secretary explains, to new club quarters. This organization is unique in that its membership includes both men and women. Sixteen civic committees cover, in a thorough fashion, municipal activities. The city beautiful committee pushed the spring clean-up campaign, its chairman being made chairman of the city's clean-up committee. The city forestry committee gave active support to the agitation that secured a city forester. "Know Your City Better" work, by means of models, charts and architects' perspectives, displayed in downtown windows, was conducted by the committee on civic education, co-operating with the Milwaukee society of engineers. Salary revision was pushed by the civil service committee. The public health committee made an investigation of the South View hospital, and issued a six page mimeographed report. Probably the best piece of civic educational work conducted by the Milwaukee club is its "Tuesday Noon-Day Talk," at which a subject of local civic interest is discussed by some city official or the representative of an agency working for civic betterment.

LOUISVILLE WOMEN'S CITY CLUB

The youngest of the militant city clubs to record anything like a successful program is the women's city club of Louisville, Kentucky. Organized March 17, 1917, it gives ample evidence of a strenuous babyhood. Its 387 members raised $1,000 for a survey of the collection and disposal of the city's garbage. Co-operating with federal officials, the club engaged the services of garbage disposal experts from Chicago and the model piggery at Worcester, Massachusetts. The recommendations of the club's committee are being put into practice at the present time. The committee has now turned its attention to an economical and sanitary system of waste collection and disposal. The club was headquarters for the campaign for raising funds for playgrounds, for the organization boosting for a responsible juvenile judge, and for women strike leaders to explain to the public and sister workers the causes for their action.

CHICAGO'S WOMAN'S CITY CLUB

Another woman's club is a new factor in this field. The woman's city club of Chicago, although an organization of some years standing, entered the active civic arena in January, 1917. Chicago's financial situation was the proximate cause of this change of front. The women supported their pledged candidates in every ward in the city, and prepared and defended on the floor of council their "communication concerning the city's present financial situation and some available remedies." A large portion of their recommendations have already been adopted. The club is now assisting the water-meter propaganda. This active interest in municipal affairs has not served to dismember the club, even in war times. The increase in membership during the past year is given as 570. The working arrangement is similar to that of the Cincinnati woman's city club, which functions, with unusual success, through sixteen committees.

CHICAGO CITY CLUB (MEN'S)

The men's club of Chicago is living up to its historical standard in fighting for progressive municipal management. Twenty-four committees guide its civic destinies. A few titles of these committees will serve to illustrate their work: city planning; civil service; drainage and sewage; public education; public expenditures; fire protection; labor conditions; vice; taxation; housing, etc. Every committee has at least one bull's eye to its credit during the past year. A summary of the accomplishments, announced under committee headings, appears in the club's year book.

THE NEW YORK CITY CLUB

Lists its civic contributions for the year under eighteen headings. The state military census, organization of the interstate metropolitan planning conference, extension of the system of public employment bureaus, important amendments to the election laws, and the new highways traffic law, are a few of its services. The board of trustees feels that much of the success of the past two years has been due to "*the strengthening of the committee system, the development of a larger group of members qualified to assume leadership, and the greater participation of the membership in the formulation of club policies.*"

THE PHILADELPHIA CLUB

In December of last year the Philadelphia city club put itself on record as a militant organization. Several years ago the club employed a secretary whose duty it was to formulate and guide an active civic program. This plan was later abandoned. Of the older clubs the Philadelphia organization seems to have suffered most from a lack of progressive enthusiasm and normal growth during the past two years. Having lately moved into a fine new home in the heart of the city, there was the natural introspective examination for the causes of unhealthy development. As a result the following resolution was adopted at a special meeting of the members: "RESOLVED—*That the city club take a more positive part than heretofore in questions affecting the government of Philadelphia. That it shall actively further or oppose, through appropriate committees, legislation affecting the city, whether at Harrisburg or in the city councils.*" At the present time no committee program has been worked out.

THE CLEVELAND CLUB

Non-militant clubs must measure their success by intangible standards. Growth of membership is only one criterion of the increasing influence of the club in the community. The publicity given its activities often stirs other organizations in the local field to civic action. The Cleveland city club held several well attended exhibits of local municipal departments. The welfare exhibit included visual lessons from the sanitarium, division of health and baby welfare, workhouse, boys' farm, and an exposé patent medicine exhibit from the labratory of the city chemist; 35 automobiles took 200 members on an outing and inspection trip to the county workhouse farm of 2,200 acres, immediately after a speaker's meeting. Besides the usual inspection and a baseball game, the party spent an hour at a specially prepared sociological clinic. An elaborate college exhibit, representing 27 colleges and universities of the United States and Canada, afforded an interesting rivalry and served as a social intermingler for professional shouters of divergent political faiths. The club has enjoyed a 30 per cent increase in membership during the past year.

BOSTON CITY CLUB

The Boston *Daily Advertiser*, commenting on the resignation of Addison L. Winship, civic secretary of the Boston city club, struck the fundamental of the non-militant city club. "The Boston city club has been a wonderful influence in bringing the various elements in the complex of life of our metropolitan community into better mutual understanding. . . . The fundamental idea of the city club is sound—that men of differing points of view, differing interests, differing spheres, will find a common denominator if brought into natural contact, one with another." Aside from its wonderful success in a material way, the Boston club has undoubtedly contributed as much to bring its community harmoniously to a higher civic level as any civic agency in the country. With one of the most attractive homes in America, and a membership of 7,000 it is able to maintain a social-civic program of the highest order.

OTHER CLUBS

The Rochester and Baltimore clubs are influential open forum agencies. No action may follow discussion at the Rochester club, and yet there is evident a distinct civic service to the community. To have a large city grasp the neighborhood idea is the aim of the Baltimore club. And it is succeeding. The Indianapolis Saturday luncheon club is practically an embryonic city club of the forum type.

Gustavus Tuckerman, for the past seven years civic secretary of the St. Louis city club, has exerted a remarkable influence in prying loose for his city standards whose attainment would have been at the cost of a certain amount of civic irritation had they been accomplished by less insiduous methods. The continued social-civic contact of men of divergent political opinions moulds them, at times against their wills, and certainly unconsciously, to a homogenity of ideals which finds expression in a more concerted group action. Individual emphasis shifts from organized differences to points of common social and civic interest. The city gets the benefit.

Most of the clubs hear from all candidates for important local offices. Practically every club distributes, periodically, an organization bulletin to its members. These publications are usually weekly affairs. The Boston club issues a sizeable monthly announcing the following month's program, and giving a rather full summary of the current month's addresses. The Philadelphia and Kansas City clubs do not issue such bulletins.

THE WAR'S INFLUENCE

The war's influence is easily traced in all city clubs. In the first place, it is not unusual, when writing a secretary for local information, to receive a reply from an assistant to the effect that "Mr. So-and-So has been loaned to the Government for work at ———." All clubs are flying large service flags, which the finance committees view with practical significance. In spite of the large number in active military service, it is safe to hazard that the general average increase in active membership during the past year has been fifteen per cent. The Baltimore, Los Angeles, and both of the Cleveland clubs were interrupted by the war from carrying forward contemplated building programs.

In those cases where the militant club could not cover the financial loss from remitted club dues of military members with a proportionate increase in membership, there has been an enforced check on some of the committee work. Even in clubs not so affected the committee program has been retarded by absorbing war interests. From Milwaukee: "Our committees have been active this year, however, not to the extent that they would be in a normal year. The members are so busy with various kinds of war work that civic work suffered by comparison." Again, the chairman of the special committee on club activities of the Chicago city club writes: "The Chicago club has found that the war has had a marked effect on its committee work. Those committees which deal with subjects affected by the war continued with probably increased interest, while the committees dealing with other subjects were inclined to let up somewhat on their activities."

The same is true with the non-militant club. The feature meetings are all war talks. A returned soldier draws 200 to 500 per cent more members than a municipal specialist.

WAR WORK

If there has been a let-up on the civic programs there has been a remarkable speeding-up of the war work. The Chicago and New York city clubs have ambulance units at the Front. Every club has committees for Red Cross, Liberty Loan and other "drives." The secretary of the state council of defense of Wisconsin, writing on this subject for his state: "To tell the truth the city clubs and chambers of commerce haven't any other plan in mind but to co-operate in war programs." The secretary of the Baltimore city club is doing organization work, in Texas, for the Food Administration.

The women's clubs are probably more active, in point of personal service, than the men's organizations. This is not unexpected nor phenomenal. The woman's city club of Chicago raised $2,000 for the recent Red Cross drive; $56,000 for the Third Liberty Loan; and $10,000 worth of pledges for Thrift Stamps. In Cleveland, the men's club bought $5,000 worth of Third Liberty Loan bonds with club funds, besides subscriptions secured by teams working the membership, and others doing assigned work under the city's general committee. The women's unique contribution is a "patriotic shop," located in the center of the business section, where the use of substitute foods is taught, both by window demonstrations and by supplying desired recipes. Inexpensive luncheons made of war breads are served, and yarn is sold.

The foods and markets committee of the Louisville club is operating canning stations in all parts of the city. War time food substitutes are served. Another committee aids in the enforcement of food prices among the retail grocers.

The city club history of the past two or three years amply justifies the existence of both the functional types. The movement is enjoying a normal healthy growth, and so long as these clubs continue to supplement the commercial activities of chambers of commerce and the expert investigational processes of bureaus of municipal research we may look for an ever broadening influence of their activities.[4]

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[4] See pamphlet, "The City Clubs and Kindred Organizations," by W. J. Donald, secretary, Niagara Falls chamber of commerce. Reprint of an article in the *American City*.

WAR TIME WORK OF BUSINESS BODIES

By Ralph H. Faxon[1]

Des Moines, Iowa

CHAMBERS of commerce have never done better or more efficient work in their history than in respect of war. Every civic and commercial body in the land has become an active organization to promote patriotism, to prepare for war, and to save American institutions and ideals.

A little organization in Iowa said early in the days of America's participation in the war: "We will discontinue our organization and let our secretary go; we will be too busy during war." Today, that organization is stronger than ever before and its secretary is paid and is at work carrying out the task cut out for him by his officers and committees.

In Canada, they said at the beginning of war that organization would have to go for the time. Organization did fall to low ebb, and then it became a positive fact that the splendid work that Canada has done in war was almost entirely accomplished by means of a glorious revivication of the old organizations.

FOUR VARIETIES OF ORGANIZATIONS

Four kinds of commercial and civic organizations have been at work since America started out to help win the war:

1. Those which felt it was no part of their business to do war work, but must continue to concern themselves with commercial and civic affairs;
2. Those which felt they must work through auxiliary or affiliated bodies specially created to do war work;
3. Those which divided their work as between old time activities and war work;
4. Those which welcomed war work, took it all on, and called for more.

Now fortunately for the country, most organizations in the land are coming into Class A. Nearly every organization, especially in anything like military centers, before the war had their committees on military and naval affairs. During preparedness campaigning, and for some months before America went definitely into war, these committees became numerous. Then later on nearly every organization had one. Just the other day, the great Chicago association of commerce witnessed a significant thing: Its committee on military and naval affairs went voluntarily out of business, and suggested to the board of directors that a "war committee" be created! It changed its name, its style, its personnel, and its ordinary place as a co-ordinate standing committee, and urged the creation of a small, compact, extra powerful band of men in that organization which should be a veritable war board for the greater body.

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[1] General secretary, Des Moines chamber of commerce.

At the same time, and almost as by prescience and collaboration, an average-sized and normal-going city of the midwest, through its organization, formed a war commission predicated upon much the same instinct and motive. It went a step further, however, in that it sought to regulate and systematize all solicitation in the name of war. It didn't approve of the "war chests," but it did believe in intelligent direction of all war solicitation. Coincident with this came the action of a small town organization which formed a war bureau.

The same motive lay back of all three, from the big body down to the small one—a realization that systematic war work must be done, and that war is the chief business of organizations of a civic and commercial kind these days. It's a settling-down process which bodes well for the spirit of the American people. It is a realization that this war is a man's-size job, and that it takes precedence over all else from now on.

THE CIVIC BODY—ON THE JOB—ALL THE TIME

Now the ordinary town is like the ordinary family—it's a co-ordinate-unit of government and of society. It is typical. It is *THE* government, in reality. It is a definite entity. It cannot do business without a head, without a home, without intelligent direction, without collective thinking, and without a strong arm and a keen brain as well as a sympathetic heart. Hence the powerful fact is driven home that a local body, call it what you will—chamber of commerce, commercial club, civic and commerce association—must be on the job, all the time, day and night, with boards, committees groups, and member councils.

A midwest organization believes that its chief work has been to raise the people of the community to a degree of intelligent conception of what war and patriotism and citizenship mean in these times. It has done this by persistent and consistent meetings, drawing men from everywhere who had a thoughtful message. It makes singing, and martial singing, at that, a feature of all such meetings, and some days it has these meetings in number—luncheons, dinners, membership meetings, public meetings.

It means that all persons are arrayed on one side of a road or the other—those who fight in uniform or in citizen's apparel—*but* FIGHTING!—and those who do no fighting or working! There is no half-way business about it. One is either loyal or disloyal, these days; he is a patriot or a slacker.

The writer of this contends that no greater factor has been at work in manufacturing future citizenship than these commercial bodies now so busily engaged in war work. Leaders have arisen. The removal of selfishness has been the leaven. One man has been as good as another.

If he didn't have money, he had time. Some had both, all had something to contribute to the cause. Men have been drawn closer together than ever before. And they are going to stay close together after this is all over!

THE WEEDING PROCESS

Commercial rivalry has been eliminated. Sectional and class lines in communities have been wiped out. State lines have been obliterated. Men have gathered vision. Their horizons have been extended. They looked up and down and to both sides. They blinked at first; but their eyes became used to the big things they saw. Washington and government were no longer intangible. They, the communities and the community men, were the people, were the government, were the great pulsing, throbbing, dominant America—the giant awake, and ready for great things.

Through it all has run the essence of spiritualization. Inspiration and the spiritual side have crept in. The fire has purified. Loftier idea and ideals have been created. The little bickerings and jealousies, the slavish customs of years, the bonds of precedent and environment, have been swept aside. Men are big in their simple earnestness, and earnest in their simplicity.

SEEING BIGGER AND FINER

War has done this—war plus organization. War might have done it; but war and organization have done it better. Organizations see themselves and they see the future. They see a world freed of despotism and autocracy. They see the bigger and the finer things. They see peace and comity of nations. They see a restoration of things at home. They visualize normality in business, in citizenship, in industry, in agriculture, in social relationship, in social justice, in brotherhood. They see commerce in the world at large. They see a new generation and a new age. They see veterans returning from the war and dropping into line at home. They see the veterans who remained at home transformed into better and bigger men. They see a new era. But above all, they see and feel this: That the very fact those at home and those in the trenches have in fact become seasoned, trained, disciplined veterans, with a capacity for work of which they had never dreamed, will make of them, combined, in local, state, and national organizations, a band of workers who can accomplish literally anything their hearts and minds desire!

War and organization have done much together already; they will have done more for our future!

THE BUREAU OF PERSONAL SERVICE

BY GEORGE L. TIRRELL

New York City

IN THE recent city campaign in New York which resulted in the most sweeping Tammany victory in the history of the greater city, one of the promises made by the successful candidate for mayor and other candidates for places in the board of estimate was to get rid of all "efficiency experts, bureaucrats, social experimenters and high brows." At its meeting on February 1, 1918, the new board of estimate adopted resolutions to "abolish and discontinue" the bureau of personal service which had been created in 1914 and had been for the past two years the agency through which the city had been putting its household in order. By the action of the new board the staff of trained examiners was retained and the work of the former bureau continued pending the adoption of policy.

The object for which the bureau of personal service was organized: to place the civil employment on an intelligent basis where in every municipal activity there would be the required number of employes at proper salaries, is one which confronts every municipality as well as every public and private employer. Therefore the results and methods appear to be worth review.

NEW YORK'S PAY ROLL

New York City has on its pay-roll approximately 90,000 men and women. Excluding the 23,000 teachers, 10,000 policemen, 6,000 firemen, 10,000 day laborers, 6,000 street cleaners and miscellaneous groups aggregating about 3,000 whose management is controlled by special laws, there are approximately 30,000 general employes of all sorts under direct control of the central city authorities so far as number and salary is concerned.

In the Fall of 1915, after eighteen months study of the duties and salaries of the 30,000 general employes, the bureau reported back that this force was from ten to fifteen per cent larger than needed; that there were glaring overpayments in salaries in about 1,000 positions; substantial overpayments in about 2,000 more; underpayments in between 5,000 and 6,000 cases; and that the civil employment suffered greatly in effectiveness because of the haphazard methods of appointment and advancement based upon special considerations of personal and political favoritism. Because of this failure to offer either permanency or future advancement based upon meritorious service the quality of the employes was gradually deteriorating.

The bureau based its report on a careful and detailed study of the duties of all positions in the 150 units of government in the city. After the work in the field the duties of the positions were put in writing in certified form, with additional personal information regarding the age, length of service, etc., of the incumbents. The duties were then studied and classified with only a collateral relation to existing salaries and titles.

STANDARD SPECIFICATIONS FOR PERSONAL SERVICE

An exhaustive inquiry into the current rates of compensation for each of the different kinds of employment in the general industrial world not only in New York City but in other American and foreign citys was carried on. The result was the publication in book form of the Standard Specifications for Personal Service. These specifications have for two years been the basis for appraising the value of positions. A description can hardly be attempted here, but in the various grades of the one hundred and sixteen groups or kinds of service, there are more than seven hundred definite types of duties and ranges of compensation from a minimum rate for the beginner to a maximum reached after a stated period of satisfactory service.

When the bureau in 1915 made its report of the outstanding defects in the city service, its recommendation was that these defects be cured by taking advantage of vacancies currently occuring. It was argued that this method could be carried out without hardship to existing employes. Opinion in the board of estimate was divided regarding the course best to be followed. Mayor Mitchel and Comptroller Prendergast were for the outright program of dropping useless positions and fixing salaries at proper figures. Other members of the board were for a partial reduction of the salaries of overpaid employes, while still others were for the vacancy method proposed by the bureau. In the preparation of the city budget for 1916 what might be termed a modified form of the outright method was followed. Several hundred positions were dropped and adjustments in salary were made in about 3,000 positions. Two-thirds of these were increases for the underpaid and about one-third decreases for the overpaid. As subsequent events proved this action was politically a mistake as the criticism caused far outweighed the credit given.

Since January 1, 1916, the method originally recommended by the bureau has been in operation. Through the power given in the city charter the board of estimate in appropriating money for its annual budget may prescribe the terms and conditions under which the money is to be spent. It imposed as one of these conditions a provision that when vacancies occurred in the schedules of any department, they should be filled only when the necessity for filling them could be shown to the satisfaction of the board. When so filled it was to be done, if possible, by transfer from an unnecessary or overpaid position, but always at a proper rate of compensation under the specifications.

DEPARTMENTAL PAY-ROLLS

With this requirement in operation the obvious key to the situation became the departmental pay-rolls. The comptroller refused to pass any pay for newly appointed persons unless accompanied by a certificate from the board of estimate that it was necessary and at a proper rate. Requests to fill vacancies were referred for report to the bureau and careful examinations made. These examinations naturally led to consideration of improved methods under which results could be achieved without waste by fewer employes than formerly.

During the years 1915, 1916 and 1917, there was a very great increase in departmental activities especially in the health, social and correctional fields. There was a striking development of governmental control in the prevention of dependency, disease and criminality. Yet during this period by reason of the operation of the system put into operation through the bureau of personal service there was a net decrease in the cost of personal service, as employment is called, in those departments directly under the control of the board of estimate.

SALARY INCREASES

Because of the extraordinary industrial conditions created by the war it was decided in the Fall of 1917 that it would be necessary to provide increased compensation for the lower paid employes in the 1918 budget. In the entire employment of the city of about 90,000, more than 65,000 received increases. This figure included of course the police, fire and street cleaning forces as well as teachers and librarians. Of the 30,000 general employes slightly more than 18,000 received increases usually of a single rate increment from six to ten per cent of salary. This was done on proof of a year of satisfactory service within the limits of the rates prescribed for the services performed. The opposition board of aldermen endorsed the action.

When the new board of estimate abolished the bureau of personal service retaining the staff, it also adopted a resolution to continue the system which the bureau had put in operation. Vacancies are still being filled only when the board deems it necessary. The work of straightening out the city employment is in great part accomplished, but if the system is abandoned it will take but a short time to revert to its former condition. The great body of the lower paid employes have seen the way opened to regular advancement on merit. The chances are that they will have something to say before this is closed against them.

Since the system described has been in operation in New York, administrative men from all parts of the country have visited the bureau to study the procedure. At least four of the national government units in Washington are now trying to put it in operation with special adaptations to their special problems. The state governments of New York, Massachusetts and several Western states are trying to follow New York City's example. The work of the bureau of personal service has been called an experiment. Politically there is truth in the characterization. As a piece of governmental machinery, a method of achieving a definite result, the system is a demonstrated success. If the result is not desired the system should not be adopted.[1]

AKRON'S TWO WAYS OF DRAFTING A CHARTER

BY GEORGE P. ATWATER, D.D.[2]
Akron, Ohio

I AM very glad to give you my impressions of the charter commission of the City of Akron. You will realize that the charter is not yet completed and that I cannot, therefore, comment upon results. Having served upon the previous charter commission I find that the contrast between the *work* of the two commissions is worthy of notice.

The first commission of 1913 began its work by a consideration of the types of charter. Almost from the beginning proposals were offered which involved a vote. The members were, therefore, put on record as for or against certain definite proposals which in the nature of the case were tentative and partial. The newspapers immediately jumped to conclusions with reference to the opinions or convictions of the members and we had had but a few sessions before the members were all tabulated and a forecast made of the type of charter that would ultimately be drawn. This was most deplorable, as many of the members thought that the duty of the commission was to study and grow in knowledge concerning the question of city government. I feel confident that many of them would have changed their earlier opinions if they had not been held to the line so rigorously by public advertisement. As a result, the fight against the charter began before it was completed.

The present commission began in a totally different fashion. Inasmuch as many cities will from time to time have charter commissions I think that our method would possibly be of value not only as it proved itself out in this instance, but it seems appealing in the first instance to those who have the duty of drawing up a charter. I have heard that other cities had great difficulty in making a start.

A SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

The principle of our method was this: Before determining upon a general type of charter we made a study of all three types, which were presented by committees appointed by the chair and whose duty it was to gather the information and to present the arguments for and against each type, but without making any recommendations. Then committees were appointed which included the entire membership of the commission to study the various phases of city government and especially to study Akron. These committees made written reports. In this way the entire commission became a school in both theoretical city government and in practical government with reference to our own city. No votes were taken and no member became committed to any type of government or feature of government which he presented. The discussions which followed any presentation brought out opinions and information, but inasmuch as it was not necessary to influence a ballot there was no keen advocacy of any principle; only an intelligent presentation of it.

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[1] Since the above was written the board of estimate and apportionment has discontinued the essential practice of requiring reports on the need for filling vacant positions. G. L. T.

[2] Rector of the Church of Our Saviour, Akron, Ohio.

When it was thought advisable to secure a notion as to the prevailing opinion in the commission upon some clear cut issue, such as whether members in a council should be determined by elections by wards or at large, the commission went into session as a committee of the whole and the members wrote their opinion upon a slip of paper without signature. These opinions were gathered and read by the secretary. In this way the general opinion of the commission as formulated up to that time was made known. This made progress toward our ultimate goal easier as it did not leave the commission in the dark as to the prevailing opinion. At the same time it did not commit any single member as a strict ballot would, to retain this opinion to the end, but permitted him without embarrassment to be influenced by further information and to change his mind. One of the most interesting features of the method in this respect was the fact that representatives of labor who were present and came committed to present representation on a council by wards, went away after a discussion convinced that representation at large was the most satisfactory method for electing a council.

After this long study the commission as a committee of the whole received and discussed a plan proposed by one of the members. The plan might properly be called the council manager plan. It proposed the election of a mayor and a council of from seven to eleven members, all elected at large, who should hire, appoint and employ an administrator or manager who in turn should appoint the heads of all the various departments. This is as far as we have reached, but we are rapidly approaching a conclusion. I believe that this general form will ultimately receive the votes of at least thirteen and perhaps fourteen out of the fifteen members.

CITY GOVERNMENT'S TWO PHASES

I believe that our commission has been influenced by certain ideas which were presented early in its sessions to this effect: City government has two phases; one which deals with the proper administration of its business affairs, and one which acknowledges direct responsibility for the welfare and happiness of the people of the community. In the past there has been enormous emphasis made upon the business side of city government. It has been called a strictly business affair best administered by a man of business. It was clearly brought out that city government differs from business in this respect: that a business must produce as well as sell its products; that its income and production are dependent upon many conditions which might influence the country at large; upon the state of demand; upon the conditions of labor; that business is in competition with other business of similar nature and that therefore it must exercise every possible economy, every efficiency of management, in order to be successful. A business man of high calibre entering upon the administration of the affairs of a city would find his problem quite simple. He would have a fixed income produced for him by taxation and not secured by the uncertain fortunes of selling a product. Again he would have no competition. These considerations modify the usual business methods to such an extent that many a man unequal to the task of conducting all the departments of a great modern business would be quite equal to the careful, wise and efficient management of city business. But in addition to that, the city is a great community of living persons.

City government heretofore has been so greatly concerned with protecting the material interests of the city that it has been almost forgotten that its chief responsibility lies in protecting the human interests of the city. A policeman has been considered an agency for the protection of property against humans rather than the protection of humans against the evils which grow up in a large community. We are getting a broader outlook, and a city administration should have as its first consideration the health, welfare, the uplift, and the happiness of its citizens. Consequently provisions should be made in a city government for these primary interests, and the secondary interests of a purely business administration might be properly left to one competent to undertake it. These considerations should influence every charter commission and the department of public safety, the department of public health, and the department of social service should be given the greatest support and the widest possible scope for action. While in no way condoning extravagance in the business administration, it is the far lesser evil that a few thousand dollars should be unwisely spent than that the lives of a few citizens should be jeopardized by improper inspection of sanitation, housing conditions or garbage disposal.[3]

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[3] The Akron commission has been unusually careful and conscientious in the prosecution of its work, and has established a number of interesting precedents and methods of procedure, of which the one described by Dr. Atwater is perhaps the most important. See also Mr. Baker's article, entitled "The Organization of a Municipal Health Department," Vol. vii, p. 281.

THE CITY'S LOSS—MAJOR MITCHEL'S CAREER AS A LESSON IN MUNICIPAL POLITICS[1]

BY ROBERT S. BINKERD

New York City

On the afternoon of July 10th I went up to the City Hall to pay my respects to the memory of John Purroy Mitchel. I saw thousands of my fellow-citizens gathered there who, with instinctive and deserved reverence, bared their heads as his body went by. I saw their eyes glisten, their faces light up with a reflection of the glory and wonder and tragedy of human life.

Yet how many of these were of the same people who, less than a year ago, resented his attempts to prepare them for war! How many were of the people who believed the lie that this dead and gallant soldier sought to make slaves of their children in the public schools! How many were of those who visited this man with political annihilation because he fought his own Church for enlightened treatment of orphans, or who believed scandalous innuendo about his motive in treating with a great railroad corporation!

And yet there he passed, gallant to the last, dying, as he had lived, a poor man—a silent and noble answer to all his calumniators.

And, dear friend of mine though he was, I shed no tears for him then. We are the ones to be grieved for. We are the ones for whom life is too great. Thrown by chance as citizens of a great city into the most momentous years of human history, we could bring forth only narrow, contemptible little ideas and suspicions.

We resented conscription then. We have forgotten our opposition now, because we see, as he saw before us, that it is the fair and democratic method of raising great armies.

We allowed ourselves to be duped about the schools. But they go on substantially as before, and the promised crop of child slaves is yet to appear.

We raged against the garbage plant. But most of us have forgotten about it now, for it is a main reliance for glycerine for the war, and the national government is trying to get other cities to follow our example.

We said he surrendered to the bankers on the $100,000,000 loan. But we have forgotten about it now, because the city's credit went unscathed through the opening of the war, and the "pay-as-you-go" policy has been written into law.

We said that he conceded too much to the New York Central railroad.

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[1] From the *New York Times*.

But we have forgotten about it now, and when we have difficulty in shipping adequate supplies for our troops and shiver on "coalless" Mondays we demand to know why our all-rail facilities are so inadequate.

Oh, the waste, the futility of human effort caused by our petty passions and prejudices and politics! If only a breath of clean air had swept through our minds last Fall! Then had we conspired to keep this extraordinary administrator at his right appointed job! But he was too big for us. He cared too little about our petty ideas and prejudices. He saw the enduring things to do, and he did them. And his only reward is that even without him they continue to endure.

But he does not grieve, he does not complain; no, he even need not care. But we, fellow-citizens of New York, let us grieve, let us complain bitterly of ourselves! Let us at least learn a little less presumption, a little more generosity toward those who in high places and in troublous times carry with brave and gallant spirit the great burdens of our public affairs!

EDITORIAL[1]

JOHN PURROY MITCHEL

The tragic death of John Purroy Mitchel, on the morning of July 6, shocked a nation into deep regret that one of its youngest and most gifted political personalities had at so early a date and so far from the actual front of battle, paid the last full price of devotion to his country's weal. To those who knew from personal touch the operations of his mind and heart during the fateful years since the opening of the world war, and especially since our entrance as an active participant, Major Mitchel's untimely ending brought not only poignant sorrow but something of bitterness. To those who knew him merely as a public official or solely by the quality of his works, it could not have brought less than a keen realization of the loss to the country of a superb fighting spirit. To all who knew even *of* him, it must have brought hush; to some, it should have brought penitence.

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[1] *The Survey* publishes a symposium of opinions concerning the social work of Major Mitchel as mayor of New York. In introducing it Lawson Purdy, president of the National Municipal League and former president of the board of tax commissioners of New York City, said: "It was the unanimous opinion that, while most persons might regard his best work as an increase in the efficiency of government, that achievement was only auxiliary to a broad program of social welfare. Because of this opinion it was thought that brief articles prepared by those commissioners who had most to do with the social welfare side of the administration would be interesting and might present a record that would be both instructive and stimulating."

Those contributing to the symposium include Katharine Bement Davis, Henry Bruere, Burdette G. Lewis, Henry C. Wright, John J. Murphy, S. S. Goldwater and William G. Willcox.

Death is by no means the worst thing in life. It is sometimes the best thing—the crown of ultimate and supreme fulfillment. Save as an event which, at a critical hour in the history of the nation, put the life and example of this man forward as a luminous inspiration to the young manhood of America—and this was far from being a negligible service—it is difficult to view the death of John Mitchel as anything but a calamity without mitigation. That he would have distinguished himself as a soldier nobody who knew him doubts. That he would, by his intelligence, his bravery, his conspicuous capacity for leadership, have contributed in some very substantial way to the victory of our arms is more than highly probable. Had he done this, and had he fallen in the active field of service, the fulfillment of his life in death would have seemed more nearly fitting and complete. But Major Mitchel's career and service as a soldier were before him when he laid down his life. Except for his service as an apostle of preparedness in a wilderness of hesitation, and except for the inspiration of his thwarted purpose to fight, his fame must rest upon his civic achievements.

Surely here is laurel enough for his thirty-nine full years. The offices which he filled in rapid succession during his career of public service in the city of New York, are well known—special assistant corporation counsel, commissioner of accounts, president of the board of aldermen, collector of the port, mayor. It were impossible here to recount even briefly the distinguished character of his services in these several capacities or to recapitulate in any adequate fashion the more important achievements of his administration as mayor. It seems futile, likewise, to attempt to describe his accomplishments or to characterize his personal and official qualities in terms of generality. Suffice it to say, that among all the phrases of appreciation and laudation that his untimely death has called forth, there have been few if any that were not true in a very literal sense. Intellectual capacity, probity, fearlessness, energy, fair-mindedness, passionate hatred of expediency—these and other admirable attributes of mind and of method have been extolled; and they were his. And this is not to say that Major Mitchel was not an intensely human being.

If the nation was shocked into deep regret over the death of Major

Mitchel, it is to be hoped that the people of the city of New York were shocked into profound reflection over the death of ex-Mayor Mitchel. Eight months before he died, these people overwhelmingly defeated him, a reluctant candidate, for re-election to the office of mayor. Why? Because he bothered more about being mayor, more about doing a thoroughgoing and clean job in that difficult office, than about making himself solid with party organizations, or building a political machine of his own, or doing the thing that would catch the popular fancy; and because in doing this job as it should have been done and as no one else had ever done it, he trod upon the toes of group after group whose class or factional interests stood in the way of the interests of the general public. Every such offended class or faction opposed his re-election openly or secretly; and collectively they were more than sufficiently numerous, each with its particular complaint and with no solidarity whatever among their several groups, to defeat him at the polls. Aside from the pacifist and pro-German support of Hilquitt, the contest was fought not between Mitchel and Hylan but between Mitchel and anybody else; this anybody else chanced to be Hylan. The voters thus factionalized against him were unwilling to lose sight of their personal and often petty grievances before the large merits of his truly remarkable administration.

Democracy is conspicuously on trial the world over. It will remain on trial for many years after it has won the war. It must be made square with its assumptions and competent to its gigantic task. The democracy of New York proved its immediate incompetence by its failure to re-elect Mayor Mitchel. This is the significant, the heart-searching lesson that the death of this defeated representative of the democracy of to-morrow should burn into the hearts of every one of us who loves his country and has faith in her destiny.

Howard Lee McBain.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

City Manager Plan of Government. Edited by Edward Charles Mabie. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. Debaters' Handbook Series. Pp. 245. $1.25.

Mr. Mabie's book is typical of the "Debaters' Handbook Series" and possesses the usual merits and defects which the compilation of such works present. The city manager plan is a somewhat more difficult subject than many of the others in the series owing to the lack of authoritative written material upon it.

Mr. Mabie has gathered a great deal of interesting matter, some of which, however, it must be admitted is of a rather ephemeral character. It is unfortunate that the preparation and the publication of the book were so far separated. Although published in May 1918 it contains scarcely any information of a later date than the first half of 1917. In other words, at the present writing it is already a year out of date, and in a subject with regard to which evidence is being so rapidly accumulated a year's time makes a great deal of difference.

It would appear from the nature of the material gathered and from other internal evidence that Mr. Mabie is strongly in favor of the city manager form of government. Nowhere is this shown more plainly than in the brief at the beginning of the book. The affirmative brief is very carefully worked out and presents admirably the main points of advantage in the city manager form of government. The negative brief, on the other hand, is exceedingly weak. Believing as I do in the city manager form of government I cannot agree that the case against it is as poor as Mr. Mabie's brief would indicate. The lack of negative references in the bibliography explains perhaps the difficulty of developing a case against the city manager form of government.

The material included has, I think, in general been wisely selected. The charter of Springfield, Ohio, which is set forth in full is perhaps as fair an example of its class as could be found. Several of the articles quoted are of high merit. They are, however, mostly general discussions of the subject. There is a dearth of actual information concerning the working of the city manager form of government. This cannot be ascribed to any fault of Mr. Mabie's, but simply to the absence of available material. The reports of city managers included are pertinent and valuable as far as they go.

The most interesting matter contained in the book from the point of view of general students of municipal government are the cautious opinions of William Dudley Foulke and Howard L. McBain, and I cannot refrain from discussing their opinions in the light of actual experience with the city manager form of government. Mr. Foulke at the Toronto meeting of the League (Mabie, p. 210) spoke in part as follows:

"I think we know exactly how Doc Zimmerman would act if the city manager plan were now put on in the city of Richmond. He would lay his plans for the place before the election—the place, not of mayor, but of city manager, and he would have his slate of five commissioners who would go in and vote for him, and he would get men who were personally popular and knew how to pull the ropes. His skill as a politician is much better than that of the men who would oppose him. He would have his five men who would vote for him, and the issue before election would be, Are we to have Doc Zimmerman for a manager or not?"

This argument has been one of the most potent in the hands of the opposition to the city manager form of government. Experience has refuted it. For some reason or other—it may be a new birth of civic patriotism or it may be the pitiless publicity which the new system lets in upon the city government—city councils have not chosen former bosses as managers. As a matter of fact, it would be a great deal better to have the boss as an open and acknowledged and legally responsible manager than to have him operating as a concealed and corrupting force behind the scenes of ostensible government. There is not, however, a city council in this country which would dare to name a notorious boss as manager.

Professor McBain in an article quoted by Mabie from the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW dwells at some length upon the probability of the council dominating the manager and dictating to him the detailed administration of his office. "The truth of the matter is," says McBain, "that you cannot write into law a precise division between two authorities where the tenure of one is absolutely at the mercy of the other." Here again experience has absolutely belied prophecy. The relation between the manager and the council is a normal and well understood relation. It is that of the manager of the private corporation to his board of directors, of the superintendent of schools to the board of education, of the president of the state university to his board of regents. Its translation into the field of municipal government does not alter its character. While it would be impossible to say that there have been no examples of council dictation, councils in general have readily fallen into the habits of most boards of directors and allowed the manager a wide latitude of action. The public have proved themselves prone to look straight, over the council, to the manager and the real tendency is toward manager government rather than council government. Just as the executive head in national and state affairs has tended to gather in his hands more and more exclusive control so the manager tends to outweigh at least in popular estimation the importance of the council.

The city manager form of government cannot be said then, as Professor McBain would have it, to be a "return to the system of councilmanic control." It is a new and vital principle of organization taken over from other fields into that of municipal government.

THOMAS H. REED.

San José, California.

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SELECTED ARTICLES ON MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP. Compiled by Julia E. Johnsen. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. Debaters' Handbook Series. Pp. 334. $1.50. Third edition. Revised and enlarged.

The outstanding result of the war on this side of the Atlantic is the sudden acquisition by the national Government of various interstate utilities. This little anticipated move has but added to the rapidly growing interest in, and demand for, the municipal ownership and operation of local public utilities. As pointed out by Dr. Wilcox in a previous issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, the state utilities commissions may have proved excellent training schools for corporation attorneys but their rulings, with certain notable exceptions, have not always redounded to the benefit of the municipalities affected.

In view of this interest, the publication of the present handbook is timely. While the compiler has retained a large part of the material which appeared in earlier editions, she has added many new articles and has enlarged the brief and bibliography so as virtually to make of it a new book. The book opens with the brief which furnishes an excellent analysis of the question, with arguments pro and con. A bibliography of more than 260 titles follows, arranged in affirmative and negative groups. We find no reference in the lists to the Census Bureau's report on central electric light and power stations and street and electric railways (1912), to Mr. J. Francisco's "Municipal Ownership," 4th edition, Rutland, Vt. (1895), to Library of Congress' select list of references on municipal ownership and operation of street railways, nor to articles which have appeared in *Municipal*

Journal. As in the bibliography so in the text there is a preponderance of articles dealing with the affirmative side of the question. There are occasional typographical errors, as on page ix, where "sought" is substituted for "solved" in the title of Mr. Brandeis' article, and on page xxvi, where the name of Mr. Thompson's association, the Public Ownership League of America, should be separated by punctuation from the title of his report "Municipal Electric Light and Power Plants in the United States and Canada."

The compiler's short introduction might well have been extended to greater length and it would have been well to point out the scarcity of statistics regarding municipally owned public utilities and the urgent need for the collection and collation of such data. Recent studies have shown that many of the alleged "failures" of municipal ownership were illusory—as evidenced by the enthusiastic writer who thus classified certain municipal gas plants which had exhausted the natural supply. Facts of this kind are of value to the debater.

All things considered, Miss Johnsen's handbook is a real contribution to a much-abused subject.

DORSEY W. HYDE, JR.
New York City.

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A COMMUNITY CENTER—WHAT IT IS AND HOW TO ORGANIZE IT. By Henry E. Jackson. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1918. Published also, in part, as a bulletin of The United States Bureau of Education.

This book proves that the community center movement has at last grown familiar to the general mind. It is a popular book and its language is wholly non-technical. It is the kind of book which an author writes about a subject whose existence, and a knowledge about which in the reader's mind, he can take for granted. The value and the shortcomings of Mr. Jackson's book grow out of this very quality of popular-ness.

For while it is true that the community center has become a familiar thing to perhaps hundreds of thousands of people, there are millions more who know nothing about it as yet. Here, in this book, the community center talks about itself as one can imagine a city street talking about itself. There is none who debate the existence, the necessity, of the street. Most of those who traverse it worry themselves but little about the problems of engineering, about the network of buried pipes and conduits, about the city-plan of which the street is a part. The millions who do not know about community centers will, if they read Mr. Jackson's book, feel vaguely that they are in the position of a man who does not know about the existence of streets. It is good propaganda to assume that *of course* any intelligent man knows that the object of propaganda exists and that it is important. A book like Mr. Jackson's will strengthen the confidence of community center members in their movement, and wherever it circulates it will create a sentiment that community centers are now accomplished facts about whose urgency it is needless to talk any longer.

The shortcomings of Mr. Jackson's book lie precisely in this, its popular value. Community centers are yet in their experimental stage. In the main, they are like streets not built, or streets which have been built without reference to the larger social plan, or streets which need to be torn up again in order to introduce conduits or superimpose rapid-transit lines. In other words, community centers are an engineering problem and there is great need for a treatise which will space the problem with a full recognition of its difficulty, which will bring together the existing experience, and which will develop out of the problem as stated and the experience as described, one or more prescriptions for the community center of the future. Mr. Jackson's book does not meet this need.

For example, Part I of the book contains a somewhat detailed recommendation for the establishment of community banks and co-operative exchanges but has nothing to say about community health work, night schools, community branches of the public employment bureau, the organization of competitive recreation. The community bank and co-operative exchange are highly important but as yet speculative topics, in so far as they are treated from the standpoint of community center work, whereas this second group of activities, omitted from this book, is a set of opportunities confronting every community center and most community centers do something about one or more of them.

The book likewise fails to illuminate, by applying it to community center enterprise, President Wilson's eloquent letter addressed to the state councils of defense, incorporated in the book, endorsing the establishment of community councils of national defense. The community council of defense is not a community center, although the community center should be a part of the community council. Community councils are being established all over the country. Community centers exist in many parts of the country. How can these two movements or types of organization be brought together, articulated? The question is not answered here, so that President Wilson's letter is left with no more than an implicit relation to the substance of the book itself.

Yet the perusal of the book as a whole leaves the reader encouraged—nay, more, aroused, and more than hospitable toward the community center. It is a distinct addition to the growing literature of the community movement.

JOHN COLLIER.

New York.

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CO-OPERATION, THE HOPE OF THE CONSUMER. By Emerson P. Harris, assisted by Edgar Swan Wiers and Florence Harris. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1918. 328 p. $2.

"To the toilers of America, many of whom know undeserved want through the reduction of the purchasing power of their hard-earned dollars by our wicked and wasteful mercantile distributive system, this book is dedicated." Co-operation is a social philosophy, even a religion. When once the idea grips the mind and heart of a man of intelligence and generous instincts he must start a co-operative store or write a book. Mr. Harris has done both, for it may be inferred that, as president of the Montclair (N. J.) co-operative society, he was a prime mover in its organization.

The reviewer would not imply that this volume is the product of mere enthusiasm. The author brings to his task exceptional qualifications not only of conviction and enthusiasm, but of actual experience with co-operative store management and many years behind the scenes of the existing system as a publisher of advertising periodicals and editor and author on advertising and selling. To this should be added his evident familiarity with the literature of retailing and the history and present status of consumer's co-operation in other countries.

A more convincing indictment of the present system of transferring goods from the producer to the consumer would be hard to find. The aggressive selling methods of competitive advertising and salesmanship cost the consumer billions of dollars without giving him information needed for making a wise choice. To the economic evils are also to be added grievous moral and social sins.

The Rochdale plan of co-operative buying furnishes the key to "pecuniary relief, easier access to the good things of life." "The ideal arrangement for a town, as I see it," says Mr. Harris, "would be the organization of a strong and efficient co-operative society to conduct food distribution with all figures audited and made public by the municipality."

The answer to this formidable array of facts and convincing arguments is furnished, perhaps unintentionally, by one sentence in the introduction contributed by John Graham Brooks. "The form of co-operation for which Mr. Harris pleads," says Mr. Brooks, "has never appealed with any real force to the American business sense; its savings seemed too insignificant, its range too narrow and its management too insecure." There is little reason to suppose that even the

Great War will make the consumer's problems so acute as to force him to take an interest in co-operation. "Awakening the Consumer" is the title of one of the shortest chapters in the book, and certain it is that nothing but an awakened consumer will ever make co-operation practicable in the United States.

C. C. WILLIAMSON.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

THE ABOLITION OF INHERITANCE. By Harlan Eugene Read. New York: The Macmillan Company. pp. 312. $1.50.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND ASIATIC CITIZENSHIP. By Sidney L. Gulick, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. pp. 257. $1.75.

DEPARTMENTAL CO-OPERATION IN STATE GOVERNMENT. By Albert R. Ellingwood, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION. REPORT FOR THE SCHOOL YEAR ENDING July 31, 1915. By Thomas E. Finegan, Deputy Commissioner of Education, New York State. Albany: University of the State of New York. 1918.

HEALTH AND THE STATE. By William A. Brend. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. pp. 354. $4.00.

LEGISLATIVE REGULATION OF RAILWAY FINANCE IN ENGLAND. Parts I and II. By Ching Chun Wang. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences. Price, 75 cents each.

MUNICIPAL HOUSECLEANING. By William Parr Capes and Jeanne R. Carpenter. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. $6.

FIRE WASTE IN CANADA. By J. Grove Smith: Ottawa, Canada: Commission of Conservation. pp. 319. 50 cents.

OUR COMMUNITY: GOOD CITIZENSHIP IN TOWNS AND CITIES. By Samuel H. Ziegler and Helen Jaquette. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company. pp. 240.

OUR NEIGHBORHOOD: GOOD CITIZENSHIP IN RURAL COMMUNITIES. By John F. Smith. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company. pp. 262.

SOCIAL INSURANCE IN THE UNITED STATES. By Gurdon Ransom Miller. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. pp. 136. 60 cents.

THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY. By Lyman P. Powell and Gertrude W. Powell. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company.

THE STANDARD BEARERS. By Katherine Mayo. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. pp. 324. $1.50.

WELFARE AND HOUSING. A PRACTICAL RECORD OF WAR TIME MANAGEMENT. By J. E. Hutton. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. $1.50.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

City Managers' Year Book.[1]—The printed proceedings of the City Managers' Association are here again,—the fourth since a dozen city managers got together in Springfield, Ohio, in 1914, to talk about themselves and their jobs. One reads these proceedings,—which now bear the more dignified title of year book,—not for typography or for the pictures of a score of city managers; but for facts which indicate the progress of municipal governments since 1913 when city managing became a fact.

Here are some of the "high spots" of the report:

1. Running a city by city managers has become an accepted fact in American municipal government. Over one hundred communities, big and little, have managers, and half of these managers are members of the city managers' association.

2. City managers are realizing that their job is rapidly becoming a profession. Advancement as a profession depends upon co-operation, not only between managers but with organizations which are trying to make city government effective.

3. City managers are giving up the idea that they are the best judges of their own jobs, and are inviting outside critics to point out their cardinal virtues, and, also to indicate conditions which are neither cardinal nor virtuous.

4. While the engineers are still preferred as managers by small communities, the larger cities are getting away from the belief that every manager must be an

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[1] Fourth Year Book of the City Managers' Association, 1917–1918. Price, $.15. H. G. Otis, Secretary, Auburn, Maine.

engineer. The fact is being accepted that this job requires a capable and trained executive rather than the representative of any distinct profession.

5. Even the brief report of the managers concerning the results in their cities indicate that unprecedented results have been accomplished.

However, there are some shortcomings in the association which are emphasized by the reading of the booklet. City managers have apparently been too busy to realize that this plan of government must grow from year to year, and adapt itself to bigger cities and different conditions if it is to be a real success. In the past four years not a material improvement has been made in the city-manager plan laid down in the Dayton charter, and many of the errors of the Dayton charter have been copied in other charters. The managers have gotten together and talked about some of these errors, but have never done anything about them.

From the floor of the convention they have raised such pertinent questions as how the corporation counsel or the city controller should be appointed. Sometimes on the floor, but more commonly in the ante-room or foyers they have discussed accounting and financial problems, records and reports. But few of these questions and little of the discussions have found their way into the year book. The managers have been too busy telling what they have done in their cities or rehearsing unimportant troubles which they have had.

One committee which had to do with the overwhelming job of the standardization of records reported "progress" at the last meeting.

An outsider who has been looking at the city manager job since it started would like to venture a suggestion or two. Suppose the managers next year take up some of the real problems which are bothering them, as well as a lot of others. For example:

1. What changes in the Model City Charter of the National Municipal League have four years of city managers' experience dictated?

2. What charter changes would secure the principles of the city manager plan for the bigger city without committing its sled length to the term city manager,—which most of our larger communities dislike?

3. What are the qualifications which go to make up a good manager? And with these qualifications in hand how should a city start out to hunt a manager so as to eliminate the present bungling and chance selections?

4. What are some of the common accounting problems which are met in every small city, and how much could the city managers' association help by laying down some simple fundamental principles?

5. How far would a knowledge of the cost of service help city managers in little towns and big cities, and what can the city managers do to get these costs?

6. What has experience shown to be the best methods of keeping the public in touch with city governments? And can these methods be formulated into a definite program which any city manager can follow whether he has a "news instinct" or not?

These are just a few of the things in which it is possible that the city managers might help others as well as themselves. It is fully realized that at every convention the delegates want to tell what they have done in the past year; also by long established custom they want to hear some other fellows tell what they would have done. But after all this there is some time left for sawing wood. A convention lasts three days and the city manager job lasts twelve months in every year. From one point of view a small part of this time would be well spent in hunting up the solution of some real questions. If the city managers don't do these things the National Municipal League or the Governmental Research Association will come along and do it for them,—which would be most discourteous.

Lent D. Upson.

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Citizens' Business.[1]—Some one has said of the municipal research movement[2] that it is an effort to build a brick house without mortar. Substantial materials are available, but the elements that give the movement distinction are lacking. There are those who suggest that the materials have not been used with sufficient skill or with the exceptional skill required. Doubtless this is a factor, but it is not the only explanation of the fact that the bureau movement has not become "popular." I prefer to attribute this condition of affairs to the fact that the movement has to do with subjects that are frightfully uninteresting to the layman; accounts, purchasing methods, cost records, statistics of all sorts. It is not of these that the issues of life are made. The average American can be stirred only by moral questions. The school system, the fairness of wages, vice, graft—all of which have direct ethical implications—are fair subjects of controversy. They are the popular material for a political discussion. But make a party program out of the objects of attention of the average bureau and see how much popular interest can be stirred up! It will create as much interest as the usual college skeleton and will be treated with about as much reverence. Consciously or unconsciously bureau men have recognized this fact; witness their efforts at "publicity." To be sure not all bureau productions are as dry as dust even though they treat of nonpopular subjects. Bureau men write and speak in a human vein and are admirably human themselves. Both in personnel and in results the movement has almost fifty seven varieties. It varies too from time to time within each bureau;—in Philadelphia and elsewhere, as well as in New York.

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[1] With special reference to the publications of the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research.

[2] See National Municipal Review, vol. v, pp. 278, 652, 654.

Hence it is hard to generalize concerning "Citizens' Business." More than one bureau man has admitted that these little "salt and pepper" bulletins have been used as a means of interesting contributors to the treasury. At least one bureau is very loath to send copies of its bulletin to persons from whom financial assistance cannot be expected. That an appeal for funds is not made directly in the bulletin means nothing. Flank movements on private sources of financial assistance are usually the most effective. The tactics of some bureaus are such as to make it quite evident that their bulletins are designed to appeal to the prospective contributor patron as well as the captured patron. This is a legitimate method. One gets a good impression, however, when the Philadelphia brand comes out squarely in an appeal for funds from time to time. Moreover the Philadelphia bulletin has several hundred subscribers who are not contributors to the support of the bureau.

"Citizens' Business" is not of itself an effective means of publicity. In no city is its circulation wide enough to have much effect on the public mind. The underlying assumption on which the preparation of most bulletins depends is that the average "tired" business man is also too busy to read an extended article on public questions. His attention must be secured by means of brief and pointed statements of the case. Hence all of the arts of commercial advertising are used. Without doubt, as a means of reaching this class of readers, (which is usually the class that contributes) "Citizens' Business" is effective, provided the editorial work is well done.

Perhaps, too, these bulletins have the effect of securing newspaper publicity which would not be provided otherwise. The bulletin makes "news." The claim that this sort of pamphlet is written not so much for the limited number who actually receive them as for the wider public which will read them through newspaper summaries has much weight. Unfortunately, however, when published in the newspapers the statement usually loses a good deal of its effectiveness by reason of the omission of the advertising display features designed for the busy business man. An interview "hung" on a prominent citizen would be more in keeping with newspaper methods and more effective.

All sides of the question considered, I believe the publicity value of bulletins known in most cities as "citizens' business" has been grossly exaggerated and in some cities it is doubtful whether their purpose had or has anything to do with *bona fide* publicity.

The quality and character of the Philadelphia issue have varied a great deal from year to year and from week to week. The subject matter varies from "what is a bureau" to "Athletics 6—Giants 4" (apropos of municipal statistics); from "milk for babies" (with illustrations) to "municipal accounting." The attitude toward the personnel of Philadelphia's city government has varied too; there is very little of the vindictive in recent years; the eyes are on the ultimate goal of human needs. They have a distinctly social tinge too; they are visionary in the acceptable sense. There is a distinct flavor of intellectual honesty and fearlessness about *Citizens' Business* in that city.

When the Philadelphia bureau sent out hundreds of bills some weeks ago to readers who had been receiving *Citizens' Business* for a year through a mass subscription, it received a few cards saying that the bulletin was worthless, but a great many more readers were cordially appreciative and a considerable proportion of the group subscribed for the current year. The Philadelphia bureau has an honorable and growing place not only in Philadelphia but also among civic workers generally. No one will question the statement that the bulletin has had something to do with this condition of affairs.

To the mind of the writer there does not seem to be any clear-cut policy or understanding concerning the nature and purpose of this type of publication. Some bureaus do not use the form at all. Usually those bureaus which need funds least either do not use this method of publicity at all or use it least. In other cities it has the characteristics of an inheritance from the past with which the present director scarcely knows what to do. The Philadelphia issue has still a little of this flavor. The whole situation calls for a complete sifting to the end that every element of the problem may be brought out in relief and a clear-cut policy made available for adoption. As it is, the hopeless mixture of purposes involved in the contents of the average edition of *Citizens' Business* creates a somewhat nondescript result. However, by clearly stating its appeal for funds when necessary and by fearlessly discussing public questions with obvious intellectual honesty, the Philadelphia bureau has helped to clear the air.

W. J. Donald.

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The New Traction Problem.[1]—Anyone who picks up Mr. Shonts's pamphlet with the expectation of getting really new ideas about transit matters in it is likely to be greatly disappointed. The treatise is mainly a defense of the Interborough company and its methods of handling traffic in New York City. There are figures and statistics given to show how great the transportation problem of New York is, and how difficult the situation is to handle. But there is nothing really new in the facts given and no indications of any policy on the part of the Interborough company in meeting the growing congestion on the rapid transit lines in New York City.

Mr. Shonts's pamphlet appears to be a part of the publicity campaign which has been carried on for some time in New York City with the evident idea of convincing the public that the Interborough management is in no way responsible for the over-crowding of its cars, for the congestion in the subway, for accidents and interruptions in service. The real aim behind the campaign was not apparent at first, but now it would look as though Mr. Shonts's real purpose was to work up a public sentiment in favor of his company, which would support him in his recent agitation for six cent fares on the rapid transit lines. While the publicity work was very ably handled, and the Interborough company may have gained something in the good will of the public, by the lavish display of reading matter in the car windows, when it came to the suggestion of paying an extra cent as the price for reading all the posters, the public balked most decidedly, and the campaign for higher fares has remained at a standstill.

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[1] By Theodore P. Shonts, president of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company.

There is not much to be gained by criticising the Interborough company, as it is an institution which we must have with us in New York for a long time to come. But it is difficult for those who know the history of its management from its beginning not to take exception to a number of statements in the pamphlet if not to the whole document. Take the sentence on the very first page: "It is a portentous fact that no increase of transit facilities, no matter how great, has ever permanently relieved congestion." Instead of this it is a fact, altogether too well known, that the Interborough company has believed congestion such a profitable thing for its business that it has never made any real effort to reduce it materially or to avoid it in the future. When the New York subway was first opened, the company adopted a type of car which was already obsolete because of its slowness of loading and unloading; its small size and its extremely limited seating capacity. The dimensions of this first type of car have never been changed, and while one more door has been added and the size of all openings widened, the latest cars have even fewer seats than the first cars, and the comfort of cross seats has been entirely eliminated. And yet, by following the far-sighted example of European railways, the Interborough company could not only have furnished 100 seats in their cars in place of the present 44, and been giving practically a seat to every passenger throughout the day, but by so doing could have effected such an economy of operation as to make it pay to scrap all the obsolete car bodies and earn a handsome profit on new bodies as well as paying dividends on the old ones.

If the Interborough management only had a little more public spirit and a little less of the blind belief that nothing pays better than congestion and strap-hangers, Mr. Shonts would not have to be trying to convince the people to-day that overcrowding is unavoidable, and that the increase of the riding habit in New York City will always keep ahead of facilities that can be furnished.

A great deal is said about the magnitude of the dual subway system now approaching completion in New York. Without disparaging the planning and construction of that system in any way, a fundamental mistake was made in not increasing the capacity of the first subway to the limit instead of waiting years for the completion of new lines, undertaken at a fabulous cost and with street obstructions about which Mr. Shonts has been constantly complaining to the authorities. It was long ago found perfectly feasible from both engineering and operating standpoints to run fifteen or even twenty-car trains in the first New York subway. Twenty-car trains would have doubled the capacity of the subway and while their adoption in the rush hours would have required the lengthening of the stations and re-arrangement of signals, the cost of such changes would have been small compared with the cost of entirely new lines, while the doubling of capacity could have been obtained in a period of time short in comparison with that taken to build the dual system.

If the Interborough management had really honestly tried to relieve congestion in New York City, it might be furnishing in the present subway to-day at least five times as many seats per hour as are now furnished, by the relatively simple improvements of modern cars and longer trains. And if it were doing this, Mr. Shonts would have had something really worth writing about instead of trying vainly to prove that the problem of meeting congestion is an insoluble one.

The real "new traction problem" to-day is how to get companies like the Interborough to take a broader viewpoint, and to really try to give adequate service, instead of conducting publicity campaigns to prove why it cannot be done. The idea that it is impossible to furnish every passenger with a seat even in the New York subway, is one which never had any real basis of fact, as conclusively shown by European experience. And yet most American railway men, like Mr. Shonts, influenced by the belief that congestion pays, and failing to really try to relieve it, still go on claiming that sufficient seats are impossible, and still manage to convince the public that they are right. As long as the companies fail to see their shortsightedness, and as long as the public is content to put up with overcrowding, it seems hopeless to try to change existing conditions. As the new lines of the dual system are put into operation, it will be possible by reducing the train service to the minimum, to keep the trains of the new routes overcrowded from the day of opening and Mr. Shonts may be able to go on for some years contending that congestion can never be caught up with.

The chief hope for the improvement of transportation in our cities lies in the war. The way in which so many business men have undertaken to help the government, and the steady growth of patriotism, all lead to the possibility that the electric railway owners and managers may see the light of day and become imbued with a new spirit of service. And yet, the electric railway industry was never at a lower ebb than it is just now. All over the country, companies are taking advantage of the war to demand an unwarranted raise of fares, without making any pretense at trying to keep down the rising costs of operation by war time economies. Employees are even being encouraged to strike in order to force the public to consent to paying higher rates. Some companies are trying to use war prices as a basis for excessive valuations, in order to justify excessive capitalization and excessive rates of return. In almost every case the higher fares bring in no increased return and yet so selfish are the motives behind the movement for higher fares that the companies go on raising their rates just the same regardless of the results in other places.

Mr. Shonts himself is one of those who have been most active in the campaign for higher fares. But, fortunately for the people of New York City, the public service commission of the first district has not been stampeded by the insistent demands for higher fares, nor misled by the arguments of higher costs. Nor has it yielded to external pressure to do what was neither fair nor lawful, and, unlike the up-state New York commission, it took the firm stand from the outset that a municipal franchise is a contract, binding on both parties, and not to be overthrown at will by either a company or a public service commission. Upheld in this same position by the court of appeals in the Rochester fare case, the New York City commission deserves the praise of every believer in municipal home rule and its clean-cut recent decisions are a warning that no company within its jurisdiction can use the war as an excuse for excessive capitalization or unfair rates.[1]

John P. Fox.

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Civic Organizations and Chicago's Fiscal Problems.—Considerable reductions in revenues available for the corporate purposes of the city of Chicago, due to a falling off in miscellaneous revenues, notably those derived from liquor licenses, placed the Chicago city council in a position of extreme parsimony in making up its 1918 budget. The finance committee of the city council last November asked Governor Lowden to call a special session of the Illinois general assembly in order that the city's corporate tax rate might be substantially increased by law. The governor, foreseeing that either hasty legislation would be rushed through, or the money and energy of the state would be taken for a long legislative controversy, told the city fathers if they would go back and get the agreement of the civic bodies of Chicago and of a substantial majority of the Chicago delegation in the general assembly to a definite legislative program, he then would consider the request.

Governor Lowden's action has given to the civic bodies a position of responsibility and importance which it is hoped will prove of real value to the community. Thus far they have held the lid down against all efforts for purely makeshift measures and their opportunity to exert constructive influence at the next regular session of the general assembly would appear promising.

A joint committee composed of members of the council finance committee and of state senators and representatives from Chicago districts held several public hearings at which representatives of civic organizations were present. This committee then framed a program of proposed measures for enactment at a special session, which program, however, was rejected almost unanimously by the Chicago organizations, and never was taken up with Governor Lowden.

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[1] This article was written early in July.

Several of the leading organizations published valuable educational literature during the period of these negotiations. The most exhaustive treatment of the city's first request for financial assistance was published by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency under the title "Chicago's financial dilemma." It pointed out progressive impairment, to the point of exhaustion, of the city's working capital; criticized an absence of careful analysis on the part of the city of probable revenues, and suggested that the bureau would be glad to join in a request for emergency relief when the need therefor was stated in budgetary terms and accompanied by a constructive program of legislation looking toward a permanent improvement in Chicago's financial system.

The woman's city club in a communication, "Concerning the city's present financial situation and some available remedies," laid particular stress upon various economics and administrative reforms which had been proposed from time to time in official reports and otherwise, but never acted upon, and suggested that a more accurate statement of the financial situation probably would show the additional revenues needed for 1918 to be considerably less than the $5,000,000 requested by the joint committee. (The first request of the finance committee had shown a deficit of $7,500,000.)

The citizens' association in its *Bulletin No. 39* pointed out to its members that the association's refusal to give its endorsement at this time to the joint committee's appeal for a special session was not prompted by indifference to the city's real needs but was due to the failure of the joint committee to outline any definite policy of retrenchment or of seeking fundamental reforms. A bill to provide non-partisan elections for municipal officials was emphasized in this *Bulletin* as legislation which should accompany any tax increase.

The civic federation of Chicago in its monthly bulletins, "published for the information of taxpayers and citizens," has given considerable attention to the municipal situation. In *Bulletin No. 17*, the advantages which have followed Governor Lowden's reorganization of the Illinois state government upon a modern business basis were cited as a reason why the reorganization of the Chicago city government along the general line suggested in the council-manager plan of the Chicago bureau of public efficiency should be included in any special session call that might be issued. This *Bulletin* also showed discrepancies in the city's preliminary fiscal statement; showed how the operation of the Juul law would always embarrass the city's finances, and urged economics and the framing of a constructive program based on a careful survey of Chicago's needs. *Bulletin No. 18* criticised in detail the proposals of the joint committee.

The Chicago association of commerce, the Chicago real estate board and other prominent organizations, while publishing no literature on the subject, replied to the city that a more definite and a more satisfactory program would have to be submitted before they could join in asking for a special session to increase municipal taxes. The council finally passed its appropriation ordinance for 1918 strictly upon a basis of revenues actually in sight, making curtailments where necessary, except that salary increases were granted to all employees receiving $1,800 a year or less. This was made possible by certain citizens who had not taken part in the special session negotiations, and who agreed to advance the $1,757,000 necessary to meet this increase. They will be repaid in judgment vouchers bearing five per cent interest per annum until redeemed. The latest *Bulletin of the Civic Federation*

(No. 24) relates that requests for supplemental appropriations totalling more than $15,000,000, and including more than $8,000,000 of outstanding debts other than bonded indebtedness have been presented to the council finance committee, but have received only superficial consideration. Failure to take action until after July 1 (the last date for passing supplemental appropriation ordinances), this *Bulletin* points out, will merely defer the solution of a vexing problem and will relieve neither taxpayers nor city officials from serious troubles, which will be thrashed out before the general assembly next winter in all probability.

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"Story of the Detroit Police Department."[1]—The annual report of that department for the year ending June 30, 1917, is a volume "arranged as a classbook for Detroiters, young and old, in school and out. . . . " This report is of particular interest because it is compiled and published not merely as a matter of annual habit, but with the conscious purpose of making it usable.

To help attain the end in view, the superintendent of schools was induced to co-operate by having the report used as a supplementary text in civics. The book was attractively arranged, interesting photographs were judiciously used, and in every way was made easy to read.

In its aims and methods this volume is a recognition of an important function of municipal departments, which is usually neglected. It contains, however, considerable extraneous matter which defeats the purpose of an annual departmental statement. So far as general articles such as "European Police Systems," "Relative Problems of Health and Crime," "American Municipal Progress," fire prevention rules, Rudyard Kipling's poem, "If," "Story of the Animal Welfare Association of Detroit," and others of a similar nature are of interest, they interfere with the real object of an annual police department report, which should be to tell whether crime is on the increase or decrease, what the department did during the period in question, what progress was made as compared with previous periods, what problems confront it and what the program is for the subsequent year or years.

Like the reports of other police departments, big and little, no relationship is shown between complaints received and their disposition, although the disposition of arrests is recorded. Nor does this report, in common with police department reports generally, contain any information to indicate how the public can do its share in helping to reduce crime and to preserve law and order.

In the last analysis, if crime is to be reduced, a police department must get the co-operation of the community, through a comprehension of its aims, and sympathy with its policies. The police force itself is necessarily limited in the preventive work it can do unless every person in the community takes measures to make it more difficult to commit offenses or crimes. To accomplish this, it is essential for the department to communicate with the people through reports, annual or quarterly or both, newspaper articles, special feature stories, bulletins and any other means by which the people of a community can learn the facts about the problems of the department and what the public should do to help solve them. Detailed analyses of the cause of accidents, published not only in reports but spread throughout the city by newspapers and circulars posted in conspicuous places are attracting considerable attention.

To get facts to the people is a most difficult performance in any event, but it is almost impossible to do it through the medium of a limited number of copies of an annual report sent to a select mailing list. ARCH M. MANDEL.

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"Municipal Affairs" of Milwaukee, published by the voters' league of Milwaukee, was temporarily suspended with its July issue. The other activities of the league will be continued as usual because "good municipal government is as essential now as ever—if not more so. Careful records of officials will be kept, as usual, for the voters will want to know how their local officials attended to their duties, and how well they supported the national government when called upon, when their terms expire. There can be no relaxation in work such as this especially at a time when public attention is focused largely on national matters. 'War must not destroy civic efficiency.' "

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[1] Annual report of the police department, City of Detroit, for year ending June 30, 1917.

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The 1916-1918 Hand-Book of the Civics Department of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, prepared by Mrs. Bessie Leach Priddy, Chairman (502 Forest Ave., Ypsilanti, Mich., price 15 cents), deserves more than passing mention because it represents the high water mark of the civic activity of the most progressive women's organizations.

The Civics Department has been attempting to reply helpfully to an astonishingly large number of inquiries, not only from women's clubs but from a variety of organizations and individuals. The hand book is the result. Through it Mrs. Priddy hopes more easily to meet the appeals for information, to secure continuity of effort on the part of civic chairmen, and to provide a basis for cumulative work in the future.

The nine sections of the pamphlet cover such topics as " The city political," "The city sanitary," " The city beautiful," " The city social," " Education for citizenship," and "Americanization." In each section a brief introduction is followed by suggestions for programs and other activities of clubs. The bibliographical notes and suggestions for civic workers should be especially helpful to those for whom they are designed.

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Civic News in Tabloid Form.[1]—Among all the current civic publications there are few that are shorter or easier to read than "Women and the City's Work," the weekly bulletin of the woman's municipal league of New York. It is a little four-page leaflet which fits easily into an ordinary envelope and which seldom runs over one thousand or fifteen hundred words. But a remarkable amount of civic truth can be told in that space and because of its brevity the bulletin is probably more widely read than most civic leaflets. One leading fact of civic or social significance a week is taken up and dealt with in as short, concise and pithy a manner as possible so that she who runs may read. Ordinary notices of league activities are printed in smaller type on the fourth page of the bulletin.

The following titles represent some of the subjects treated this year: "The Schools and New York's Mayoralty Campaign"; "Fusion's Failure and Women's Opportunity"; "A Call to Service Among New Americans in New York City"; "Women and the New Citizenship"; "First Aid to New Voters"; "Raising Advertising Standards"; "Women in Men's Places—the Need for a National Policy"; "Shall the Parole Commission be Abolished"; "Facts about New York's Underfed School Children"—a plea for school lunches; "Is 'Labor' Against Reform?"; "Labor and the New Social Order—Program of the British Labor Party"; "The Baby and the Draft"; "The City as a Foster Mother"—an account of the children's home bureau.

Members of the league and civic workers find the bulletin useful and suggestive. Teachers of civics in the public schools have often ordered several hundred copies of a given issue containing an account of some city department and of course those issues which deal with some controversial problem such as the choice of a new city superintendent or the Gary plan have been ordered reprinted in great numbers. The bulletin was expanded into a pamphlet to make a report two years ago on the Gary plan and this report, "Modern Schools for New York City," has been generally used as a text-book and work of reference by school workers everywhere.

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[1] "Women and the City's Work," published by the Woman's Municipal League of New York, 110 West 40th Street, New York. Agnes de Lima, editor.

War Activities in Madison, Wisconsin.—The Madison association of commerce, of which Don E. Mowry is general secretary, has issued a little booklet of 46 pages containing a very full directory of Madison's war activities. Whether this really is the first directory of the kind for any city, as is claimed, it would be well if every city were provided with such a useful compilation revised at short intervals. The mere cataloguing of existing activities ought to have the effect of centralizing and co-ordinating them, and at the same time checking the organization of unnecessary agencies.

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New York Municipal Reference Library Publications.—This interesting institution has begun the publication of a series of special pamphlets dealing with matters of interest to the users of the library. The first is entitled "What to Read on New York City Government," and is prepared by Dorsey W. Hyde, Jr., the librarian. The other is by Ina Clement on "Teaching Citizenship via The Movies." It is a most interesting survey of civic motion pictures and their availability for use by municipalities. It contains some admirable suggestions concerning the need for a film library and a bibliography of available films dealing with such questions as Americanization, child welfare, education, crime and criminals, municipal government, milk supply, fire protection and prevention, health problems, police, safety, roads and pavements, and public utilities.

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Akron Municipal University.—A section of the annual report of the president of the Municipal University of Akron, published in the bulletin of the university for April, 1918, emphasizes, chiefly by means of photographs, the close relation between the university and the municipal government and the city's industries. The bureau of city tests, maintained at the university, makes chemical, bacteriological and physical tests for various city departments. Akron's manufacturing plants co-operate with the university by employing engineering students so that they gain practical as well as theoretical training. An illustration of the way in which a municipal university may adapt its curriculum to local needs is the course on the chemistry of rubber which the Municipal University of Akron offers.

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[1] Edited by Miss Alice M. Holden, Wellesley College.

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No. 14 (Je., 1918) contains articles on "Paving" and on "Politics an appeal to practical citizenship."

Public Roads. Vol. 1, no. 1, May, 1918. 44 pp. illus., tables, charts.

The new organ of the U. S. Office of Public Roads and Rural Engineering, to supplement its customary bulletins. The price is 15 cents to all except officials.

Public Welfare.

New organ of the National Public Welfare League. Information regarding the work of the League may be obtained from its vice-president, Mr. L. A. Halbert, general superintendent, Board of Public Welfare, Kansas City, Mo.

The Street Cleaner. Published by Elgin Sales Corporation. Vol. 3, no. 1, Jy., 1918.

Address, 501 Fifth Ave., New York City. The current issue (4 pp.) contains articles on "The City-Manager plan," by Harrison G. Otis, and on "Motorized Buffalo."

Playgrounds

See also Baths.

Batchelor (W. C.). Pure democracy in playground movement. (Playground, Jy., 1918: 141–146.)

Refers to the Greenwood Playground in Gardner, Mass.

Plumbing

Gustavson (Louis). Vocational training for the plumbing trade. St. Louis school gives instruction to fit men to be leaders in trade. (Metal Worker, Plumber and Steam Fitter, May 17, 1918: 637–638, 653.)

Holmquist (C. A.). Principles of sanitary plumbing and drainage of buildings. (Metal Worker, Plumber and Steam Fitter, May 10, 1918: 601–604.)

Police

See also Pensions.

Dawkins (William A.). Police reserve and home defense guard manual. 1918. 149 pp. illus.

A practical handbook, strongly endorsed by eminent police officials, and said to be unique in its field.

Griffith (Austin E.). The ideal policeman. [1918.] [7 pp.]

Reprinted from N. J. Municipalities, Sept., 1917. The author, whose address is White Bldg., Seattle, Wash., is former chief of police in Seattle.

Ports

San Francisco Chamber of Commerce. Committee on Free Port. Report to the United States Tariff Commission. 1918. 54 pp.

Power Plants

Anon. The effect of daylight saving on land. Data and curves showing how the daylight-saving law affects typical central stations in the Middle West—no large coal saving—creation of a new evening valley. (Elec. World, May 11, 1918: 972–974. charts.)

Evans (Ira N.). Co-operation of public-service and isolated plants. (Power, Jy. 16, 1918: 88–90. tables.)

Public Health

See also Baths.

Council for National Defense. Committee for Civilian Co-operation in Combating Venereal Diseases. List of reliable pamphlets. [1918.] 4 pp.

Many publications on this subject, have been issued by the above Committee of the Council for National Defense.

Dublin (Louis I.). A study of pellegra in the mortality experience of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 1911–1916. (Amer. Jour. of Pub. Health, Jy., 1918: 488–493. tables.)

Harkness (Robert R.) and Turner (C. Elsmere). A filing system for public health literature. (Amer. Jour. of Pub. Health, Jy., 1918: 522–525.)

Copies of the index may be secured from the Association, 126 Mass. Ave., Boston (10 cents, postage).

Hunt (Ralph H.). Mosquito control in New Jersey. (Amer. Jour. of Pub. Health, Je., 1918: 421–423.)

Larson (J. H.). A maternity and infant welfare program for the United States. (Amer. Jour. of Pub. Health, Jy., 1918: 482–487.)

Massachusetts Society for Social Hygiene. Reading list on social hygiene. 1918. 11 pp.

The Society's headquarters are at 50 Beacon St., Boston.

Merchants' Association of New York. Beware of the dangerous house fly. [1918.] 4 pp. (Special bulletin.)

Ruediger (Gustav F.). Rural health administration under the co-operative or local health district plan. (Amer. Jour. of Pub. Health, Je., 1918: 406–411.)

Sears (Frederick W.). Rural health administration under the state health district plan. (Amer. Jour. of Pub. Health, Je., 1918: 412–416.)

Trask (John W.). Health publicity an aid to co-operation between health department and citizen. (Amer. Jour. of Pub. Health, Je., 1918: 417–420.)

United States. Public Health Service. Stream pollution: a digest of judicial decisions and a compilation of legislation relating to the subject. By Stanley D. Montgomery and Earle B. Phelps. 1918. 408 pp. (Bul. no. 87.)

Refuse and Garbage Disposal

United States Food Administration. Garbage Utilization Division. Garbage utilization, with particular reference to utilization by feeding. 1918. 21 pp.

University of Wisconsin. Extension Division. Food conservation through utilization of garbage waste. 1918. 12 pp.

Roads and Highways

Anon. The motor truck and trailer in road and street building, repair and maintenance [and cleaning.] (Better Roads and Streets, May, 1918: 181–193. illus.)

Babcock (Dudley P.) Ultimate costs of bituminous and waterbound macadams nearly equal in New York. (Engrg. News-Record, Jy. 11, 1918: 87–90. chart, tables.)

Barnett (R. C.). Economic highway transportation. (Good Roads, May 11, 1918: 241–245. diagrs.)

Canadian Good Roads Congress. Fifth annual session, May 8–10, 1918. General report of the proceedings [and papers presented.] (Canadian Engr., May 16, 1918: 429–450, 452.)

The following papers are printed in connection with the above report:

Abatement of the dust nuisance, by E. R. Gray; Concrete roads, by A. Lalonde; New traffic makes road construction an ever-changing subject, by W. A. McLean; Highway widths, by F. H. Annes; Who should pay for the roads? by Hugh Bertram, and by W. A. McLean; Hot-mix bituminous construction, using asphaltic binder, by E. Drinkwater; The efficiency of the highway in the present transportation difficulties, by W. D. Sohier; Asphalt pavements, by C. A. Mullen.

Enright (R. E). Solving the municipal traffic problem. (Good Roads, Jy. 13, 1918: 11–12.)

An address delivered at the 9th Annual Conference of Mayors and other City Officials of the State of New York, at Newburgh, June 11, 1918.

Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts. The use of road oil. 1918. 8 pp. (Bul. 39.)

Lincoln Highway Association. The Lincoln highway. 1918. 31 pp. illus., maps.

May be secured from the Association at Detroit, Mich.

Schools

See also Citizenship, Pensions, Social Work.

Anon. Educational research and statistics. The salaries of teachers and the cost of living. [Pt. 1.] (School and Society, May 25, 1918: 622–630.)

Gives results of a questionnaire addressed to superintendents of cities having populations larger than 10,000.

Averill (L. A.). Physical preparedness and the administration of school medical instruction in the United States. (Amer. Jour. of School Hygiene, Apr., 1918: 19–32.)

Ballou (F. W.). Efficient finance in a city school system. (Educ. Administration and Supervision, Mar., 1918: 121–132.)

Read before the Round Table of Superintendents in Cities of Over 250,000, at the Department of Superintendence meeting, N. E. A., Atlantic City, New Jersey, Feb. 28, 1918.

Linn (L. P.). Organization powers accorded city school superintendents by general laws. (School and Society, May 25, 1918: 601–605.)

Massachusetts. Supervisor of Administration. A program for the standardization of the salaries of the teachers of the several normal schools of Massachusetts. Mar. 1, 1918. 56 pp., typewritten.

Perkins (D. H.). One-story school buildings. (Amer. School Bd. Jour., Apr. 1918: 17–20, 77–78.)

Shawkey (M. P.). The adoption of textbooks by state, county, or district. (Amer. Educ., Apr., 1918: 402–404.)

United States. Bureau of Education. Public school classes for crippled children. By Edith Reeves Solenberger. 1918. 52 pp. (Bul., 1918, no. 10.)

Sewerage and Sewage Disposal

Anon. Sewage treatment in Sedalia. Missouri city employs grit chamber, Imhoff tanks, sludge beds, dosing tank and sprinkling filters to avoid polluting small stream—drainage and injunction suit against city in courts twenty years. (Mun. Jour., Jy. 13, 1918: 23–25.)

McDonnell (R. E.). The new sewage treatment plant of Sedalia. Mo, (Engrg. and Contracting, Jy. 10, 1918: 34–35. illus.)

Saville (Charles). Crops thrive under Imhoff-tank sludge test at Dallas. Fertilized cotton and corn twice as high as the unfertilized—soil lightened and evaporation lessened—farmers interested. (Engrg. News-Record, Jy. 25, 1918: 164–165.)

Wall (Edward E.). "Using high priced coal and labor to pump water to run sewers is criminal waste." (Amer. City, Jy., 1918: 40–42. Charts.)

Social Work

Beasley (R. F.). The principles and machinery of social construction. 1918. 30 pp.

An address delivered at the North Carolina Social Service Conference, Raleigh, March 6, 1918, by the author who is State Commissioner of Public Welfare.

Jarrett (M. C.). Psychiatric social work. (Mental Hygiene, Apr., 1918: 283–290.)

Smith (W. F.). The fundamentals of a socialized educational program. (School and Society, Jy. 13, 1918: 35–41.)

Williams (J. H.). A guide to the grading of homes. Directions for using the Whittier scale for grading home conditions, with the standard score sheet of comparative data. April, 1918. 21 pp. (Calif., Whittier State School, Research bul. no. 7.)

Wilson (H. B.). Socializing the school. (Educ. Administration and Supervision, Apr., 1918: 88–94.)

Street Railways

Anon. Getting the zone system started at Providence. Initial difficulties in fare collection have been overcome, and zone system is now in full and satisfactory operation on the Rhode Island Company property. (Elec. Ry. Jour., Jy. 13, 1918: 65–66. illus.)

——. The space-grabbing automobile. Automobile use of highway space at Washington only one-twentieth as efficient as street cars and far more dangerous—regulation of both automobiles and street cars essential. (Elec. Ry. Jour., Jy. 27, 1918: 147–149.)

Bauer (John). What is a fair return in war time? Increase in rate of return is not justifiable because of decline in purchasing power of money, but commissions should preserve old fair returns—rate on new investments must be based on market conditions—the different rates can be easily handled. (Elec. Ry. Jour., Jy. 13, 1918: 59–61.)

Boyce (W. H.). Does electric traction advertising pay? (Elec. Jour., Jy., 1918: 263–265. illus.)

New Jersey. Board of Public Utility Commissioners. In the matter of the application of the Public Service Railway Company for approval of increase in rates. Report and order. Jy. 10, 1918. 21 pp.

Putnam (Frank). Zone system does not cause congestion. Oft-repeated analogy based on European cities is false—city congestion abroad is due to other causes—zone system is apparently needed here. (Elec. Ry. Jour., Jy. 13, 1918: 49–50.)

Taxation and Finance

See also Schools.

Bureau of Municipal Research, Toronto. High taxation is hard enough to bear. . . . Je., 1918. 6 pp. folder. (Effective Citizen Co-operation, Bul. no. 66.)

California. State Controller. Annual report of financial transactions of municipalities and counties of California, for the year 1917. John S. Chambers, State Controller. 1918. 219 pp.

CALIFORNIA TAXPAYERS' JOURNAL. Expenses of the state of government of California. Je., 1918. 20 pp.

This official publication of the Tax Payers' Association of California contains the following article: The story of state expenses; The boards and commissions—their growth in numbers and expense; Finances of the cities and counties; Two tax limitation measures.

The office of the Association is at 522 American Bank Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal.

DETROIT BUREAU OF GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH. City expenses—next year. May 4, 1918. 4 pp. chart. (Pub. Business no. 17.)

——. City of Detroit, Michigan. Comparison of appropriations for 1917–1918 with those of 1918–1919. May 4, 1918. [3 pp.] (Supplement to Pub. no. 17.)

ROCHESTER. CITY COMPTROLLER. 1918 budget of the City of Rochester, N. Y. 1918. 47 pp.

Issued by the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc.

Torrens System

ANON. Experts tell how new Torrens Law will work. Registrars of counties in Greater New York preparing a form for registration of titles. (Record and Guide, May 18, 1918: 631–632, 641.)

TORRENS TITLE LEAGUE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK. Graphical illustration of the different methods of dealing in real estate titles. [1918.] 4 pp.

Consists of three charts comparing the work and charges of the old-fashioned, the title-company, and the Torrens methods. The League's office is at 215 W. 125th St., New York City.

Water Distribution

See also Sewerage.

ANON. Meters help but are not sufficient to control waste. Unhampered officials holding strictly to rigid observance of water ordinances brings results. (Engrg. News-Record, May 9, 1918: 918–920. diagrs.)

——. Water works operation. Testing for leakage and waste in sections of distribution system—Locating waste in services—Locating leaks in mains. (Mun. Jour., Jy. 27, 1918: 70–72. table.)

PRACY (G. W.). Setting 25,000 meters cut water consumption at San Francisco. Two field crews placed $\frac{5}{8}$-inch meters at average labor cost of $10.59. . . . (Engrg. News-Record, May 9, 1918: 902–904. diagrs.)

SPALDING (R. S.). Improvements in water distribution system under efficient organization. Chicago Waterpipe Extension Division has engineering supervision—engineer of standards devises new appliances and methods—some recent advances and savings described. (Engrg. News-Record, May 9, 1918: 921–923. illus.)

WALL (E. E.). Water waste. (Jour., Engrs.' Club of St. Louis, Mar.—Apr., 1918: 133–147.)

Water Supply

See also Public Health.

MORSE (ROBERT B.) and WOLMAN (ABEL). Adopting standards of quality for water supplies. (Fire and Water Engrg., Jy. 24, 1918: 58–59.)

Excerpts from an address before the American Water Works Association.

[ORCHARD (WILLIAM J.).] Water standards of purity and necessity of advertising value of pure water. (Engrg. and Contracting, Jy. 10, 1918: 38–40.)

From a paper presented before the Chemical and Bacteriological Section of the American Water Works Association.

Women, Employment of

ANON. Wages of women and girls on munitions work. (Labour Gaz. (England), Je., 1918: 217–218.)

——. The extension in the employment of women up to January, 1918. (Labour Gaz. (England), Je., 1918: 216–217. tables.)

INTERCOLLEGIATE BUREAU OF OCCUPATIONS. Opportunities for women in the municipal civil service of the City of New York. By Fannie M. Witherspoon and Anna Martin Crocker. 1918. 94 pp. tables.

The Bureau's headquarters are at 19 W. 44th St. New York City.

KNOEPPEL (C. E.). American women in war industry. II. Problems of living conditions, state laws, co-operation of labor agencies and the post-bellum period. (Industrial Management, Jy., 1918: 49–52.)

RUUTZ-REES (CAROLINE). The mobilization of American women. (Yale Rev., Jy., 1918: 801–818.)

Zoning

ANON. Some advantages of the districting idea in city planning. (Baltimore Mun. Jour., May 24, 1918.)

——. St. Louis' new zone ordinance. City districted according to use to which each district can be put, height of buildings that can be erected in it, and area that can be covered by buildings. (Mun. Jour., Jy. 27, 1918: 65–68. charts, plans, table.)

CHENEY (C. H.). Zoning as a war-time measure. (Amer. City, Jy., 1918: 3–6. plans.)

ST. LOUIS. CITY PLAN COMMISSION. Height, area and use districts and restrictions. Ordinance no. 30199. May, 1918.

Consists of text of ordinance, illustrated, and 11 large "use zone" maps and 11 large "height and area zone" maps.

SWAN (HERBERT S.). Zoning as a protection for industry and business. (Amer. City, Jy., 1918: 7–10.)

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

City Manager Notes.—*Norfolk, Virginia.* Charles E. Ashburner, the dean of American city managers, has been appointed city manager of Norfolk and will assume his duties September 1. Mr. Ashburner practically started the city-manager plan going, as manager of Staunton, Virginia, April, 1908, serving until July, 1911. The Staunton position was created by ordinance which made the maximum salary $2,500. Upon leaving Staunton he accepted a position with the American Railways of Philadelphia at Lynchburg, Virginia. When Springfield, Ohio, adopted its commission-manager charter in the fall of 1913 it offered the position of manager to Mr. Ashburner and he was appointed January 1, 1914, at a salary of $6,000. During the four and a half years at Springfield, Mr. Ashburner has rendered such satisfactory service and has seemed to fit into Springfield's environment so aptly that his many friends had considered him a permanent Springfield citizen. His appointment to Norfolk at a salary of $9,000 further establishes the city manager on a professional plane and indicates the certain rise that awaits the right man in the new field. Mr. Ashburner's successor at Springfield will be O. E. Carr, who has been the city manager of Niagara Falls since January, 1916, and who prior to that was city manager at Cadillac, Michigan.

Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Bethlehem has appointed Winton L. Miller as its first city manager. Mayor Archibald Johnston made a pre-election pledge that if elected he would see that a city manager was appointed and Bethlehem becomes the second Pennsylvania city to adopt the city-manager plan under the permissive provisions of the Clark commission act of 1913. A unique feature of the manager's position at Bethlehem is that the official salary is one dollar per year. This, however, does not mark Mr. Miller as a philanthropist for it is reported that he is receiving some $10,000 income through the liberality of the mayor and members of the council. Mr. Miller has had an interesting experience in the manager field. He served as executive secretary to City Manager Waite of Dayton, Ohio, until called to St. Augustine, Florida, in August, 1915, as city manager. His administration at St. Augustine was marked with success and considerable regret was expressed when he resigned this spring to accept a government position connected with the ship building industry at Hog Island. Mr. Miller's salary at St. Augustine was $3,600. His special duties for the government have been completed and he is now at work in the "Steel City."

Albuquerque, New Mexico. Paul G. Redington, who has served as city manager since the new plan became operative last January, has resigned to resume duties as district forester in the United States forest service. A. R. Hebenstreit has been appointed his successor at a salary of $3,600. Mr. Redington's efforts have met with the hearty support of his commissioners and the results of his work are contained in a very readable report recently published. He gives as his two reasons for resigning: first, the feeling that he lacks sufficient experience to fill the position to his own satisfaction and, secondly, that his services are needed by the government. Mr. Hebenstreit is a young engineer of high caliber and broad training in the various fields correlated with the manager profession. He has for some time been county engineer of Tama County, Iowa, with his office at Toledo, Iowa. He is a graduate of Notre Dame with a degree of civil engineer, has had excellent training in accountancy and has passed the United States government valuation civil service examination with high grades. Mr. Hebenstreit was placed in touch with the Albuquerque situation through the office of the secretary of the City Managers' Association which is gradually evolving into a sort of clearing house for city managers.

Kalamazoo, Michigan has appointed H. H. Freeman as its first city manager. This appointment was generally anticipated and meets with the cordial approval of the Kalamazoo citizens. Mr. Freeman served the city in an unofficial capacity during the year 1917 as executive secretary of the new charter league and played a leading part in the drafting and adoption of Kalamazoo's commission-manager charter, since which time he has served as secretary of the Kalamazoo chamber of commerce. Mr. Freeman is a New York municipal research bureau man and enters the new profession with splendid qualifications and prospects of success.

Fredericksburg, Virginia. R. Stuart Royer, who has served most successfully as city manager of Fredericksburg since the new plan was adopted in September, 1912, has resigned to enter the service. He is now first lieutenant, army engineers, stationed at Camp Humphrey, Virginia.

Sandusky, Ohio. City Manager George M. Zimmerman has been persuaded by the commission to withdraw his resignation and his salary has been increased from $3,600 to $5,000.

Anchorage, Alaska. The most recent addition to the membership list of the City Managers' Association is J. G. Watts, townsite manager of Anchorage, Alaska, which has a population of some 5,000 and is under the management of the Alaskan engineering commission of the Department of Interior. Mr. Watts owes his appointment to this commission and to this extent his position differs from that of the average city manager appointed by an elective council. His duties, however, are practically the same as those of the orthodox manager and in addition he performs the functions usually pertaining to the office of the mayor and council. He has charge of the municipal water works, fire department, garbage disposal department, highways department and acts as mayor, tax assessor and city engineer. He writes: "In July, 1915, there was not so much as a single tent where the present town of Anchorage stands and to-day we have all of the comforts of the most modern town in the states." Mr. Watts's salary is $3,300 and he was appointed in July, 1916.

Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. Manager J. H. Moore tendered his resignation at the request of the city commission, to take effect August 15. The reason assigned for the request was the reduction of expenditures by the elimination of the manager's salary of $3,600 and the abandonment of practically all city improvements for the duration of the war. It is suggested among Mr. Moore's friends that a political plot lies back of the war-economy plea. Mr. Moore was formerly superintendent of public works at Evanston, Illinois, and was one of the five candidates for the Goldsboro, North Carolina, position selected from the 522 applicants. Wilder Rich, city engineer of Sault Ste. Marie, will act as manager for the time being.

Ocala, Florida. J. Newton Johnston resigned his position of city manager June 1 to except the position of city engineer at Wilmington, North Carolina. Mr. Johnston's stay at Ocala was rather brief as he was appointed only last February. His comment on the situation affords a timely warning against the danger of "forcing reform on folks." He writes: "I soon discovered that the council was averse to commission government, ignorant of the manager plan, unfamiliar with the charter, violated all its provisions and carried out a predetermined effort to run things as they chose regardless of law and charter. Only one man beside the mayor was in sympathy with the manager plan and it had never been ratified or voted on by the people. I understand it was railroaded through the legislature."

Glasgow, Montana. Harvey Booth has been appointed city manager to succeed Charles H. Blitman who has joined the aviation corps. Mr. Blitman served for nearly two years and the city made marked progress under his administration.

San Rafael, California. No appointment of manager to succeed Captain F. J

Boland has as yet been announced, but a letter from Mayor S. K. Herzog states that the city-manager plan is a decided success and that as long as he is connected with the city government this plan shall be kept in operation and the appointment of a manager is now under consideration.

Beaufort, South Carolina. J. Albert Kinghorn has been elected mayor to fill the unexpired term of Charles E. Danner who died May 14. No manager has been chosen to succeed John R. Kneebone who resigned the day following Mayor Danner's death, to enter the service under the selective draft. Appointment will probably be made at an early date. Hal R. Pollitzer, city engineer, is acting manager.

Harrison Gray Otis.

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City Manager Government in Louisiana.—The Louisiana legislature at its recent special session passed an enabling act giving the various cities of the state the right to adopt the commission-manager form of government if they so elect.

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Detroit Adopts a New Charter.—By a vote of 32,356 to 4,554, Detroit's new charter land slid into existence on June 25. Several factors influenced this victory. The people were tired of a big ward elected council, continually playing peanut politics. War time changes have made ordinary radicalism seem conservative to the man in the street. The Detroit citizens league put an excellent pro-charter organization into the field. Finally the gang had received so many body blows lately that the best they could do was to hang over the ropes. The new charter is a long way from being a modern document. In truth, Detroit had a radical charter revision several years ago, but the people would have none of it. So the law was changed, and the recent commission was elected at large,—and were conservative business men, bent on getting rid of the big council, and little else. As a result the new charter provides a council of nine elected at large; improves a quantity of administrative methods in which few were interested outside of the bureau of governmental research; and codifies the remainder of the old document. The first two actions were commendable. The last one was done in a hurried slipshod fashion. The obsolete commissions for administering departments were retained, as were a number of expensive unnecessary "safeguards." The result is panning about one error to the page. Some are trivial. Others are serious,—such as requiring a vote on all bond issues, and permitting salary increases at will. However, the new charter is a substantial improvement over the old one. It at least won't handicap good government as much as the old one did. The commission considered proportional representation, but not seriously. It will be interesting to see what kind of council is elected. There are now sixty odd candidates for the nine jobs of councilman. Only seven have been designated as first rate material by the citizens league.

Lent D. Upson.

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Richmond's Effort at Charter Revision, described in the May issue of the National Municipal Review (page 324) has met with success. The campaign for ratification which was financed and managed by the civic association resulted in a vote of 6,143 for the amendments as against 1,865 negative votes, representing the largest majority for charter revision in the recent history of the city. The amendments abolish the administrative and fire boards chosen by the council. The powers of the mayor are enlarged particularly in authorizing him to nominate four directors: public welfare, public works, public utilities, and public safety, who with the mayor form an advisory board for the consideration of various questions which it is believed require the consideration of a board rather than of the mayor alone. The directors of finance and law are to be chosen by the council as the city auditor and attorney are now chosen. An executive budget is provided and the bi-cameral council is retained. Under the constitution of the state the city is handicapped in adopting a more effective form of government and no one regards the plan voted for as approaching perfection, but it represents a great improvement over the ancient complex system existing in Richmond. The new scheme goes into effect January 1, 1919. D. R. ANDERSON.

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Three Wisconsin Cities Abandon Commission Government.—Three commission governed cities in Wisconsin have abandoned the commission plan after six years' operation under it—Appleton, Portage, and Janesville. The change back to the old system took place in each case in April. According to the best information available the election in none of these cities turned on the merits of the two plans.

Appleton was the first city to vote to go back to the old system. The election followed a long and bitter campaign characterized by personalities and mudslinging. According to official advice the commission plan was defeated largely by a combination of the liquor and labor votes, the liquor interests manipulating the labor unions to a large extent. Both factions were directed by shrewd politicians, several of whom nursed personal grievances against one or two commissioners.

Several labor unions became opposed to the commissioners some two years ago during a strike among the pulpmakers of the city. The liquor interests were aroused in part by the organization of a police force which they could not control, and by the strict enforcement of the Sunday closing law.

When Mayor Faville, the last mayor under the commission plan, took office, one of his first acts was the reorganization of the police department and the strict enforcement of the liquor laws. He made a change in the office of chief of police and secured a new chief from Chicago. This really crystallized the sentiment against the plan, and furnished the old politicians who had been turned out by the commission plan with ammunition for their campaign. They advocated the appointment of local citizens only to office and opposed the policy of securing experts from the outside. The rumor went around the labor unions that the new chief was appointed in order to meet possible future strikes. The liquor interests and other anti-commission forces made much of these arguments. While the commission advocates knew there was strong opposition to the plan they had no idea of its extent and their campaign was not as strong as it might have been had they been less confident.

It is claimed that the opposition to commission government came largely from non-taxpayers. It is estimated that taxpayers representing from 90 to 95 per cent of the taxes paid in the city voted for the continuance of the commission plan, showing that as a business proposition it commended itself to the business men of the city. However this may be, it is certain that the merits of commission government, or the particular features of the Wisconsin law, played no part in the election.

In the other two cities the elections virtually went by default, comparatively small votes being cast in both cases. The commissioners in both cities were either too busy or too confident of the success of the plan to organize a campaign for its continuance. While elections for the abandonment of the commission plan in other cities of Wisconsin, such as Superior and Oshkosh, have been discussed, all such movements have fallen through and no elections have been held.

FORD H. MACGREGOR.

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Report of the Committee on Franchises.[1]—Since the last meeting of the National Municipal League, a little more than six months ago, events have been moving rapidly in the field that comes within the purview of the committee of franchises. The Cincinnati street railway resettlement involving the revision of the terms of the fifty-year franchise granted in 1896 under the "Rogers law" and the lease of the proposed interurban loop line, to be built by the city, to the Cincinnati traction company for unified operation in connection with the existing street railway system, though approved by referendum vote in April, 1917, have been set aside by the Ohio supreme court as being violative of the provision of the state constitution forbidding any municipality to lend its credit to a private corporation. This decision unsettled the Cincinnati settlement and the problem has been taken up again in a new series of negotiations.

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[1] Submitted at the annual meeting of the National Municipal League, held at the Greenwich House, New York City, June 5, 1918.

St. Louis, after considerable acrimonious discussion, has recently passed a new street railway ordinance which will be subjected to a referendum vote before it becomes finally effective. At any rate it involves a reduction of capitalization and a necessary reorganization of the United railways, which precludes the immediate acceptance of the ordinance. Meanwhile, on petitions from the United railways company of St. Louis and the Kansas City railways company the Missouri public service commission by a vote of three to two has assumed jurisdiction to modify street railway rates fixed by local franchise contracts.

The supreme court of the state of Washington has recently decided in a Tacoma case, in which the corporation counsel of Seattle was permitted to intervene, that the state public service commission is without authority to relieve street railway companies of the obligations imposed upon them by municipalities as conditions of their franchise grants. In New York, also, this view has been taken by the public service commission for the first district, and has been sustained by the court of appeals in the Rochester case. This question has also been mooted in New Jersey, Indiana, Oregon, and elsewhere. The committee is making a study of commission and court decisions with respect to this all-important issue in franchise and home rule policy and expects to prepare a full report on the subject at a later date.

The continued pressure of increasing wages and of high prices of materials has brought the whole problem of rate-adjustments to a critical stage, and the street railway companies are making a concerted "drive" to get away from the fixed five-cent fare. The influence of the Cleveland service-at-cost idea has been rapidly growing, and the advantages of a flexible fare based upon the actual cost of service are receiving wide recognition. Instead of the sheer disregard or abrogation of municipal franchise contracts, which the companies have been urging upon the state commissions in various parts of the country, a marked tendency has developed to bring the companies under more stringent public control as the price of relief from the inflexible fare. Philadelphia, in its proposed rapid transit lease, now pending before the Pennsylvania public service commission for approval, has adopted the principle of the flexible fare in a semi-automatic form. Whenever the schedule of fares in force shall prove to be insufficient to bring about the fundamental financial results which under the terms of the ordinance are considered to be essential, then a higher schedule is to be filed with the state commission for approval. Likewise, when the revenues derived from the rates in force prove to be greater than necessary, a reduced schedule will be filed. This illustrates the method of getting away from the old fixed fare limitation, not by the violation or disregard of franchise contracts, but by a modification of them by mutual agreement.

In Massachusetts reports have recently been submitted and legislation passed which are of the greatest significance. The principle of service-at-cost has been given official recognition and sanction, but for the relief of Boston elevated which entered into a contract with the state in 1897 to maintain a five-cent fare on its system until 1922, the plan adopted is public operation by a board of five trustees appointed by the governor. The plan is definitely fixed for a period of ten years, and is to be continued beyond that time until changed by legislation. The scheme for the adjustment of the fares is based upon the Cleveland plan, but without maximum and minimum limits. The right is reserved to the state or to any political subdivision thereof to take over the entire property upon the assumption by the state of the outstanding indebtedness and liabilities of the system and upon payment in cash of the sum which has been paid in in cash for the capital stock outstanding at the time of purchase. Other legislation has been enacted for the benefit of the

Bay State street railway company and of other Massachusetts street railways.

One of the most carefully worked out franchises so far put into effect anywhere in the United States or Canada is the new Montreal tramways contract. This document was prepared by a special commission appointed for the purpose. Particular attention was given to the problem of incentive for efficient and economical management. This document is so important from the point of view of the recommendations made in earlier reports by the committee on franchises and the principles laid down by the committee on municipal program that the writer has arranged to prepare for an early issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW an analysis and interpretation of the Montreal contract.

DELOS F. WILCOX.[1]

* * *

Public Utility Settlements and Rates.—Public utilities have been very much in the public eye during the past six months due not only to the increased cost of maintenance but to the necessity for increased facilities and diminished labor incident to war time. A note from Claude H. Anderson, the secretary of the league of New Jersey municipalities, describes the situation in that state.

On March 4, 1918, the public service railway company of New Jersey engaged in transporting passengers for hire by street railway and interurban trolley lines in 146 municipalities in the state of New Jersey, filed an application before the board of public utility commissioners for increased fares as indicated in the prayer of the petition which reads:

> Your petitioner, therefore, prays that your honorable body approve and by order fix seven cents as the rate to be charged by your petitioner where five cents is now charged, and in addition thereto a charge of two cents for each transfer issued on a cash fare, and an additional charge of one cent for a transfer issued on a transfer, and that your petitioner may have such other and further relief as may seem reasonable and proper.

The New Jersey state league of municipalities, consisting of 178 municipalities of the state and representing 69⅚ per cent of the entire population of New Jersey, entered into a contest of the application in a most vigorous manner. The league did not, however, take the stand that no increase should be granted but rather that full and complete evidence should be produced by the company to prove that it was entitled to an increase.

In view of the generally increasing price of commodities and services it was, of course, recognized that the expenses of the railway company had increased but the financial history of the corporation was such that it was by no means clear to the people that there was not great over-capitalization and that if anything like a fair valuation of the properties of the company was made, it would very likely show that the company was getting a fair return upon the actual capital invested. The league accordingly felt that the situation warranted the most careful scrutiny into the finances of the railway company. They, therefore, employed special counsel and experts as follows: Marshall VanWinkle and counsel, George L. Record, Jersey City; Dr. Delos F. Wilcox, public utility and franchise expert, New York City; David F. Atkins, electrical engineer, New York City; Mark Wolff, certified accountant, New York City.

The case proceeded before the public utility commissioners over a period of approximately three months. The witnesses of the railway company refused to produce, except upon express order of the commission, certain information with regard to their financial history and capitalization which was deemed pertinent by counsel for the league and further refused to give the experts access to certain books and records until ordered to do so. Such orders were made by the commission and as a result disclosures were made which indicated that the company is highly over-capitalized. Mr. Wolff, the accountant, pointed out that the over-capitalization amounts to about $85,000,000.

The board of public utility commissioners rendered the decision on July 10, denying the petition and granting only the privilege of increasing the rates by charging one cent for transfers on cash fares. The commission found that the revenues of the company, in order to enable it to retain its credit unimpaired and furnish proper and adequate service, should be increased to the amount of $850,000 and estimated that the charge of one cent for transfers would yield this additional revenue.

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[1] Chairman, Committee on Franchises.

The order of the commission requires that the company shall file with the board for each calendar month, beginning with the month of June, 1918, a complete comparative income statement for 1917 and 1918 of its operations showing revenue and revenue deductions, classified in accordance with the uniform system of accounts for street or traction railway utilities (first issue) prescribed by the board, together with mileage, traffic and miscellaneous statistics as required on page 35 of the form of annual report now required to be filed by the board.

The order also requires that the company shall submit before January 1, 1919, a plan whereby the method of charging at present in force may be revised by an equitable zoning system over its entire territory, proper consideration being given to all of the elements to more properly relate the cost of service with the length of haul and value of service.

In order to avail itself of the increase granted it was necessary for the company to file a written acceptance of the conditions of the grant prior to July 24, 1918. The railway company filed its acceptance on July 23.

On July 30, the supreme court of Indiana, acting under section 122 of the public utility act, decided that the public service commission has authority to hear the rate increase petition of the Indianapolis traction and terminal company, putting it on the ground that an unusual emergency exists. The supreme court instructed the circuit court from which the case was appealed to overrule a demurrer which that court had sustained and held that a mandamus will issue against the commission to compel it to take jurisdiction of the company's request for a straight five-cent fare. The supreme court made this decision in the face of a contract existing between the city and the company. On this point the court had this to say:

> In the present case the fixing of the rate of fare was not left to the municipality as is sometimes done. The state in this respect acted in the interest of the public, and to the utility it was a condition for the privilege of using a portion of its highway system. Upon the facts before us we conclude that the city in incorporating the rate schedule in the franchise inquest, acted as the agent of the state, and of its authority in this respect the public as well as the city must take notice.
>
> The city was not a necessary party. In coming to this conclusion we are not unmindful of the rule applicable to contracts made for the benefit of third persons.

The management and operation of the Boston elevated railroad company is now in the hands of a board of five public trustees appointed by the governor, and an act has been passed under which the affairs of the Bay State street railway company will be administered by a similar board if the company is reorganized and the act is accepted by the stockholders. The public trustee plan was first suggested by the public service commission of the state of which Joseph B. Eastman is an active factor in a report to the legislature on the "Finance and operating methods of the Boston elevated railway company," submitted in February. As finally passed it differed in many respects from the legislation recommended by the commission. Under the Boston elevated bill dividends are guaranteed to the stockholders but there is no similar guarantee under the Bay State bill. The state however lends its credit to the company in the latter case by supporting an issue of serial bonds. Concerning the Boston situation, Stiles P. Jones writes as follows:

> I have been in touch with the Boston elevated situation all through the negotiations. It seems to me that the settlement is an admirable one—to meet this particular situation. The Massachusetts folks have been doing some real hard and practical thinking along street railway lines lately. The results of their experiments may have a good deal to do with the character of future settlements in other places. The Massachusetts remedy will probably

not be accepted now as the correct one for general application in the present quite universal street railway crisis, but it has great potential possibilities. We may find that in this matter, as in many other lines in the past, Massachusetts is again leading the way.

An increase in street car fares has been announced by the Detroit united railway, effective August 8. The new rates will be six cents cash, or ten tickets for fifty-five cents, instead of a five-cent charge. We hope to publish further information concerning the significance of this in a future issue. In fact these paragraphs are merely to set forth some of the more important events which have occurred within the past few months. Our hope is to have an interpretation of them in an early issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

Important decisions involving the rights of public service commissions to change rates have been handed down in Pennsylvania and California, and bid fair to establish precedents of far-reaching importance.

John P. Fox's review of the New York company's literature presents another interesting phase of the development.

In the August issue of *Minnesota Municipalities* there is an editorial, entitled "Rising Rates," based upon a news article giving data concerning a number of increases in rates for gas and electricity going into effect on July 1. The same number contains several articles dealing with municipal ownership and operation, street lighting, and the Minneapolis water works system.

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Denver Votes to Buy Water-Works.[1]—Taxpayers of Denver, Colorado, on August 6 voted 6,061 to 1,782 to buy the plant of the Denver Union Water Company. Voters in general, whether taxpayers or not, by a vote of 7,296 to 2,340, endorsed five nominees put up by petition on the initiation of the city authorities to serve as a board of water commissioners to operate the works under municipal ownership. The long-term members of the board are Charles H. Reynolds and Finlay L. MacFarland. The commissioners will take over the plant as soon as possible, and will select a general manager, operating engineer and secretary.

This action brings to an end some thirty years of waterworks' controversy in Denver. Competing water companies, a water-rate war, and finally consolidation stirred Denver in the early nineties, this city affording one of the very few examples of attempted competition between water companies in the United States. Since the consolidation of the competing companies, there has been almost if not quite continuous trouble over water rates, renewal of the water company's franchise, and municipal ownership of waterworks for Denver. Large sums have been spent by the city and by the company on the valuation of the work for purchase and for rate-making purposes. Some years ago a local utility commission was created to build municipal works in case an agreement for purchase could not be made with the company. The valuation board had reported that the works were worth $14,400,000. The utilities commission offered $7,000,000 and this offer was rejected by the company. Later, the city council passed an ordinance reducing the water rates by 20 per cent. Extended litigation followed, which resulted in fixing a value of somewhat under $14,000,000 for the works for rate-making purposes. Finally, the city and company agreed on the sale of the works to the city at the valuation named. No objection to the purchase was offered by the Federal Capital Issues Committee because the company has agreed to accept bonds of the city in payment.

Preceding the election which approved the bond issue for purchase, there was organized the Municipal Water Purchase League which included a considerable number of civic, business and engineering organizations. Their pamphlet advocating purchase may probably be obtained for consultation by those who wish the detailed history of the Denver waterworks struggle.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 328.

New Torrens Law in New York.—The original law of 1908 contained defects which have largely been remedied by amendments in 1916 and 1918. The design of the Torrens system is practical rather than technical. It is the "law merchant" applied to real estate. Because lawyers, conveyancers, title searchers and title companies have for generations made their livings from the mass of technicalities that have entangled land titles, these professionals as a class and individually have fought the Torrens system wherever introduced. Because of its selfishness their fight has been a losing one and the advance of the method by which the transfer of titles is made "safe, simple and cheap" has been sure.

In New York, where the title companies are strongly entrenched, the fight has been especially bitter. Widespread public sentiment demanded relief from title burdens and in 1908 a Torrens law was passed. Unfortunately, however, the title companies, although unable to defeat the passage of the law, were so able to influence the drafting of the bill that features were introduced which were contrary to Torrens principles. The title companies themselves were installed as official examiners and the proceedings were made so lengthy and burdensome that owners could not afford to pay the cost. Instead of being made simple the Torrens proceeding was made an action more complicated than an ordinary lawsuit. A Torrens registration took three times as long and cost twice as much as a title company policy and in consequence the public continued to patronize the title companies and the Torrens law became a dead letter.

The experience of New York proves the truth of the comment made by the Torrens committee of the American Bar Association in its report to the commissioners on uniform state laws[1] (Washington, D. C., October, 1914).

For ten years (since 1908) the fight in New York has been to amend its Torrens law, to remove the "jokers" from it and make it like that of Massachusetts and other states where the system is a success. The amendments, proposed in 1914 by Register John J. Hopper of New York county, and later supported by the Torrens title league of the state of New York, by all of the registrars of Greater New York, and by practically all of the civic, legal and commercial associations of the city and state were passed in part in 1916 and in part in 1918. The only points not yet won relate to the title companies and the assurance fund. The title companies still are permitted to make title reports, although the registrar now appoints the official examiner, and the state (or county) is not back of the assurance fund as is the case in Massachusetts, Chicago, and under the United States government acts for Philippine Islands and Hawaii.

The 1918 amendments, however, give New York a practical workable law.

Walter Fairchild.[2]

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St. Louis Zoning Ordinance.—As a result of the work of its city plan commission, St. Louis has just adopted a zoning ordinance (signed by the mayor, July 14), under the provisions of which, the city is divided into five districts prescribing the use to which property may be put, five districts prescribing the height of buildings hereafter erected, and four districts prescribing the extent to which the area of lots may be covered with buildings.

The "use" districts are classified into: A first residence district, a second residence district, a commercial district, an industrial district, and an un-restricted district. All buildings in the first residence districts shall be erected or used exclusively for single family dwellings and the accompanying accessories. The second residence districts may be utilized by tenements, hotels, churches, hospitals, etc., except that no tenement, hotel, lodging or boarding house can be erected in any second residence district occupied exclusively by one and two family residences without the written consent of the owners of the majority of the property within the block having frontage on the street where the large building is to be erected.

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[1] Every act passed in the United States bears on its face the scars of desperate conflict. It is doubtful whether any legislation has ever been assailed with more bitterness or greater persistency than this; and unfortunately its antagonists have generally succeeded in marring the act even when they have been unable to defeat it.

[2] Secretary and counsel for the Torrens Title League, 1 Liberty Street, New York.

Commercial districts shall be used for certain specified enterprises—(set down at length in the ordinance)—except that no building shall have more than 50 per cent of the floor area devoted to industry or storage purposes incidental to its primary use, and that no more than five employees shall be engaged in any trade or industry which shall be incidental or essential to the primary use. A garage may be erected in the commercial district with the consent of the city plan commission only upon the presentation of a petition by the owners of 75 per cent of the property deemed by the commission to be affected by the garage. In the industrial districts building may be utilized for any purpose except in regard to certain dangerous or nuisance-producing industries which are set out in detail. In non-restricted districts, buildings may be put to any use. The "height" districts are classified as follows: A forty-five foot district, sixty foot district, eighty foot district, one-hundred twenty foot district, and one-hundred and fifty foot district. The "area" districts are classified according to the amount of area prescribed for rear yards, side yards, enclosed courts and outer courts.

The enforcement of the ordinance is placed with the board of public service, through the division of building and inspection. The board is allowed the discretion of permitting deviation from the ordinance in certain specified cases of temporary building, alterations, reconstruction and enlargement; and the ordinance states that amendment of its provisions in regard to any particular districts may be made through an ordinance initiated by the city plan commission itself or upon petition of fifty percent of the owners of property in any given district, appeal from the decision of the city plan commission on all petitions to lie with the board of public service.

The hope has been expressed by many interested in city planning that the ordinance may later on be amended to transform a good portion of the industrial districts into commercial districts, and to enlarge the number of first residence districts. On the whole, however, there has been general satisfaction with the passage of the ordinance and the placing of the zoning principle on the statute books of the city.

Louis F. Budenz.

II. POLITICS[1]

The Morals Court of Pittsburgh—A Municipal Leaguer Recognized.—The new morals court in Pittsburgh was established by an ordinance of council last spring. Under the law and the ordinance it has the same powers as the police magistrates. The ordinance provided, however, that the police of the city should bring all of certain classes of cases before this court. These include all offences by minors or against minors; those relating to prostitution and public vice; illegal liquor selling, domestic relations and public gambling. It is estimated that this court will handle from 10,000 to 12,000 cases annually.

The establishment of this court can be traced to the influences of the voters' league of this city. Its vice exposure and trials in 1912 and its subsequent impeachment of the director of the department of public safety on account of the vice conditions in the community, which it was alleged were tolerated and protected by the police, was followed first by the organization of a morals commission, which was in operation for some time; but the law under which it was constituted was declared unconstitutional. This was followed by the attack in 1916 of the council of churches on the police courts. Next the voters' league made an effort to have the present mayor, E. V. Babcock, appoint social workers as police magistrates. This brought about the discussion of the administration of these courts and the character of men who ought to be appointed. While the league was not successful in this effort, when the morals court was established the mayor appointed as the magistrate to preside over the same, Tensard De Wolf, the capable and efficient secretary of the voters' league for many years.

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated, the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

Mr. De Wolf is known to the civic secretaries and civic organizations throughout the United States. He is a man of high civic ideals and a well-developed social conscience. He is a student, a man of vision, high character and great courage. Those acquainted with Mr. DeWolf predict for this court a future of great usefulness.

The plans and policy of the head of the morals court can be best given in his own words, in a letter to one of his personal friends:

> My ideas of police, municipal or subordinate courts have always been that their aim should be twofold. First, to preserve the peace and safety of the community, and, secondly, to reclaim the individual. I determined at once to put into effect some of these theories. I was glad the city had not provided for a large organization, for this gave me an opportunity to call upon the various social and religious agencies of the community. One of my theories has always been that while the communal work should be done eventually by the community's legally constituted officers, still it is usually best to start new social enterprises by private agencies rather than public. The former are more flexible and can be changed at will during the experimental stages. I therefore called to my assistance practically every organization working for social betterment in this district. All responded willingly.
>
> I simplified my problem at the outset by stating that in all cases of gambling, illegal liquor selling and operating bawdy houses, I would hold for court whenever the evidence justified it. I opposed the system of fines because I consider that method a mere license to continue the practice by paying even a smaller license fee to the city than had heretofore been paid in graft to private individuals.
>
> For the ordinary prostitute, other than the owner of the house; that is, for the girl on the street, whether a beginner, as many of them are, or one who has been in the business longer, I determined to adopt methods of reclamation whenever possible.
>
> My first problem was to provide temporary homes for the girls picked up by the police. I called upon a dozen organizations already conducting small homes, and they offered me quarters sufficient for present needs. I then set about to arrange for legitimate employment for any women who were ready to go to work. The co-operative welfare association gave me the time of their secretary, who has taken charge of this branch of the work, as well as that of all institutional placement. The state board of charities and the state board of health agreed to furnish free treatment for venereal diseases. Private individuals have promised me sufficient funds to send young women out of the city who live in outlying country districts. I find that probably fifty per cent of the girls of this class come from the smaller community.
>
> My first rule for the conduct of the new court was that no person should go out on the street without supervision in some form. I am arranging through various women's organizations to act as "big sisters" for the girls who leave this court.
>
> My biggest surprise was the boy problem. I found that several thousand boys would be brought into the court annually, many for serious offences. To send these boys to jail or the workhouse, or hold them for court, would be simply starting them on a real criminal career. I have called upon the Y. M. C. A. and council of churches to take care of the Protestant boys and find for them "big brothers." I am reaching out not only for the boy who has been in the court, but the gang of which he is a member. The council has called for 5,000 men to help in this work. The Roman Catholics are looking after their boys and girls with a man and two women workers who are constantly in attendance upon the court. The Jews through their highly efficient charities organization have placed a man at all hearings and the services of a number of their women social workers on telephone call. The problems of the colored people will be handled by the urban league, which has a representative constantly in attendance. The international institute supplies interpreters when necessary.
>
> My hearings are held in a large business office, at a long directors' table, and instead of the usual gang of loafers, curiosity seekers and bums that hang around a police court, I am flanked on each side by the group of social workers I have named, and these are reinforced by the secretaries and other officers of the associated charities, juvenile court, child welfare association, children's service bureau, council of

churches, etc. At the door is a big uniformed policeman who has orders to admit no one except persons interested in the case being tried.

While the court has been in operation but a few weeks, the results obtained even in so short a time would indicate the vast improvement that may be expected from this innovation in the conduct of these courts.

The innovation consists in substituting for the fist, the hand; for brutality, kindness; for knocking down, helping up; yet where necessary unflinchingly enforcing the law, but always with the thought and the hope of reclamation.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

Perpetual Franchise.—In the case of *City of Covington* v. *South Covington* and C. St. Ry. Co. (38 Sup. Ct. Rep. 376), it was held that an ordinance granting "All the right and authority that" the city had "the capacity to grant, to construct, hold and operate a street railroad upon and along" certain streets, which provided for the termination of the rights conveyed only in event of the failure of the grantees to keep their covenants, must be deemed a perpetual franchise, although a prior ordinance "prescribing the terms and conditions of street passenger railroads within" the city provided that "all contracts made under the provisions of this ordinance shall be for the term and period of 25 years", since this prior ordinance did not address itself to the construction or scope of future ordinances.

Mr. Justice Clarke dissented, saying among other things: "Fully realizing the futility for the present, of dissenting from what seems to me an unfortunate extension of the doctrine of the Owensboro case (230 U. S. 58), I deem it my duty to record my dissent, with the hope for a return to the sound, but now seemingly neglected, doctrine of *Blair* v. *Chicago* (201 U. S. 400), declaring that a corporation which would successfully assert a private right in a public street must come prepared to show that it has been conferred 'in plain terms,' in express terms, and that any ambiguity in the terms of the grant must be resolved in favor of the public and against the corporation 'which can claim nothing which is not clearly given.' "

⁂

Legal Depository.—In the suit by a city to recover funds in a bank in process of liquidation pursuant to a state law, declaring such deposits to be a trust fund, the bank having failed to give bond required by law, it was held in *Bank of Commerce* v. *City of Gulfport* (78 Southern 519), that there could be no estoppel against the city for the acts of its officers in treating the bank as though it were a legal depository.

⁂

Municipal Corporation.—In *State* v. *Servat* (78 Southern 437) it was decided that the sewerage and water board of the city of New Orleans, a mere agency for the more convenient administration of the sewerage and water business of the city, was not a "municipal corporation." The defendant had been convicted of violating an ordinance of this board. The supreme court said that it had no jurisdiction of the appeal on this account.

⁂

Theatre Tickets.—In *People* v. *Thompson* (119 N. E. 41) the supreme court of Illinois decided that a municipal ordinance regulating the granting of licenses for theatrical performances, which prohibited secret alliances with ticket brokers or scalpers, declaring that no theatre company, employe or officers thereof should receive directly or indirectly any sum in excess of the price printed upon the tickets is a valid exercise of the police power. By a state law, municipalities were granted authority to license, tax, regulate, suppress and prohibit theatricals and other exhibitions, shows and amusements.

⁂

Municipal Bonds.—The complainant submitted a bid for an issue of bonds which was accepted and was based on a circular sent out by the city inviting bids and containing a financial statement. This statement gave the actual value of property subject to taxation. According to law the assessed value was one-fifth the actual value. The net indebtedness of Omaha did not exceed 7 per cent of the valuation according to the statement of the circular, but was largely in excess of the assessed valuation.

In *Omaha* v. *Venner* (243 Federal 106) it was held that whatever construction should be placed on the statement of the circular or upon the statutes of the state limiting investments by savings banks, they were sufficiently uncertain to entitle complainant to be relieved from his bid on the ground of mistake in supposing that the statement referred to assessed valuation.

⁂

Injury to Vessel.—Despite the uniformity of admiralty jurisdiction and the injunctive power of the court of equity, which extends to members of a levy court to restrain them from acting beyond the scope of their jurisdiction or otherwise unlawfully, it was held in the case of the Alex Y. Hanna (246 Federal 157) that a libel in admiralty against the member of the Delaware Levy Court to recover for injuries to a vessel resulting from negligence in opening and operating a drawbridge across a navigable river, which was under the control of a levy court, cannot be maintained; neither the county nor the levy court being subject to tort actions.

⁂

Paving of Tracks.—In *Wheeling Traction Company* v. *Board of Commissioners of Belmont County, Ohio* (248 Federal, 205) it was held that the county commissioners cannot contract away the police power to regulate the highways, and an agreement that the defendant traction company should pave its tracks with a particular material does not preclude the commissioners from thereafter ordering a change.

⁂

Negligence.—A policeman had been made foreman of a city garage. He sent a man who had been hanging around the garage to get an inner tube and authorized him to use a car that had been left in the garage by a citizen with the view to selling it to the city. While on the errand, the driver ran over and killed the plaintiff. In *Levin* v. *Omaha* (167 N. W. 214) the city was held liable on the ground that the policeman was a servant of the city in its corporate capacity. Two judges dissented, feeling that the law of agency was being extended altogether too far in this case.

⁂

Are Women Electors.—In *Sears* v. *Maquoketa* (166 N. W. 700) the supreme court of Iowa decided that the mere fact that the legislature had given women the power to vote on bond issues does not make them electors; that their votes cannot be counted in determining whether more than half the electors who voted at the last municipal election favored the issue of bonds, but that the comparison is between male voters.

⁂

Street Car License Fees.—In *Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company* v. *Milwaukee* (167 N. W. 428) it was decided that an ordinance imposing an annual license fee of $15 per car used and operated in the city by a street railroad is a revenue measure and void, since the authority to tax or license street railways for revenue given by laws of 1860 and 1898 were taken away by later legislation.

⁂

Employment of Women.—In *State* v. *Metropolitan Park District of Tacoma* (176 Pac. 254) it was decided that neither Metropolitan Park districts nor any municipal corporation can be guilty of violating the law prohibiting the employment of females more than eight hours at any mechanical or mercantile establishment, laundry, hotel or restaurant, but those acting for them can be guilty thereof. Metropolitan Park districts have no power to operate a public restaurant.

⁂

Acceptance of Gifts.—In *O'Melbeny* v. *Griffith* (171 Pac. 934) the supreme court of California decided that the ordinances of the city of Los Angeles accepting a gift to erect in a certain park two structures and to appoint in accordance with the terms of the gift three citizens to supervise the erection and manage and control the structures were void. The plaintiffs as park commissioners objected on the ground that the arrangement was in conflict with their charter powers.

Robert E. Tracy.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

A List of State Leagues of Municipalities.[1]—Alabama: Alabama Municipal League. Secretary, George Jacob Davis, Jr., University, Alabama.

California: League of California Municipalities. Executive secretary, Wm. J. Locke, Almeda, California. Official organ: *Pacific Municipalities* (monthly).

Connecticut: Mayors Association of Connecticut. Secretary-treasurer, Dr. J. Milton Coburn, Norwalk, Connecticut.

Idaho: North Idaho Municipal League. Secretary, Prof. Howard T. Lewis, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho.

Illinois: Illinois Municipal League. Secretary, Prof. John A. Fairlie, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

Indiana: Municipal League of Indiana. Secretary, Stanley S. Jones, Shelbyville, Indiana.

Iowa: League of Iowa Municipalities. Secretary, Frank G. Pierce, Marshalltown, Iowa. Official organ: *American Municipalities* (monthly).

Kansas: League of Kansas Municipalities. Secretary, Homer Talbot, Lawrence, Kansas. Official organ: *Kansas Municipalities* (monthly).

Louisiana: League of Louisiana Municipalities. Secretary, Mayor Joseph B. Elam, Mansfield, Louisiana. Official organ: *Louisiana Municipalities and Highways* (monthly).

Michigan: League of Michigan Municipalities. Secretary, Charles A. Sink, Alderman, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Minnesota: League of Minnesota Municipalities. Executive secretary, E. L. Bennett, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Official organ: *Minnesota Municipalities* (bi-monthly).

Montana: Montana Municipal League. Secretary, H. L. Fitton, city clerk, Lewistown, Montana.

Nebraska: League of Nebraska Municipalities. Secretary-treasurer, C. A. Sorensen, 422 Funke Building, Lincoln, Nebraska. Official organ: *Nebraska Municipal Review* (quarterly).

New Jersey: New Jersey State League of Municipalities. Executive secretary, Claude H. Anderson, Princeton. Official organ: *New Jersey Municipalities* (monthly except July and August).

New Mexico: New Mexico League of Municipalities. Secretary, Howard L. Bickley, Suite 3, Mendelson Building, Raton, New Mexico.

New York: New York State Conference of Mayors and other City Officials. Secretary, William P. Capes, 25 Washington Avenue, Albany, New York.

North Carolina: Carolina Municipal Association. Secretary-treasurer, Mayor Fred I. Sutton, Kinston, North Carolina.

North Dakota: Municipal League of North Dakota. Secretary, W. H. Alexander, city auditor, Grand Forks, North Dakota. (Reported temporarily inactive by secretary.)

Ohio: Ohio Municipal League. Secretary, Gardner Lattimer, Toledo Commerce Club, Toledo, Ohio. (Reported temporarily inactive by secretary.)

Oklahoma: Oklahoma Municipal League. Secretary-treasurer, Dr. F. F. Blackly, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

Pennsylvania: League of Cities of the Third Class. Secretary, Fred H. Gates, city clerk, Wilkes-Barre. Proceedings of annual conventions regularly published. Pennsylvania also has a State Bureau of Municipalities, J. Herman Knisely, chief, State House, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Tennessee: Tennessee Municipal League. Secretary: Charles C. Gilbert, Stahlman Building, Nashville, Tennessee.

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[1] As existing July 1, 1918. Compiled by the Bureau of Municipal Information of the New Jersey State League of Municipalities. Claude H. Anderson, director and secretary, Association of State Leagues of Municipalities.

Texas: League of Texas Municipalities. Executive secretary, Albert A. Long, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. Official organ: *Texas Municipalities* (bimonthly).

Virginia: League of Virginia Municipalities. Secretary, L. C. Brinson, Portsmouth, Va.

Washington: League of Washington Municipalities. Acting secretary, E. D. O'Brien, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

Wisconsin: League of Wisconsin Municipalities. Secretary-treasurer, Ford H. MacGregor, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. Official organ: *The Municipality* (monthly).

*

Virginia's Community and Civic Leagues.—Under the auspices of the Co-operative Education Association of Virginia, two kinds of leagues have been organized around the schools of the state. The first is the community or civic league, which is composed of adults, teachers, parents, and friends of the school, and works for the upbuilding of the community and the school. The second is the junior civic leagues, or as they are now called the high or elementary school co-operative leagues. These junior civic leagues are made up of pupils of the schools; there may be one made up of high school pupils, and another of elementary pupils over ten years of age. It is possible, therefore, for three leagues to be associated with the school: the civic league, or adult organization, the high school league, and the elementary league.

A constitution for these pupil leagues is provided by the State Co-operative Education Association and is printed as part of a pamphlet issued by this association. This constitution and the pamphlet explaining and amplifying it suggest the work and organization of the junior leagues.

There is a school improvement committee whose object is to look after the improvement and care of the school buildings and grounds; a civic improvement committee encourages the improvement of streets, roads, home surroundings and sanitary conditions. A social, literary and entertainment committee and an athletic committee are self explanatory. A boys' club committee and a girls' club committee promote the formation of desirable farming, poultry, canning clubs, as well as Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. organizations.

A teacher is elected as censor, otherwise the direction of these above named activities is exclusively in the hands of the pupils. There are now more than 500 of these junior leagues scattered over the state. A few of them only have been formed in cities. The movement dates from 1912.

D. R. Anderson.

*

A Significant Park Gift.—John H. Patterson, the president of the National Cash Register Company of Dayton, has given to that city a million-dollar park. It is no new thing for a generous citizen to make a large gift in the way of land to the city in which he has lived and worked, but there is something significant in this particular gift, which represents the confidence of a shrewd, resourceful and successful business man in the commission-manager form of government. A number of years ago park space amounting to 146 acres lying two miles nearer the city than the present Patterson gift was offered to the city on condition that $10,000 be spent on improvements. The city council turned this proffer down as one of its members owned real estate in another section of the town which he wished to develop. The present administration eagerly accepted the present gift or nearly 300 acres with a proviso that $5,000 annually should be spent for upkeep. In connection with his gift, Mr. Patterson wrote the city commissioners as follows:

"I want you to impress upon all the people that this park is given, not at all as a memorial for me, but solely as a memorial to good government in Dayton. I would not have presented this park at this time, had not the people last November endorsed good government by re-electing three good, non-partisan men to the commission. I wish that the people could realize all the benefits that good government has brought to them, and yet we are only beginning. The commission-manager form of government is the only one which is strictly of the people, by the people, and for the people.

"The people all over the country are watching Dayton. They feel the commission-manager form of government is still on trial. With us, it is no longer on trial, as it has been fully tried and found successful. It is bound to succeed, because the charter of Dayton is founded on the same principles that have made American business successful.

"What is good for Dayton is good for any other city. I look forward to the day when the commission-manager form of government will be universal among cities, counties, and states, and the United States. Then it is but a step to fitting it to the United States of the World."

Another point of interest is that when the city manager movement came to Dayton, the city owned thirty-five acres of park. Since that time 485 acres have been acquired, including the 294 involved in Mr. Patterson's gift.

⁂

Kansas City City Club.—Kansas City's active city club is to have new headquarters. The plans call for taking over the upper two floors of the Missouri building, which is being reconstructed for the purpose. The new quarters will give the club three times the floor space which it now has in the Glendale building.

⁂

The American City Bureau has absorbed the business and good will of the Town Development Company, specialists in conducting membership campaigns for commercial organizations and publishers of *Town Development.*

⁂

Washington Gladden, who for a number of years was a member of the National Municipal League and a speaker at its various meetings, died in July at Columbus, Ohio. One of Dr. Gladden's addresses, "Civic Religion," was reprinted in leaflet form and thousands of copies distributed throughout the country, stimulating young and old alike to a higher conception of their civic duties. Dr. Gladden was one of the earliest proponents of social Christianity, and wrote a number of interesting volumes dealing with various phases of the subject.

⁂

Wayne D. Heydecker, who has been the efficient committee secretary of the New York city club has resigned to become associate editor of the *American City,* taking charge of the research department of the American City Bureau (Tribune building).

⁂

Raymond Moley, instructor in political science in Western Reserve University, Cleveland, has been appointed director of Americanization for the Ohio state council of defense. Mr. Moley is also chairman of the National Municipal League's committee on the same subject.

⁂

Professor John A. Fairlie of the University of Illinois is now in the orders and regulations branch of the quartermaster general's office, handling a considerable volume of new rules, orders and regulations dealing not only with the Washington office but with the general work of the quartermaster corps of the army.

⁂

Chester H. Wells, for the past thirteen years the efficient health officer of Montclair, has been chosen state health commissioner of Delaware. He is secretary of the health administration section of the American Public Health Association and has been actively identified with progressive movements in the line of his work. Among other sanitarians who began their professional work in Montclair are Marshall O. Leighton, Prof. C.-E. A. Winslow, and Horatio N. Parker.

⁂

Professor Herman G. James, associate professor of government at the University of Texas, and director of the bureau of municipal research and reference at that institution, having entered government service, has resigned as associate editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

REPORT OF GEORGE BURNHAM, JR., TREASURER

For the fiscal year ending March 31, 1918

Salaries and clerical	$8,446.20	Dues	$8,792.08
Postage	892.75	Contributions	3,663.40
Printing and stationery	1,460.08	Review subscriptions	3,105.25
Office rent	826.67	Sales of publications	583.88
Traveling expenses	240.90	N. M. L. series	2.83
General	752.54	Review fund	315.00
News clippings	186.31	Royalties	232.26
N. M. R. Publication	6,035.82	Miscellaneous receipts	754.90
Sundry commissions	23.38		
Miscellaneous payments	132.58	Gross income	$17,449.60
Portland Prize Inc.	19.50	Loss for year	1,567.13
	$19,016.73		$19,016.73

Two New Volumes in the National Municipal League Series:

A NEW MUNICIPAL PROGRAM

EXPERT CITY GOVERNMENT

These volumes are now in press and will be published during the autumn. Orders will be received now at 703 North American Building, Philadelphia.

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NEW AND SECOND HAND EQUIPMENT FOR SALE

2 New 60″ x 60″ Chapman Sluice Gates, Bronze Mounted, Rectangular, Rising Spindle, Standard Frame, each with 46′ extended spindle, Fig. 476, Page 208, List 89, Cat. No. 32, Chapman Valve Co.

2 Heavy Geared, Double Crank, Ball Bearing Floor Stands, with enclosed gears, for use on above gates, Fig. 442, Page 173, List 76, Cat. No. 32.

25 ft. New Suction Hose, diameter 20″, made of 15 ply Hose Duck, coated both sides, tube walls, $\frac{3}{16}$″ Steel, Spiral Wrapped, $\frac{5}{8}$″ x $2\frac{1}{2}$″ pitch, Corrugated.

600 Second Hand Northern and Western Cedar Poles, 22 ft. and and 25 ft., cut down from longer lengths. Good condition.

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NATIONAL
MUNICIPAL REVIEW

VOL. VII, No. 6 NOVEMBER, 1918 TOTAL No. 32

Ordinarily the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW should be in the hands of members and subscribers within a week of the first day of the months of publication, to wit, January, March, May, July, September, and November. The extraordinary conditions of the last six months, however, have resulted in numerous delays. If the magazine is not received by the 15th of the month of issue, the Editor will be greatly obliged if a postal to that effect is sent to his office, 703 North American Building, Philadelphia.

THE FATE OF THE FIVE CENT FARE

BY DORSEY WILLIAM HYDE, JR.[1]

Judge Ransom's article entitled "A new Deal on the Franchise Question" was delivered at the annual meeting of the National Municipal League, held in Greenwich House, New York City, June 6. As it has appeared practically in full in several publications before the National Municipal League had an opportunity of publishing it, we have asked Mr. Hyde to give an abstract of the article and to bring it up to date in the way of developments, which he has done.—EDITOR.

THE cause of the American municipality in the present nation-wide propaganda for higher fares was ably defended by Judge William L. Ransom, counsel for the New York public service commission for the first district, in his address before the June meeting of the National Municipal League in New York city.

Pointing out that the present situation has placed a "wholesome and salutary power in the hands of the municipalities" the speaker urged that American cities face their traction problems in a courageous and statesmanlike way, granting increases where absolutely necessary but insisting upon just and desirable changes in franchise terms for future public protection. "Lines and portions of lines which are no longer necessary or desirable should be abandoned, and not continued as drains upon the resources of the systems. In many instances, rail lines on the surface are obsolete, and should give way to improved or more economical facilities. 'Water' should come out of stock; the power of 'extortion' possessed by the holders of 'pioneer franchises,' covering essential links in the present-day system, should be broken."

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[1] Municipal Reference Librarian, New York City.

The street railway problem is not of recent growth. Long prior to the war there was conflict between the desire of investors to obtain a legitimate return upon their investments and the desire of the general public to obtain good service at low cost. With increased costs due to the war, investors have found their incomes reduced and street railway patrons are being asked to pay more, for a service in many instances actually inferior to previous standards.

LOW FARES ARE ESSENTIAL

There are a great number of cases where favorable action in the matter of relief "is the alternative of cessation of service." Granting the need for relief the problem is from what source the assistance will be forthcoming. As "most of our municipal communities have been built up, and their population distributed, in reliance upon the prevalence of low fares for intra-urban and suburban travel," it is a grave question whether or not sharp increases in transportation costs will become a social factor of menacing importance.

Rather than deterioration of service, properties, and employes, Judge Ransom believes that "slight, temporary advances in fares" would be preferable. There is, however, an acceptable alternative which may be adopted in some of the larger cities. Responsibility for operating deficits may be temporarily accepted by the public authorities, *i.e.*, the community may decide to meet the deficit temporarily by taxation, rather than raise the rates. This principle, embodied in the New York city subway contracts, enables the municipality, at its option, to maintain the low, uniform rate of fare, despite the temporary period of war-time costs.

NATION-WIDE MOVE FOR HIGHER FARES

Before taking up Judge Ransom's discussion of recent developments in New York state let us outline the main features of the problem in its nation-wide aspect treating each event in due sequence. Early in the war the public utility interests decided upon a nation-wide campaign for "relief" and fixed upon the state utility commissions as the most advantageous point of attack. As Judge Ransom points out: "The courts and public service commissions of various states have been inclined to hold that . . . the commission . . . has power to authorize the company to charge more than five cents, without the consent of the city or a modification of the franchise contract."

At this point it is interesting to trace the history of this doctrine of commission jurisdiction over local utility franchises and contracts. The movement for state regulatory bodies, in its inception, aimed to protect the interests of local communities. Acting upon the principle that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, public utility corporations are now noisily insisting upon the duty of state commissions, under present trying conditions, to afford them protection from the sort of rapaciousness of which they themselves were guilty in the past.

DO STATE COMMISSIONS POSSESS JURISDICTION?

But an examination of public service commission laws, and opinions of commissioners themselves, by no means tends to indicate a uniformity of opinion on this point. As matters stand to-day there are some eighteen states where the commission does not have jurisdiction or has failed to act, and almost a dozen states where there is no commission. On the other hand the question of jurisdiction is pretty firmly established in about fifteen states, is claimed but contested in five states, is claimed but not affirmed (by courts), or as yet exercised, in three states, and in one other state is claimed, but not affirmed although increases have been granted.

The problem is first of all complicated by the degree of home rule operative in the various states. In California the public utility act provides that all incorporated cities so voting have jurisdiction until same is surrendered to the commission. In Ohio, Alabama, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Oregon, South Dakota, Tennessee, Michigan and Texas, the original public service commission law denied the jurisdiction of the commission. Of these states Colorado, Kansas, Oregon, Illinois, Indiana, now claim or have been ordered to assume jurisdiction. In Colorado although complete jurisdiction is claimed by the commission it has only been affirmed (by courts) in regard to cities not operating under the home rule act. It is interesting to note that in the original public service commission laws of the different states jurisdiction was specifically denied in thirteen states and obviously not contemplated in twelve states—a total of twenty-five states. In sixteen or seventeen states only was jurisdiction specifically asserted.

The New Jersey constitution "does not confer upon cities the right to grant street franchises, and the requirement for municipal consent was imposed by legislative acts." In this state the jurisdiction of the commission has been definitely established, but the demands of the public service railway have been refused notwithstanding that its president called a witness for the defense a "jackass" and referred to the board of commissioners as "political horse-thieves." But, as pointed out above, the New Jersey case does not furnish a precedent for other states where a larger degree of home rule is vested in the cities.

BASIS OF MUNICIPAL CLAIM OF JURISDICTION

The claim of jurisdiction by the commissions in many cases is based upon the theory that "there is always existent a right upon the part of the legislature to change the law"—the legislature is the sovereign body and all local powers are delegated therefrom. Professor McBain has admirably shown how this "doctrine of legislative supremacy over the political subdivisions of the state has been upheld with little if any regard for the property rights of these subdivisions" (the cities), and how this has resulted in the ignoring of the *personal* character of this city. In fact the framers of the constitution of the state of Pennsylvania realized this tendency and sought to tie the hands of the legislature by declaring that "The general assembly shall not delegate to any special commission . . . any power to make, supervise, or interfere with any municipal government."[2] For legal opinion on this point we quote Judge McQuillin: "It is well settled that the state legislature may authorize a municipality to establish by contract the rates to be charged by a public service corporation for a definite term, not grossly unreasonable in point of time, and that the effect of such a contract is to suspend, during the life of the contract, the governmental power of fixing and regulating the rates, but inasmuch as such contract extinguishes an undoubted power of government, *both its existence and the authority to make it must be resolved in favor of the continuance of the power.*"[3] Present-day commissions apparently have based their claim of jurisdiction on the *underlined* portion of Judge McQuillin's holding, although such an interpretation would seem to be in direct conflict with the intention of the writer.

INTENTION OF ORIGINAL COMMISSION LAWS

Reference to the public utility commission acts reveals another fact of importance. While in the majority of cases the right of a municipality to regulate fares is tacitly admitted it is often specified that the commission has the right of supervision over the fares of *interurban* street railway corporations. But even this principle is not universally accepted, as is evidenced by the ruling made by the Ohio commission and sustained by the supreme court, to the effect that the commission "had no authority to increase the rates of fare of interurban roads which have accepted certain rates in consideration of franchises from cities and counties through which they pass." (According to the secretary of the Ohio commission "while there was some talk of an appeal to the federal courts, nothing has yet developed.")

All things considered the question of jurisdiction (except perhaps, as previously indicated, in the states where home rule powers are greatly restricted) is by no means settled. The Maine commission bases its authority for action, first on the question of the *lawfulness* of contracts between city and utility and secondly upon the sovereign power of the legislature. In Indiana the commission declined to assume jurisdiction until ordered to do so by the state supreme court, which court based its order on the theory that an emergency existed, thus giving the commission authority to act under Section 122 of the public service commission act.

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[2] Quoted in McBain, *The Law and the Practice of Municipal Home Rule.*

[3] See further the much cited decision of the federal supreme court handed down by Mr. Justice Day in *Vicksburg* vs. *Vicksburg Water Works Co.*, 206, U. S. 496, 27 Sup. Ct. 762, 51 L. Ed. 1155. Also Dillon, *Municipal Corporations*, Vol. III, p. 2242, par. 1326.

THE PLEA FOR "EMERGENCY" RELIEF

The "emergency" argument has been worked to the utmost by the public service corporations as a justification of their claims. In fact in several states the commission was requested to grant *immediate* relief to the petitioning railways before the formality of an investigation! That this argument is by no means new and has been used in the past to extract valuable concessions from public regulatory and legislative bodies is shown by the following statement of Mayor Jacob A. Westervelt of New York city in his annual message of 1854: "I cannot but deprecate the practice which has grown into use of late years, of applying, almost annually, to the legislature of the state for amendments to the charter, whose necessity is urged to meet special emergencies, or alleged exigencies."[4]

Propaganda on the part of interested utility corporations reached its height last spring when in a number of states much money had been spent in collective advertising and publicity campaigns. Then out of a clear sky, when all seemed to be going well, there came in rapid succession the decisions in New York, Massachusetts and New Jersey to dash previous hopes and change entirely the prospects for immediate grants of "relief."

CRUCIAL EVENTS IN THREE STATES

In the North Shore railroad case over a year ago the New York commission of the second district had refused to act, on the grounds that it lacked jurisdiction. The commission was ordered to assume jurisdiction by the appellate division, and the increase requested by the company was granted. But in the case of *Quinby* vs. *Public Service Commission* the New York court of appeals, somewhat unexpectedly, ruled "that as to rates limited by the provisions of franchise contracts, the commission may not put the company in position to exceed the franchise maximum without first obtaining the city's consent."[5]

Massachusetts came next. When the state legislature adjourned in May it had by its enactments stripped of its powers the state commission—referred to as "the oldest, as well as one of the most progressive of the commissions" in street railway periodicals—and provided for public control, with and without guarantee, "cost of service" plan, subsidies, and municipal ownership as substitutes. Editor Harlow C. Clark of *Æra,* in commenting on this action, said: "It is scarcely too much to say that the theory of state regulation of electric railways, has by these acts of the general court, been relegated to the past so far as Massachusetts is concerned."*

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[4] Quoted in McBain, *The Law and the Practice of Municipal Home Rule*, p. 6.

[5] The wording is from Judge Ransom.

The final blow came from the "sure fire" state—New Jersey, where the principle of commission jurisdiction is well established. Largely as a result of the strenuous fight organized and directed by the New Jersey state league of municipalities, the $3,700,000 "relief" applied for was practically denied—the award being $860,000 (to be derived through a one-cent transfer charge) with the stipulation that the company must live up to certain obligations and submit a plan for a zoning system before January 1, 1919.[6]

NEW ATTITUDE TOWARD MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

At this unpleasant juncture a prominent street railway man, returned from a trip through the west, proclaimed that the failure of regulation by state commissions, demonstrated in Massachusetts, "was forecast in other states when the character of the personnel of the commissions began to decline." (More "horse thieves" in our midst!) The same gentleman pointed out that the street railway business was going to the "demnation bow-wows" and that although state ownership "may do violence to our preconceived notions of sound economics and politics" nevertheless "our troubles in the future may be lessened by inviting it now."

The fight, however, still continues. A war board of the street railway interests appeared before the federal war labor board in June and it was suggested to the board that the President or congress might "take over the control of electric railways to a sufficient degree to regulate their rates, irrespective of state statutes or local franchises, for the period of the war." Following upon the hearing the board issued a statement pointing out the "necessity of action to enable companies to pay higher wages."

THE SITUATION TO-DAY

A few months ago, according to *Æra,* street railway fares had been increased in 246 American cities, affecting more than one-quarter of the urban population of the country. In 43 cities, according to the same authority the seven-cent fare has been adopted, and the six-cent unit in 86 other municipalities. Three cities had even gone as high as ten cents. The zone system, viewed with such apprehension a short time ago, has been adopted in one form or another in some 27 communities. The increases, in many instances, have been obtained by the companies after surrender of their franchise rights and the problem of drawing up new agreements, or even the transfer to municipal ownership, is demanding much attention. Hard words are being bandied about in Chicago over the proposed street railway ordinance. Mayor Davis of Cleveland has gone on record as favoring municipal ownership, and Seattle[7] and Portland are definitely attempting to take over the operation of their street railways. Perhaps the most extreme evidence of the tendency is the recent action of the Louisiana state legislature in passing an act authorizing municipalities to band together to build, own and operate interurban street railways.

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* *Aera,* June, 1918, p. 1077.

[6] *Word has just come that this decision has been reversed on appeal and the seven cent fare allowed in the New Jersey cities where the public service railway operates.*

EFFECT OF INCREASED FARES

It is difficult at the present writing to say just what has been (or will be) the effect of increased street railway fares upon the travelling public. In the cities where increases have been granted the financial results have been far from satisfactory. The United railways of St. Louis, finding that the six-cent fare is not producing sufficient revenue, are applying for a test of a three-zone system, with a minimum five-cent central area.[8] In several other cities the results have been disappointing to the companies. To this should be added the information that the companies, disappointed in their expectations, are asking further increases, until it would seem that as far as they are concerned "the sky is the limit." On the other hand, as pointed out by Judge Ransom, fare increases may become a social factor of menacing importance as regards certain of the laboring classes. Word comes from Detroit that "violence and bloodshed" followed the short-lived attempt to increase street railway fares, and echoes of this dire condition have come from a number of other cities. We may all be sure that the end is not yet in sight, and if this all-important problem of municipal economy is to be satisfactorily solved the constructive thought and action of every public official and civic worker is urgently demanded.

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[7] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. VII, p. 642.

[8] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. VII, p. 591.

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WAR TIME HOUSING IN AMERICA[1]

BY JOHN IHLDER[2]

Philadelphia

IN pre-war days we listed and discussed the reports[3] on local housing conditions prepared for local committees and perhaps appended to them the names of a series of improved industrial villages created by corporations for their own employes and of one or two new and small limited dividend companies organized to improve the dwellings of wage-earners in large cities. That was our seed time. Without it we should have entered the war totally unprepared to deal with one of the most difficult factors in our war industry problem—the housing of our workers. We should have provided far less effectively and with correspondingly greater loss through sickness and death, for the housing of our armies during their period of training.

Had we begun our planting ten years earlier or been granted ten years more for the seed to germinate, the story of our war-time housing would have been a different one. As it is we have been compelled to force the harvest, to do in a scant year and a half what should have taken several years, to thresh out at high speed and with minds pre-occupied by an overwhelming mass of detail, policies and problems that should have been settled before construction began. Even to-day we have not settled these fundamental questions; we are fighting the battles without having fully decided upon the plan of campaign. Our great good fortune is that we had available men who had studied the problems involved, though on limited fields, and like our army officers whose only practice had been with regiments and divisions, they are now demonstrating an ability to think and act in terms of a nation mobilized.

NATIVE MIGRATION

But this rapid progress makes futile any attempt to list and discuss individual communities as we did in the past. That way we are likely to miss seeing the forest because of the trees. A year and a half ago we were still thinking along old channels, though at slightly higher speed. The pre-war boom towns—Bridgeport, Flint, Hopewell, Penns Grove—had forced us to take new factors into our calculations. The virtual cessation of immigration from Europe, the migration of our native population to war industry centers, which reached a dramatic phase in the great negro migration of 1917, introduced new values.

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[1] See article "Wooden Cities":—The National Army Cantonments, by John Ihlder Volume VII, pp. 139.

[2] Secretary, Philadelphia housing association; representative U. S. housing corporation for Philadelphia; member, national city planning institute.

[3] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

Our entrance into the war greatly increased this movement of native population. Certain sections of the country because of location, natural resources, established industries fitted to supply war essentials, drew workmen by the thousand and in some cases by the hundred thousand. At the same time the construction of new dwellings virtually ceased. Housing shortages in the war-industry centers became acute and private means were unable to meet the need. Yet unless the need were met, essential industries would halt because of lack of workers. We were compelled to think not in terms of a single manufacturing concern, even though it is as large as the U. S. Steel Corporation which built large towns, nor even in terms of a great industrial community like Philadelphia, which delights to call itself the workshop of the world, but in terms of a nation suddenly called upon to utilize all its resources to the utmost.

WE ARE TOO BUSY FOR MANY REPORTS

This change is reflected not so much in reports recently issued, for we are going too fast now to write many reports or to have them be little less than antiquated by the time they are published, but in the work that is being done. A year and a half ago we were issuing old-time reports; even in 1918 an occassional one appears from some still comparatively unhurried community, as that written by Robert E. Todd for the Des Moines housing commission. It is excellent of its kind. Especially effective are the illustrations. Mr. Todd has a way of writing his message on the photograph itself and using arrows to point to the exact spot to which he wishes to call attention that is much more effective than the usual description printed below a picture. It spoils the artistry, but it makes perfectly clear what he wants the reader to see. This report, like the interesting one on New Amsterdam, New York, written by Miss Udetta D. Brown, and that prepared for the city commission of Portland, Oregon, of which a summary is published in the *Oregon Voter* of July 20, 1918, raise again the old wonder how the citizens of a community can read such descriptions and not act. After enumerating the windowless rooms, the foul toilets and insanitary plumbing which make the city of roses smell like something quite different to a large proportion of its population, the *Voter* gives one picture in detail:

PORTLAND, OREGON, CONDITIONS

In one two-room tenement lives a family of four, and there is no direct access to the outside air in either room. There is no sink in either room. Water has to be carried from a distance and the slops carried out an equal distance. At the end of the hall is an enclosed toilet, which ventilates into the same hallway that the two enclosed rooms depend upon for what air they get. A stifling stench pervades the entire premises—and little children breathe this from morning until night and then the whole family breathes it all night long.

Such is the home of one family in Portland, a rich, conservative city in a thinly settled commonwealth over which it may expand. Nor is this news to Portland, for it has been told similar stories during the past half dozen years. What Portland lacks is energy, not to overcome the greed and selfishness of a few landlords, but its own inertia and lazy acceptance of tradition and conditions.

THE INTEREST OF THE DYNAMIC BUSINESS ELEMENT

In other parts of the country war is supplying this energy, but accompanying it by a loss of effective power. Suddenly aroused to the need of more housing and better housing the dynamic business element has set itself to secure new dwellings of an improved type, but has become so absorbed in this that it neglects to inquire into the conditions of existing dwellings. Bridgeport, Connecticut, is still our best example, for there some attention was paid to existing buildings and the law was strengthened even though the greatest attention was given to new construction. Even in Bridgeport the emphasis was so much on one side that the plans for a new "model" apartment house had to be redrawn to comply with the law. Bridgeport had the great advantage of a prewar boom, however, which concentrated outside attention upon it and brought it criticism and suggestion in plenty. Later towns, like Lockport, New York, did not awaken until the housing shortage had begun to become national in its effects, and the efforts of its housing company failed to excite much more than local interest. Their successes or failures may or may not have interest to us after the war. If now, like Elizabethtown, New Jersey, they do succeed in erecting a few good dwellings, despite the high costs of labor and material and the difficulty of securing capital, they have a double satisfaction, they are helping to meet their own needs and at the same time aiding the nation—providing the workers who inhabit their new dwellings are engaged in essential industries. Five years ago we would have watched such co-operative efforts with the greatest interest as indications of a long step forward from ownership by a single firm. Now we do not know whether their contribution is anything more than the provision of a few more dwellings.

With these efforts of business groups to meet a need too great for the old-time competitive builder's resources may be classed the latest comers among company villages: Berwin, Tennessee, the garden village of the Connecticut Mills Company, Sawyer Park at Williamsport, Pennsylvania, the new developments at Dayton and Youngstown and Morgan Park. Some of these may have technical features calling for study; some may show the way to meet a practical difficulty—or a way sure to lead us into difficulty and therefore to be avoided. With them again may be classed an ever-increasing number of pamphlets on housing issued by concerns which have something to sell. They are a natural sequel to the old-time housing reports from which they draw a great part of their argument. Now that the business man has at last awakened to the need of good housing for wage-earners other business men are ready to sell it to him. The "ready-cut house" firms were the first in this field, but they now have competitors among dealers in metal lath, cement, lumber. Many of their publications are handsomely gotten out, as that of the Associated Metal Lath Manufacturers entitled *As a Man Liveth. Industrial Houses of Concrete and Stucco* by the Atlas Portland Cement Company is more obviously a catalogue as its straightforward title indicates; while *Housing and Industry* by the National Lumber Manufacturers Association mingles housing philosophy with selling arguments. The National Fire Protective Association recognizes the new era by supplementing the building code of the National Board of Fire Underwriters with a pamphlet on *Recommendations on Emergency Housing*, and well-known firms like Ballinger and Perot and the Aberthaw Construction Company call attention to their services past and prospective by pamphlets on *Modern Industrial Housing* and *Industrial Housing Problems*. It is such as these that prove housing has ceased to be the fad of reformers and become the business of practical men. If only the practical men had arrived a few years earlier—but then they would not have been practical.

NATIONAL HOUSING ASSOCIATION'S PUBLICATION

How fast we are moving in housing is indicated by the *Proceedings* of the National Housing Association, held in October, 1917, and of the symposium on war housing, held in Philadelphia in February, 1918. The former shows us trying to get some understanding of our war housing problem and using as illustrative the experiences of small communities like Kenosha and Akron or the great, but foreign one of England. It contains discussions on reducing the cost of workmen's dwellings—reminiscent of a time when we dreamed of the $1,000 house, while now we are building $5,000 and $6,000 houses; on the best house for the small wage-earner, while now we are building for the wage-earner who gets from $50 to $150 a week—the small wage-earner must wait in an old building until after the war; on housing by employers, while now employers are calling upon the government to build; on the real estate man, while now the real estate man is closing his almost useless office to take part in Liberty Loan drives, for his houses are all rented. Whatever conclusion could have been reached then on such subjects must be modified now and probably still more modified before peace is signed—and after. Opinions are —or should be—based on facts.

Yet this volume has more than an historic interest for it contains some discussions on questions which have not undergone such violent change.

We are still concerned as to which department of the city government shall enforce housing laws, for city governments still have their old powers over existing dwellings and even over new dwellings not built by a federal agency. We are still studying the problems of districting or zoning and still look to men like Lawson Purdy with his peace-time experience, for war has not changed the principles of city building and the federal authorities, immersed in detail, have not taken control of the development of cities as they have of the building and management of villages. Here the facts have not been greatly altered.

WAR TIME HOUSING QUESTIONS

The symposium, held four months later, shows the change. It was not a conference with prepared papers, but a series of snap-shot discussions. It did not deal with generalizations but with immediate problems: "To what extent shall war workers be housed in temporary barracks—in permanent homes?" The answer given then is now being worked out, "In barracks only until permanent houses can be erected or where the need is temporary"; "shall houses for war workers be rented or sold?" a question that could not be answered. Is the industry permanent or will it decline after the war, compelling the present tenant to seek work elsewhere while a man of a different trade takes his dwelling? Should the wage-earner own his home? The two great federal agencies engaged in house building, the Emergency Fleet corporation and the U. S. housing corporation, have opposite opinions. Without prejudice to these opinions in general, they seem recently to have agreed that no houses should be sold now. "Shall we provide for housing many women workers?" One great war industry in the Philadelphia district, in a community where dwellings have been overfilled for months, is now seeking 4,000 women employes. It is not a question of shall but of must. So with the question "shall we encourage or discourage the 'take a roomer campaign'?" Even at the time they were asked these questions as phrased had ceased to be pertinent. Only the remaining one remains live, "what is the best way to house the woman worker?" But it calls for a hundred answers. The woman worker, married, unmarried, mother and childless is with us as we never dreamed, in February, 1918, she would be. She works on railroad section gangs, in munition plants, she cleans city streets, and does home sewing for government arsenals. How shall she be housed?

HOUSING STANDARDS

Most of the war time changes in housing, great as they have been, only partially prepared for them as we were, are encouraging. Our unpreparedness has left us with fundamental questions unanswered. We are doing things not because we are convinced that they are the right things or that we are doing them in the right way, but simply because the war compelled us to do them in the first and quickest way we could. Yet day by day we are growing more confident that we shall find the answers. But in housing the war emphasis so far has been all on the side of construction. In that we have been able to secure the acceptance of good standards through the adoption of standards recommended for permanent industrial housing developments by the U. S. housing corporation, as well as through the work in both the housing corporation and the Emergency Fleet corporation of architects and housing specialists who know their importance. For our new federal housing we are also likely to have good maintenance. It is in the field of local government regulation that we have cause for most disquietude.

One effect of the war has been to divert interest from local questions. Moreover many of the best not only of our citizens, but of our local officials have answered the call to national and foreign service, leaving their home communities much the poorer. As a result the local work has suffered. Even with their best citizens all at home and with interest in local problems keen, the present would have proved a difficult time. Here is the continued work that has no glamor of war, though its performance is essential to our war power. The man or woman who continues at it must either realize its importance enough to sacrifice himself or be one who puts personal security and ease first. There are workers of both kinds in our public services to-day, but both the number and the power of the first have been much decreased by the call to the colors. Municipal work has slackened; departments are undermanned and often incompetently manned. This is true in war industry centers as in those where the only appeal to national service comes through the national government. And this is true in housing as it is in other branches of the local government. The machinery is still working, but at very low speed, in marked contrast to the feverish haste of the federal government's housing machinery. Yet in the war industry centers it is of quite as great importance. In Philadelphia there may and should be erected 15,000 to 20,000 new houses. That is the federal government's task. To do this task it has called in the best men from all over the country and they are working tremendously. In Philadelphia there are nearly 400,000 existing dwellings. To maintain them in proper sanitary condition would be a service many times greater in result than the erection of new dwellings, for they house many times the number of shipyard and munitions workers who will inhabit the government's dwellings. But that is old work, it has become more or less routine, and it has not the official stamp of being national service. In its performance there is none of the spirit that characterizes the federal work, a spirit that leads men to work day and night regardless of hours. Even in New Jersey, where the board of tenement house supervision has increased its work, there is no indication given by the latest annual report, that the board realizes the new duties and new opportunities of these days. Yet New Jersey at its northern and southern extremities comes within two of the great war industry districts. In New York a recent proposal by real estate interests that the tenement house department be abolished as a measure of economy and on the plea that it has done its work, was answered by a former commissioner by quoting figures showing the needs of the normal civil population. In Philadelphia, where the health of a vastly increased working population is of immediate and vital concern to the nation, the work is under the supervision of temporary appointees and no attempt has been made to do more than simply go through the established routine.

FEDERAL INTEREST IN LOCAL CONDITIONS

In grateful contrast to these cities is Buffalo, not because of what it has accomplished, but because its health and housing officials see their task in its true relation to our national program and desire to do their full duty. Like the other cities mentioned, Buffalo is a war industry center. The health department, under which is the enforcement of housing regulations, has made a thorough study of the situation which showed definitely the dearth of vacant dwellings, the falling off in new construction and the increasing population. It admits that under these conditions it cannot maintain all standards as it would and calls attention to the increase of families in lodgings. But it does maintain sanitary standards and in spite of the dearth of dwellings, to which its own report called attention, it vacated five tenement houses because of their insanitary condition.

In this it has the moral support of the federal authorities, for the U. S. housing corporation, whose purpose in being is to secure additional housing for war workers, constantly lays emphasis upon the need of making and keeping dwellings wholesome and habitable. So important do the federal authorities consider this that a short time ago Adjutant General H. B. Smith and Dr. W. F. King, of the Indiana health department, warned East Chicago that unless it improved its housing and sanitation martial law would be declared.

So far, however, the federal authorities have not interfered in local housing regulation except in the immediate neighborhood of large camps. There, as at Norfolk, they have made their influence felt. What they may do in the near future may be another story, unless the local authorities awaken to the fact that they too have a part to play in the war. For the increasing interest of the ordnance and navy departments in the health of workers on war contracts points in the same way as does that of the U. S. housing corporation, which already has made housing surveys of fifty-two cities in its search for available dwellings and which, despite its desire to secure accommodations, discards all insanitary houses, residence in which would reduce the productive efficiency of workers

"Every effort," it states officially, "is being made to protect health and morals and gain comfort."

So for the period of the war we are likely to have an increase of federal initiative and control based upon the need for producing at our maximum. Until the end of September this was as far as any one in authority at Washington would go. Federal participation in housing was a war measure and even those who are working out the plans for managing the new industrial communities built with government money would say nothing publicly of what they thought should be done with those communities when war ends. One even declared that the subject is of no interest to him, that when peace is signed he will give up his position and that so far as he is concerned the government may scrap them all, as it can afford to do considering the small part they represent of the total war cost.

WILL WAR COMMUNITIES BE SCRAPPED?

But they will not be scrapped. Some of these developments are among the best examples in existence of industrial communities. They are a permanent addition to the national wealth. The time is at hand when, without relaxing our efforts to win a speedy and decisive military victory, we must begin to think of peace. We went into war unprepared and it has cost us billions more than it otherwise would. But war brings with it an exaltation that overrides obstacles. If we go into peace unprepared we shall unnecessarily waste more billions, and peace may bring with it a weariness and lassitude that can be overcome only by having a clearly defined purpose. Senator Weeks took the first step in his resolution advocating the appointment of a congressional committee on reconstruction, one of whose purposes will be a consideration of the housing problem.

When that committee, or some other agency, congressional or administrative, begins to study the proper disposition of the government's housing developments it will find one clear-cut proposal awaiting it in the plan put forth by the committee on new industrial towns, according to which they shall be owned by all their inhabitants as a group, not by some of them as individuals.

MUNICIPAL PREPAREDNESS FOR WAR AND PEACE[1]

BY CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF
Philadelphia

EVERY individual, and every organization is now making a war record, just as is the soldier and the company of soldiers at the front, and this record must always stand a credit or a shame. As the president of a civic league in Florida has so pertinently declared, "if there was ever a reason for the existence of such an organization as this civic league, a body of citizens working together 'to increase the public interest in all matters relating to good citizenship, to improve local conditions, and to promote the general welfare,' if there was any reason for our banding together four years ago, does that reason not exist to-day? Is it not increased many fold when need is threatening the very existence of entire nations, and no one can tell what tax will be put upon the resources of our own fair land?"

WAR WORK BEHIND THE LINES

This is the spirit of every civic body, city, state and national, of which we have record. Increased civic activities are as essential to the winning of the war, as they are to the solution of the after war problems. "Hold the home lines," "Service in the home trenches," "Prepare for the boys when they come home," are some of the suggestive slogans inscribed on the banners of our civic forces. In the words of Winston Churchill, "for the student of history who is able to place himself within the stream of evolution the really important events of to-day are not taking place on the battle lines, but behind them.". . .

"What is municipal war work" is a pressing question of immediate moment claiming the attention alike of city and federal administrations, for the war has made it both a municipal and a federal question. In these days of need for vast sums to equip and maintain our fighting forces our federal government has of necessity assumed through the federal reserve board, the capital issues committee and the war finance corporation a supervision and control over municipal finances (insofar as municipal borrowing is concerned) that forces new definitions and delimitations.

In a letter to the Chicago plan commission the president of the Chicago association of commerce said:

> I have noticed in press reports that there is an apparent tendency to discourage consideration of some of the projects of the Chicago plan

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[1] Condensed report of the address of the secretary of the National Municipal League at the annual meeting held in New York City, June 6, 1918.

> commission because of the war. I am not surprised at this, for it is in line with the suggestion made by some people in connection with other local problems. It is nevertheless, unfortunate, because while winning the war must be the predominant thought with all of our people, the victory will be a barren one if we have failed to conserve present worthy objects and forward consideration at least of the plans for the future.
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> The Chicago association of commerce has been giving its energy to whole-hearted support of the war problem. At the same time we have not shed the burdens of encouraging local business and civic effort. We have tried to profit by the experience of our Allies. I believe that any study of the municipal and national affairs of the European countries who have been through three years of intensive warfare will show conclusively that part of the war program was the planning of large municipal undertakings and extension of foreign and domestic trade.

This is in line with the best English and French thought on the subject.

. . .

FEDERAL CONTROL OF THE SOCIAL EVIL

Federal control is being exercised in another highly important direction. "There is not a single red light district existing to-day within an effective radius of any army cantonment or naval station where any considerable number of soldiers or sailors are in training." Raymond B. Fosdick, chairman of the commission on training camp activities, declared in summing up vice conditions around military camps:

> Twenty-five segregated districts within the five-mile zones established around military camps have been closed under the congressional enactment which provides for absolute repression in these areas. Beyond the dead line in cities contiguous to military camps many more have been abolished through the co-operation of federal, state and civic authorities. "Scatteration," which has invariably followed the abolition of segregation in these cities, also has been combatted effectively.
>
> Varying degrees of public ignorance and prejudice have hampered the effective enforcement of laws. There have been people who have opposed any change when a clean-up was ordered, failing to realize the destructive influence of the segregated zones upon the military efficiency of the soldiers and sailors. Others have argued that the abolition of segregation would scatter evil throughout the community.
>
> These conditions coupled with the apathy of a few public officials have forced the government to take drastic steps to bring certain cities to a realization of their duty in keeping their soldier and sailor visitors fit for fighting. At Seattle, Washington, recently pressure brought about by indignant citizens forced the officials to make a sweeping clean-up of all questionable places after soldiers from Camp Lewis at American Lake, Washington, had been forbidden to enter the city because of the vicious conditions existing there.

To accomplish these ends the federal authorities acting through army and navy officers have not hesitated to "take over," "control," "commandeer," call it what one pleases, the police force of the communities failing on their own initiative to protect our boys from a danger almost as great as the enemy's guns. . . .

As a whole the Fosdick commission is meeting with patriotic co-operation from citizens, who will not permit the continuance of immorality in their town to compromise the municipality's devotion to the cause of winning the war.

The American people are coming to see that all the evils which are alleged to exist in the camps are more prevalent in civil life. As the social service commission of the Diocese of Pennsylvania pointed out, "It is here that habits are learned and acquired. We must therefore get at the root of the matter and purge our home conditions. Prostitution, gambling, drinking are not to be blamed only on our soldiers and sailors as such. They are to be blamed on the citizens and city government which allow them to exist, and we must act accordingly."

Therefore it is not surprising to find that the influence of the Fosdick commission is spreading into the cities and states. . . .

THE RETURNING SOLDIER AND WHAT HE WILL FIND

Indeed it is a pertinent question to ask "What sort of a city will the soldier find when he comes back from the front?" In the words of the Bishop of Pennsylvania:

> Here, then, is our work cut out for us, put up to us. It is every bit as critical as the work which is done in first line trenches. It is even more important. For there is no use in plowing if there is no seed. There is no use in building houses if there are no tenants. There is no use in conquering the Germans on the battlefields abroad if we are not prepared to use the fruits of victory at home! This war is waged to make the world a decent place to live in, or, as Christians would prefer to put it, to set up the Kingdom of God upon this earth. Prudence, brethren, suggests that we should set about it here and now.
>
> "Behold! I make all things new." When the boys come home they will be bent on newness. They will look with new eyes upon our homes, our education, our commercial system, our politics, our international relations. There will be a new and grim strength of purpose behind their demand for drastic change. Shall they, or shall they not, find us ready for it and working at it?

CHANGES IN METHODS, STANDARDS AND IDEALS

In every direction the war is making changes in methods, in standards, in ideals. It is sweeping into the dump heap old ideas of public life and service, old ideas of administration and legislation. It is bringing new forces into the field. It is welding the nation together as never before. The various drives for the Liberty Loan, Thrift, the War Savings Stamps, the Red Cross, the War Chest are performing a great function. They are making Americans. They are making America known unto herself. They are Americanizing Americans. The government as such is being brought to the knowledge and consciousness of the smallest community, the humblest individual and this is bound to be reflected in the public activities of the individual and of their organization. Particularly in the cities will this new spirit manifest itself where congestion already great is becoming greater. The influx of new citizens, however, will tend to break up old combinations and make new and more public-spirited ones possible.

THE NEW AMERICANIZATION

Our foreign populations are being touched and melted into our citizenship. Once we thought of Americanization as John Collier so happily puts it as consisting of getting naturalized. Then we thought that learning English was Americanization. Then we decided that a better intellectual grasp of American history and of American political ways was needed for Americanizing the immigrant. Then the war came along, and our conception of Americanization broadened a thousand-fold. What does Americanization mean to us now?

We are in the world arena, no longer an isolated people. We have decided that nations across the globe from us are fighting for those ideals for which our American grandfathers fought. We have decided that democracy is a world issue, that justice is an international concern, that brotherhood is as wide as the human race. We are no longer just talking about these things, we are giving our treasure, we are freezing in the winter and putting our children on short rations and we will ere long be shedding the blood of our soldiers, because we believe that these things are so.

We now see that Americanization consists in a fitting of all the dwellers in America, alien and native alike, for that new and greater, more gorgeous, more generous-hearted America of to-morrow. Our Americanism looks forward, not backward.

THE FAILURE OF AMERICAN CITIES

It is not an edifying spectacle, however, to see our cities failing in important duties at this critical time, failing to such an extent that the federal government is compelled to interfere in the interests of the preservation of the American Army. New York, Philadelphia, Chicago have not been giving a good account of themselves and numerous smaller cities are falling behind in their citizenship as shown in their elections. Public spirited, socially conscious, far visioned men have not been conspicuously to the front as candidates. The most that cities like Chicago can say is that loyal men have been chosen—but we must have something more than loyalty, something more than goodness—we must have loyalty and goodness plus,—plus ability, public spirit, vision, a discernment of the time. . . .

Who was it that said: "Democracy can never be achieved in reality without direct understanding and conscious participation of every individual citizen." We shall never have good government, in the broadest conception of that term, until we want, want all the time, want it sufficiently to work for it, not now and then, not a few days each year, but every day in every year.

PUBLIC INTEREST AND PUBLIC SERVICE

There seems to be a recession in certain of the commission-managed cities which have heretofore bulked large in the public eye, notwithstanding that in many communities the commission manager is considered a war measure. Why is this so? Largely because the people in those communities thought that the form of government took the place of, and made unnecessary, the active co-operation of the citizenry. There is a direct ratio between public interest and public service.

Let us hope that the women who are so generally coming into a direct participation in the responsibility for government will exercise the same persistency, intelligence and fine appreciation of the situation they have been manifesting in their war time activities. They are unquestionably fitting themselves for an effective participation in public affairs that holds out great hope for the future.

In this crisis the National Municipal League stands (to quote from a letter of a Minneapolis member to his friends in that city) "as it has always stood, for honest and efficient city administration. It is going to fight during the war to make every city efficient for war service. Whether the need is good housing for munition workers, expert organization for relief of war sufferers, a better charter, or better business standards, the National Municipal League will lend its aid and its advice. It will do its part to keep the cities efficient and safe for democracy. Nay, it may be depended upon to do more. It may be depended upon to promote a truly democratic spirit without which democracy will be safe nowhere. . . ."

GERMAN AND AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP CONTRASTED

In the words of the editor of *The Canadian Municipal Journal:*

Citizenship, as we understand the term, is unknown in Germany, the men and women being merely numbers, their usefulness being measured principally by their procreation proclivities.

Compare this form of citizenship with what we enjoy in America or can enjoy if we would but put forth our hand, the control of our government, its conception, its purpose, its administration, its ideals. The basis of our voting lists is becoming truly democratic, our governmental machinery is being simplified and made truly responsive, equal opportunities are being opened to all, brotherhood and social interdependence are developing on every side, co-operation is becoming the order of the day. . . .

PRUSSIANISM IN OUR CITIES

There is a form of Prussianism in our cities, however, which must be exterminated—the autocratic boss and his machine. It represents in spirit and practice all that we are fighting to defeat on the battlefields of Europe. We must not fail, those of us who remain upon this side of the ocean, to do our share in rooting out every form of Prussianism, wherever found, wherever practiced. It is hateful in Europe. It is equally hateful here and we must not ask our boys who are hazarding their all to come back home to find here what they thought they had defeated and killed across the waters.

We must prepare for the future, now, by building up our cities as strong, efficient democratic units, that they may do their full share in winning the war and be prepared to solve the multitude of difficulties which will follow in the wake of the war. The breaking out of war found us unprepared for its prosecution. Let us hope and work that the coming of peace will not find us unprepared for peace.

THE SURVEY AS AN IMPLEMENT OF DEMOCRACY

BY MURRAY GROSS
Philadelphia

AMERICAN democracy was not ushered in complete, nor has it been handed on from generation to generation unchanged. It has reacted under the influence of international relations; the tremendous development of industry; the enormous growth of cities; the movement of population to cities; the immigration of foreign peoples; the influx of women in industry; and other variations in the life of the nation. These changes have been most potent in affecting our public affairs during the past few decades, and by their nature have given rise to innumerable new problems in social and economic life as well as in political and governmental administration.

The past has shown much experimentation in its attempts to get at, interpret, and solve public problems. During the past decade, while experimentation has not ceased, the efforts of communities in outlining programs of correction, readjustment and betterment have more and more been based on social, industrial, and civic investigations and surveys, having as their aim a scientific solution of the problems that confront the communities. By their nature, these movements toward scientific solution of public problems are predicated on a desire for a peaceful and economical process as a substitute for the wasteful, oftentimes ill-adapted, experimental efforts of the past. Indeed, as Dr. Shelby M. Harrison, director of the department of surveys of the Russell Sage Foundation, says in his *Community Action Through Surveys*, "Something mighty fundamental in the fabric of our public affairs has been inweaving in the last dozen years or more, something that bears the marks of high resolve, and that carries the infection of life and youth and renaissance."

IMPORTANCE OF THE SURVEY MOVEMENT

That interpretation of Dr. Harrison of the spirit impregnating our community life gives emphasis to the importance of the social and civic survey movement in the process of peaceful social, economic, and governmental readjustment and renewal. This readjustment and renewal depends above all things upon the correcting power of dependable facts, and these must be gathered as carefully and faithfully as the scientist in any field of research gathers facts and in the same way be supplemented by such an analysis and handling as will make them potent in correcting the community faults that are discovered through them and in stimulating such existing tendencies as promote the common welfare.

Since its inauguration in the Pittsburgh Survey in 1907, the scientific social and civic survey movement has spread enormously with increasing momentum throughout the country. While the department of surveys and exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation and the New York bureau of municipal research have been leading the way in scientific survey activities, other public and private agencies have resorted to the method and plan of the scientific survey for making inquiries into and constructive recommendations in regard to social, civic, and other conditions. Prominently among these are the United States war emergency boards, the federal bureau of education, the children's bureau, the public health service, state and city boards of health, civic federations, charity societies, housing associations, city planning boards, churches, home and foreign missionary societies, Sunday school associations, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, chambers of commerce, tax associations, women's clubs, civic improvement societies, vice commissions, city boards of public welfare, state boards of charities, recreation associations, committees of private citizens, colleges, universities, and boards of education. It is obviously impossible to mention specifically all the scientific surveys and investigations which have been made. In geographical distribution, they extend from Boston to San Francisco and from Montreal to New Orleans; and in scope they cover practically every phase of community life and problems.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN GENERAL AND SPECIAL SURVEYS

Broadly the scientific surveys classify themselves into two groups: general social and civic surveys and special subject surveys. The former, comprehensive in scope, involve "the application of scientific method to the study and solution of social problems, which have specific geographical limits and bearings, plus such a spreading of facts and recommendations as will make them, as far as possible, the common knowledge of the community and a force for intelligent co-ordinated action." They involve the careful investigation, analysis, and interpretation of the facts of social and civic problems; the recommendation and outlining of action based on the facts, and the acquainting and educating of the community not only to conditions found but to the corrective and preventive measures to be adopted. They lay, moreover, emphasis upon the importance of studying social and civic problems in the various community wide relations and urge co-operative action on a community wide basis. The special subject surveys, on the other hand, as the terminology implies, cover only a specific field of social, civic, and governmental activity, and are generally intended more for the guidance of administration in the fields which they concern than for the formulation of public opinion.

This distinction between the general social and civic survey and the special subject survey is important because it must be borne in mind not only in the plan and method adopted for the survey, but also in the management and handling of its findings and recommendations in relation to the community of interest which the survey affects. Moreover, a disregard of this distinction has in some quarters aroused a discouragement as to the results attending surveys which is unwarranted under the conclusions of a more thoughtful consideration of the subject. Here and there too much impatience is manifested under an apparent inability to connect up with a particular survey specific or concrete results. In this connection it must always be remembered that a scientific survey shows conditions and needs, and furnishes a program of improvements; but after all the program must be carried out very largely by other agencies than those that made the investigation, which on account of the nature of the changes sought and the magnitude of the recommendations involved, very often cannot be expected to accomplish the aims of the survey in an instantaneous and revolutionary manner. Time is an essential factor.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE INTANGIBLE INFLUENCE OF SURVEYS

Constantly this query in regard to scientific surveys is heard: Do the surveys really lead to action? Do results follow? In answer to this, A. L. Bowen, secretary of the Illinois state charities commission, may be aptly quoted in his words referring to the important Springfield survey:

> In any campaign such as the survey is, we must always look for two classes of results. We must ferret out the intangible or abstract results. We must find the tangible or concrete results. Very often the intangible results of a great public welfare movement are by far the most important and far-reaching. . . . The intangible results of the Springfield survey are worth more to our community than those which we can actually see with our eyes or touch with our hands. I would say a new community conscience, or, perhaps, more truthfully, an aroused and stimulated

> community conscience, is the most noteworthy effect of the survey. Our attitude as a community toward all questions affecting its well-being has radically changed. We see meanings in them and react to them in a different manner. Our sense of duty in many cases where it would have been dormant now asserts itself and prompts us to action.

Or as H. T. Chase, chief editorial writer of the Topeka *Daily Capital*, in an article on the survey of Topeka recently made, said:

> The survey has broadened the foundations of existing welfare organizations and has awakened a larger and more sympathetic popular confidence in systematic and organized methods of welfare work, as well as a deeper consciousness of municipal responsibilities and capabilities, a profounder sense of the city's unity.

In general it may be said that in every instance of a social and civic survey in which the investigation, analysis of facts, and recommendations for betterments have been adequately and properly made, the result has been a community education and awakening. This in itself constitutes the essential public background for the correction and improvement of social, political, and other conditions in a democracy. It is not going too far afield to say that much of the success that has accompanied the operation of the United States war emergency boards, including the work of the food and the fuel administration throughout the country, is due, first, to the careful investigation of the facts pertaining to the country's situation, and, second, to the preparation of the public mind and the mobilization of public opinion in support of the plans and public restrictions which necessarily had to accompany the activities of these boards in doing their part in the prosecution of the war.

No one can view the tangible or concrete results obtained by scores of surveys, including the Pittsburgh, the Springfield, the Topeka, and other notable ones, without being impressed by the importance of their specific, tangible, concrete accomplishments. A glance at this aspect of the Springfield and Topeka surveys will illustrate to what extent they have influenced and are influencing the communities with which they are concerned.

Here are some of the details of specific results in the affairs of the city of Springfield that followed the Springfield survey as reported by Dr. Shelby M. Harrison, director of the department of surveys and exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation, in his *Community Action Through Surveys:*

> ### SPRINGFIELD RESULTS
>
> (a) *In the Public Schools:*
>
> 1. The rules of the board of education have been revised, reducing the number of committees to three as follows: Education, finance and supplies, and school property.

2. The junior high school system has been adopted, and four junior high schools organized.

3. A new high school principal was elected, and the entire organization and course of study changed. A well-planned system of supervised study has been introduced, and it is reported that the best of discipline is obtained without friction.

4. A new modern high school building is now being erected and will be ready for occupancy next year. This building will accommodate about 1,500 pupils, and will cost, completed, about $500,000.

5. The lighting, ventilation, and general sanitation of all the schools have been given attention and greatly improved. Fire exit locks have been placed on all outside doors, and fire escapes on the high school.

6. The new school buildings in course of erection meet much higher standards with respect to lighting, heating, ventilation and sanitation.

7. A special supervisor of buildings is employed to see that the property of the school district is kept in proper repair.

8. Patrons' clubs have been organized in every district of the city, and nearly every school house is now used as a social center for neighborhood meetings. Public meetings and political discussions are held in the auditoriums of several schools, and about one third of the voting places of the city are now located in school buildings.

9. The number of teachers employed in manual training and household arts has been more than doubled since the survey, and pre-vocational training and guidance are promoted.

10. The school census has been revised, and valuable additional information is now obtained.

11. A new salary schedule of teachers and janitors has been established on a basis of efficiency, and the required qualifications of principals and teachers have been raised.

12. Seven branch libraries have been established in as many different schools, and in five other centers, the books being furnished to each of them through the city library.

13. Attendance department has been reorganized and an experienced supervisor of attendance has been secured. The work of the department has been studied and systematized.

14. Finally the entire course of study for the elementary, junior high, and senior high schools, has been revised and made more modern.

(b) *In Delinquency and Corrections:*

1. The sheriff has pledged himself to turn into the county treasury approximately $7,500 per year of profits from feeding prisoners in the county jail. A first return has already been made. For his four-year term the total will approximate $30,000, an amount alone that exceeds the cost of the Springfield survey.

2. The closing of the former large and flourishing red-light district of the city. It had existed as a recognized community institution for fifty years.

3. Appointment of a policewoman and woman deputy sheriff.

4. Improvement of the juvenile detention home.

5. Improvements made in conditions in the county jail and a beginning made in putting city and county prisoners at work in farming and gardening. Progress toward the establishment of a modern institution for the care of the city and county prisoners is also reported.

6. The humane society has abandoned its plan of subsidizing regular policemen for its work.

(c) *In Health:*

1. Infant hygiene work started.
2. Announcement made of a movement on foot for new contagious disease hospital facilities.
3. The tuberculosis association has reorganized itself and its work, placing more emphasis upon educational features.
4. Free dispensary established at St. John's hospital.
5. Publication of the milk inspection scorings of milk dealers has been started by the health department and an improvement in the milk situation is claimed.

(d) *In Charities:*

1. A new associated charities secretary has been secured and marked improvements have been made in the society's methods. In fact, its work has been completely reorganized.
2. A county child welfare organization is planned.
3. Better co-operation between private charitable societies and between the public and private agencies has been accomplished.
4. Improvements have been made in bringing legal influence to bear upon non-supporting husbands and fathers.
5. Home for the Friendless has begun to initiate placing-out and other child welfare work along lines recommended. A trained nurse has been added to its staff, and the physical condition of the children is reported greatly improved.
6. A trained nurse employed to care for the tuberculous and other sick patients at the county poor farm, and food and rooms for them improved.
7. The attendance department of the public schools has been reorganized with a view to closer co-operation with the associated charities and other social agencies. An experienced supervisor has been secured to have charge of the work.
8. A tangible new interest in its charitable institutions on the part of the community is also reported.
9. A central council of social agencies organized.

(e) *In Recreation:*

1. Employment by the board of education of a director of hygiene to take charge of playgrounds, athletics, and social centers.
2. Extension of athletic organization among elementary school children, and the holding of athletic contests for them and a play festival for all Springfield citizens.
3. Extension of park board's plans for equipment of play sections of parks and an attempt to work out a plan of supervision in conjunction with school board.
4. Free public golf courses in two of the city's largest parks have been established.
5. Bathing beaches with proper protection and safeguards have been constructed in two of the parks.
6. Complete reorganization of the Y. M. C. A. work and the extension of its physical department.
7. Clean-up of one burlesque theater.

TOPEKA RESULTS

Similarly, the specific developments in the city of Topeka, following upon the publication of the findings and recommendations of the Topeka survey, show:

(a) *In Health:*

1. Full-time health officer, a specialist in public health and sanitation, secured.
2. New and more able milk inspector secured, and improvement in the milk situation reported.
3. Health department laboratory with laboratory worker established.
4. East-side sewer system in the largest unsewered settled area in Kansas provided for and built. Cost, $150,000.
5. Development of infant hygiene work by public health nursing association.
6. First printed annual report of the health department issued.

(b) *In Delinquency and Corrections:*

1. Establishment of detention home for children held for the juvenile court.
2. Bill passed legislature to permit city and county to unite in establishing a farm workhouse for lawbreakers. A bond issue for this purpose will be voted on at the next election.

(c) *In Industrial Conditions:*

1. Bill passed legislature establishing industrial commission and giving it power to limit women's hours of work and fix minimum wages.

INDIANAPOLIS RESULTS

Concerning the tangible results that have already come in the life of the city from the recent survey of the municipal government of Indianapolis, conducted under the direction of the New York bureau of municipal research, Robert E. Tracy, director of the bureau of governmental research of the Indianapolis chamber of commerce, says:

1. The new city administration is using the survey report as its guide.
2. The city has been divided into four fire districts with a battalion chief at the head of each.
3. Fire stations are used for police sub-stations.
4. A number of policewomen are to be appointed.
5. The purchasing agent is maintaining current liability records.
6. Plans have been inaugurated for consolidating the local governments now operating within the city limits. These governments include a county, four townships, an independent corporation called Woodruff place, and the municipality.
7. The survey report has done more to create public interest in the municipal government of Indianapolis than anything that has been accomplished in many years.

A very important index of tangible and concrete achievements of scientific surveys is found in the improvements and the economies of financial operations which result from an increased efficiency in public administration. Along this line, it may be cited that one of the beneficial resultants of the early Pittsburgh survey was the elimination of conspicuous features of the taxation system of Pittsburgh, which prior to 1912, distributed the tax burden very unevenly among the citizens of the municipality. Some property under the city's old scheme of levying taxes paid more than three times the rates paid by other properties, and the high rates in most cases fell upon those least able to pay. The survey of the administrative departments of the city of New York, made by the New York bureau of municipal research, is credited with having saved the taxpayers of New York city several million dollars. As a result of the survey of San Francisco, carried out under the direction of the New York bureau, the tax rate of 1918 was reduced four points. This is the first reduction in the history of the city. In its report, the survey pointed out where San Francisco could save a million dollars a year, and the recommendations were immediately adopted to such an extent as to effect half that amount, thereby enabling the city to make its notable reduction in taxation. During the past year, under the guidance of the same New York bureau, a survey of Montreal was initiated and financed by the city government of Montreal at a cost of $18,000. The report of this survey sets forth in detail how Montreal can also save the taxpayers of the city a million dollars.

THE SURVEY MOVEMENT AS IT STANDS TO-DAY

In summing up, it may be said the scientific survey movement has justified its inception, and as an implement of democracy it promises to play an important rôle in national, state and local affairs. An immediate and adequate presentation of the results that have accrued from the movement would require more time and painstaking work than any one has yet been able to devote to it. Wherever surveys have been made, however, the intangible or abstract results in the community life are generally manifest, and the tangible or concrete accomplishments are appearing day by day in practical realizations which contribute highly to the well-being of the communities affected. During the past year the survey movement has been considerably curtailed in its activities and developments by the national mobilization of the forces of the country in prosecuting the war against an invasion of international and humanitarian rights, but in spite of this situation, the following noteworthy surveys have been undertaken and some of them completed: *Municipal government* surveys of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; Buffalo, New York; Columbus, Ohio; Indianapolis, Indiana; Jamestown, New York; Kansas City, Missouri; Mobile, Alabama; Montreal, Canada; Richmond, Virginia; and San Francisco, California. A police survey of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. *Finance* surveys of Rochester and of Nassau County, New York. *Charter* surveys for Mt. Vernon, New York, and Kingsport, Tennessee. Charities surveys of Rochester, New York, and of Lexington, Kentucky. *School* surveys of San Francisco, California, and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. A hospital survey of Rochester, New York. *Sickness* surveys of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Chelsea Neighborhood, New York City; and the principal cities of Pennsylvania and West Virginia. A survey of the state employes' pension system of New Jersey. And a survey of the juvenile institutions and courts of New Jersey.

A LOCAL RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

BY LEROY E. SNYDER[1]
Rochester, N. Y.

IT IS axiomatic that in war time no sacrifice of individual interest or of the normal social activities of a nation is too great, if that sacrifice is necessary to the winning of the war and is not destructive of the fundamental and essential interests of the state. The personal sacrifices that are being made by individuals in many countries now at war are of such a nature as could not have been anticipated in times of peace. It is perhaps conceivable that, in an overwhelming national emergency, demanding the sacrifice of every personal comfort and convenience to achieve victory, men might walk the streets naked and be unashamed.

These considerations must influence any decision reached in a discussion of war time work of civic organizations, but they make necessary a fundamental examination of the kind and quality of service rendered by civic organizations to the state. We have had repeatedly quoted the words of President Wilson, "War must not destroy civic efficiency." If war did destroy civic efficiency it would be suicidal. A national life which is not wholesome, purposeful and promising in future usefulness, is not worth any effort to save.

We know men who feel that almost any kind of civic work is more or less of a luxury, and therefore quite dispensable in war times. If we were to take the point of view of those who hold this opinion (whether or not they are conscious of its implications), we should have to say that, immediately upon the nation's becoming involved in such a struggle as this war, it is not only necessary but desirable that all civic work be immediately stopped. I recently received a letter from a man who has achieved a national reputation for effective community service, in which he said, "No amount of municipal reform will avail us if we lose the war." But we are convinced that the winning of the war will avail us nothing if we come out of it with a fundamental impairment of those social values for which our state stands, and which alone give validity to our position in the struggle.

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[1] Director of the Rochester bureau of municipal research. Address delivered at the luncheon held in connection with the annual meeting of the National Municipal League, June 5, 1918.

There is a fable of a man who fought for the preservation of a great treasure, but who became so engrossed in the struggle that he stooped to ignoble methods and so made himself unworthy of that which he guarded. When victory came he opened the strong box in which his treasure lay only to find that it had turned to ashes.

Let us admit that, because of the regard in which the warrior has been held since the beginning of man's life, they who take a direct part in the struggle work in the full blaze of sunlight, while those who serve less obvious needs of the state work in the shadow. This must be accepted. It is a difficult thing to deny the claims of service directly connected with the conduct of the war, and to this many of us can testify. But, as I conceive it, there must be men who are willing to deny themselves the satisfaction of directly contributing to the aims of the war, in order more effectively to render that service which they know themselves best able to perform. Some of us must remain in civic activities in order that the values which are conserved by those activities may be saved to the nation in the days of victory.

These are abstractions, yet I am only trying to put into words the thoughts which have been going through my mind since our declaration of war. We all know that men engaged in such work as that in which we are interested must first conceive of their work in terms of abstract ideals, and then have the ability to translate those ideals into concrete action. We know of several civic organizations that have left the field since we entered the war, as it seems because of a lack of such ideals, because the men who supported them were not fundamentally convinced of the indispensable nature of the work being done. Had the men supporting those institutions held a different theory of the nature of the work to which they had pledged themselves, they would have kept alive such work no matter at what sacrifice.

Granting all this, it must of course be admitted that sensible men will use, in such abnormal times as those in which we find ourselves, the greatest discretion and common sense which they can command. It is a question of relative values. There are civic activities which are absolutely essential, there are those which are important but not urgent, and there are still others which are easily to be dispensed with. My own feeling is that, as the struggle grows more intense, it will be necessary for us to give more thought to the particular activities we shall pursue, and that probably in the end we shall be doing only those things which appeal to the universal judgment as vital to the conduct of the war and the preservation of the essential interests of the state.

There are certain studies which a bureau of governmental research, for instance, can and should undertake in times of peace, when the citizen can bring to bear upon public questions his normal judgment, that are in war time—by the very force of circumstances—made more or less futile. What these things are must be determined in each case apart. It is impossible for me in Rochester to say what may or may not be dispensed with in another city.

I may instance a salary study which was undertaken by the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research and which had made very substantial progress, but which has been stopped, not only because our organization lost the services of two men who had been engaged upon the study and could not be replaced, but also because the abnormal salary and wage conditions in private industry leave us without reliable comparable data, and so without a basis of judgment upon which we can stand. This was our situation in Rochester. The same circumstances in another city might not produce the same result. In any case the decision made, whether the thing shall go forward or stop, must be determined by those familiar with local conditions.

To illustrate the kind of activity I have had in mind when I have spoken of those that may be considered as vital and essential, the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research is about to throw most of its energies into a major study having to do with this question: What are the public works in Rochester, that need to be done, that can be done at the end of the war in order to help absorb labor released from military service and from industrial pursuits connected with the war? The dimensions of this study will instantly suggest themselves to all of you. It is a question of city planning on the broadest possible scale, to determine those community values (physical and spiritual) that may be conserved by the city, so that we, in our especial field, may help achieve the democratic aims for which those men who will return to us are now fighting.

Once more may I emphasize the point that the decision of any civic organization concerning work which it may have in hand, as to whether that work shall go on or stop, must be based upon an underlying philosophy. If we once grant that civic work is more or less of a luxury, to be undertaken by men who have nothing better to do, then we are engaged in an unworthy task, whether in war or in peace, and our work should stop. But if we believe we are serving the essential needs of the state, strengthening the foundations for a more truly democratic society and buttressing the walls for a finer community life, then our work must go on—in some way and with some instruments. Our treasure must be preserved intact, so that the great struggle shall not prove bootless.

THE MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION AND RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

AUGUSTUS R. HATTON
Cleveland, Ohio

THE Massachusetts constitutional convention adjourned on August 21 after holding its second summer session and having proposed twenty-two amendments to the state constitution. Three of these were submitted to the voters last November and approved. Nineteen remain to be passed upon at the election this fall, four of which involve changes of some importance in political methods. These four are the proposals for the initiative and referendum, biennial elections of state officials, the executive budget, and compulsory voting.

A NOTEWORTHY BODY

In many respects the work of the convention was noteworthy. The long struggle over the initiative and referendum produced the most comprehensive debate on that question hitherto heard in any American public body. As regards legislative power it showed a cautious tendency to relax constitutional restrictions in order that impending problems might be dealt with more freely. In general it may be said that none of its proposals contemplates a less responsible or efficient government than Massachusetts now has and that no backward step has been proposed.

THE GREAT FAILURE

But while the convention cannot be charged with submitting any objectionable proposal its sins of omission in one important particular are conspicuous. The net result of its long deliberations was to leave the structure of the government substantially unchanged. As things now are, that would imply either serious lack of insight or dereliction of duty on the part of a state constitutional convention anywhere. In Massachusetts the fault is particularly glaring. Probably nowhere in the United States is the system of county government more in need of reform and, in fact, more nearly useless. Moreover, few state governments make it so difficult to fix responsibility and so nearly preclude responsible leadership.

One might be pardoned for regarding this failure to propose improvements in the ordinary machinery of government as unusually strange. In Massachusetts agitation for the initiative and referendum was constantly met by the argument that true reform lay in the direction of improving the representative system. It was reasonable to expect, therefore, that those who opposed the initiative and referendum would unite in support of some plan which would make the state government so responsive to the popular will that the use of direct legislation would be unnecessary. Such was far from the case. The most active opponents in the convention of any substantial alteration in the structure of government were also active in opposition to the initiative and referendum. An analysis of the Massachusetts situation may give some conception of the sort of opposition which any structural reform in state government will have to overcome before susbtantial progress can be made.

NO REFORM IN COUNTY GOVERNMENT

The failure to propose any reform in county government is easily explained. While every thinking citizen in Massachusetts agrees that their county governments need thorough overhauling, there was no organized demand for change. But there was organized opposition against altering the existing system. When the resolutions relating to county government were referred to a committee of the convention, the county officers came down on that committee like a wolf on the fold. The county rings are among the most powerful political agencies in the state. Consequently, there being no one to urge a change in county government, the committee surrendered to the county office holders and brought in an adverse report on all measures effecting county government. That ended the consideration of county government so far as the convention was concerned.

OPPOSITION TO A STRONG EXECUTIVE

The failure of the convention to submit some proposal for a more responsible system of state government is not so easily accounted for. However, the chief cause is to be found in the fact that any effective scheme of state reorganization would involve an increase in the power and influence of the governor. Tradition in Massachusetts does not favor a strong executive. The governor has always been weak. Although he has a wider appointing power than most governors he is, in this, pretty effectually checked by the executive council consisting of eight members elected from districts. In general, the executive power is greatly diffused among a multiplicity of departments, boards and commissions. The heads of the various executive departments are elected and many of the boards and commissions have broad powers, in the exercise of which they are beyond any effective control by the governor. While this situation is not unlike that in other states it nowhere has such a firm basis in history, and historical reasons weigh more heavily in Massachusetts than elsewhere in the Union. During the colonial and revolutionary periods, the revolt against executive power as represented by royal governors, was strongest in Massachusetts. This has hardened into a tradition which still offers a surprising amount of resistance to the development of executive leadership. Many people still think of the governor as though he were the royally appointed official opposed by their forefathers. Mental inertia prevents them from seeing that, while a powerful royal governor might be a menace to liberty, a governor chosen by the people must have broad powers if he is to be an effective instrument of popular government.

The opposition in the convention toward any increase in executive power or leadership grew more marked as time passed. Only a month before final adjournment well informed and influential delegates thought that there was a good chance for the passage of a proposal providing that the auditor and possibly one or two other state officials should be appointed by the governor. It gradually became apparent, however, that any proposition looking toward a more concentrated state executive was foredoomed to defeat. This opposition was not only marked but organized. It came together first on the so-called Quincy proposal and consisted of reactionaries who saw the danger to their position involved in responsible state-wide leadership, of the "organization" element of both the Democratic and Republican parties and of a considerable number of unenlightened liberals.

PERSONAL AND PARTISAN OPPOSITION

The feeling just described is accentuated in Massachusetts by the fact that recent governors, whether Democratic or Republican, have not been altogether popular with their own parties. Governors Foss and Walsh did not get along any too well with some of the Democrats and Governor McCall is intensely unpopular with a large number of Republicans, including the old dominant and dominating element led by Senators Lodge and Weeks. Hence, when any measure was proposed in the convention relating to the state executive, scores of delegates thought of it with reference to some particular governor of whom they did not approve. The Republicans had a further object in keeping the executive power divided. The Democrats have elected governors more frequently than usual during the last few years, but have not been able to carry through the remainder of their state ticket. Consequently a Democratic victory as to the head of the ticket has still left the major portion of the executive department in Republican hands. These successes of Democratic candidates for governor also resulted in organization Republicans opposing the abolition of the governor's council. Even when the Democrats have elected a governor they have never been able to get more than one place on the council. This has enabled the Republicans to control the governor's appointments no matter to what party he might chance to belong. Thus, in spite of rather frequent irruptions of Democratic governors, the state administration has, thanks to the existing system, remained in the hands of those whom the Republicans would designate as the "better element."

NATURE OF PARTY DIVISIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS

To a surprising extent party struggles in Massachusetts are contests for the control of the government between the original New Englanders and the new immigrant population. I know of no other instance in the United States where this line of cleavage exists on such an extensive scale. In fact it exists nowhere else in such a clear-cut form on any scale. The average man of New England stock contemplates the idea of turning over the affairs of the old Bay State to these uncultured newcomers with something akin to horror. This feeling is similar to that of the Federalists, when, in 1800 they saw the national government about to fall into the hands of Jefferson and his "rabble."

Party differences in Massachusetts are, in fact, rather more nationalistic, cultural and religious than economic or political. On the whole the Republican party is the party of the original New Englander. It is protectionist, of course, but for that matter the Democrats of Massachusetts are somewhat tinged with protectionism also. Above all, the Republican is the party of the old stock, which happens also to include the great employers, capitalists and industrial managers of the state. Owing to the antipathies and prejudices growing out of nationality and religion many men of New England stock maintain their allegiance to the Republican party when, from every consideration of political principle and economic interest, they might more logically ally themselves with the Democrats.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN MASSACHUSETTS

On the other hand, the Democratic party, while it probably enrolls more voters from among the industrial workers than does the Republican, is by no means a radical or even a progressive party. Its dominant element in the industrial centers, particularly in and around Boston, is Irish Catholic. On many economic issues these voters are progressive or even radical. On the whole they are in favor of the change in political method involved in the initiative and referendum because that promises an increase in their voting power. But as to any changes in the direction of an effective executive they are reactionary both in tradition and leadership. The Irish have a background of centuries of rebellion, and rebellion has involved conflict with the executive. Their distrust of the executive is as marked as was that of our revolutionary forefathers whose heads had been broken at the behest of royal governors.

There are among the Irish Catholic Democrats in Massachusetts no accepted state-wide leaders. It is true that they will give their solid support to such a prominent co-nationalist and co-religionist as David

I. Walsh; but that is largely because he is an Irishman and a Catholic rather than because he is David I. Walsh or advocates any specific political doctrine. Any other Irish Catholic standing for any other political program would probably receive substantially the same percentage of the Irish Catholic vote. The effective leadership among this element of the Democratic party is of that local and personal type of which ward and city bosses are made. These leaders naturally have all of the common Irish prejudice against the executive and, in addition, they are keenly alive to the fact that effective and responsible state-wide leadership would undermine their power and topple them from their petty political thrones.

The Democrats in Massachusetts are inclined to be against the short ballot because they are usually the minority party in state affairs. In recent years they have not gained control of the legislature or elected a majority of the state ticket. Their success in state affairs has been confined almost wholly to the election of an occasional governor. A minority party is not likely to support a reform, the immediate benefits of which are apt to go to its opponent. This is short-sighted, of course, but it is a real factor in the opposition which such a reform as the short ballot regularly encounters.

If the Democratic party in Massachusetts were a political party in any real sense—an organization based on the promotion of political or economic doctrines—it would be for the short ballot. With that, the occasional Democratic governor could be an effective agent for putting party doctrines into practice. He would become a real leader, responsible to the party for the accomplishment of avowed party purposes. But, as already explained, considerations of nationality, religion and local bossism are strong enough to prevent the Democrats from taking any such enlightened attitude or functioning in any such true party sense. As a party in Massachusetts the Democrats are practically that "fortuitous concourse of unrelated prejudices" which they were described as being nationally more than twenty years ago.

It should be said that at least two Democrats in the convention deserve higher rating than the foregoing would indicate. Josiah Quincy, though a leader of the I. and R. forces, introduced the only comprehensive measure designed to improve the system of representative government in Massachusetts. By experience and study he has acquired a firm grasp of the fundamentals of democratic political organization. The defeat of his proposal was, in some respects, the most disheartening feature of the convention. The other Democrat of prominence who rises above the common level of his party is ex-Governor David I. Walsh. He is a man of ability and force and his experiences as governor have made clear to him that the present Massachusetts system is inconsistent with any true conception of responsible government.

THE REPUBLICANS OF MASSACHUSETTS

In the convention the most rabid opponents of an effective and responsible state executive were the organization Republicans. This opposition obviously reflected the attitude of local leaders and petty bosses on the one hand and, on the other, that of the great financial and industrial interests of the state which still find the Republican party a usable and useful instrument. The state-wide primary has accentuated the antagonism of these elements to any increase in the power or prominence of the governor. With direct nominations the governor is far less dependent and pliable than he was under the convention system. Even Republican governors have shown an uncomfortable tendency to appeal to the voters over the heads of those who have hitherto regarded themselves as the proprietors of the party. Moreover, with direct nominations, a party intended by its magnates to be conservative may find itself nominating and electing a governor with liberal or even radical tendencies. This is far from being a remote possibility in Massachusetts, where nationalistic and religious peculiarities give to party lines an unusually artificial cast, with the result that some of the most effective progressive leaders and thousands of liberal voters call themselves Republican and, as such, participate in the primaries. With these conditions it is safer for the dominant, or at least dominating, element of the Republican party to keep the governor weak by diffusing executive power and making it difficult for him to become an effective political leader. That was the line of action pursued in the convention.

The active fight against executive reorganization was made by Republicans of the types mentioned. They engineered a combination between themselves and the forces controlled by Martin Lomasney, the Democratic boss of ward five in Boston, who in vote-delivering power, was the most potent figure in the convention. Added to these were the delegates attached to the tradition of a weak executive, most of the Irishmen inside and outside the Lomasney following, and a considerable number of short-visioned political liberals and labor delegates who do not yet see that democratic progress is as much dependent on efficient administration and responsible political leadership as upon any other factors.

THE DIRECT PRIMARY AND THE SHORT BALLOT

If experience in Massachusetts be any guide, the short ballot in state affairs will find the pronounced conservatives arrayed against it where-ever the state-wide direct primary is in operation. It is not so very long ago that the short ballot numbered more adherents among the conservatives than among the liberals. That was primarily because the conservative usually desires efficient administration and he saw the possibilities of the short ballot as an efficiency measure. Its equal potency as an instrument of democratic control was either not understood or was discounted with the idea that a "safe" candidate for governor, running on a "safe" platform could be assured. With a convention system of nomination it was believed that such a situation could usually be brought about. And, really, the short ballot in state affairs provided, always, that the candidates for governor could be hand picked and their platforms carefully phrased and censored, would not be such a terrible thing from a conservative point of view. But the state-wide primary makes that sort of management precarious if not impossible. Beyond doubt a combination of short ballot and direct primary would provide an unprecedentedly effective system for the popular control of state government. Under such a system the quality of successful candidates and the wisdom of prevailing issues would depend on the intelligence and patriotism of the voters to whom appeal would have to be made in a direct and intelligible form. As yet, however, the American conservative seeks to avoid submitting his cause to that tribunal.

METHODS OF REMOVAL FROM THE PUBLIC SERVICE

BY FRED G. HEUCHLING[1]

Superintendent of Employment and Member Civil Service Board, West Chicago Park Commissioners, Chicago

METHODS of procedure in separating employes from their positions, in private as well as in public service, have been becoming of increasing importance each year. Under the present war conditions, when the government has drawn the most active and able-bodied young men into the training camps in batches of a hundred thousand and more and the munitions factories and other war industries are seeking to attract every remaining worker, the question of removals becomes of vastly greater importance.

Time was when we civil service commissioners were objects of the entreaties—and sometimes the embarrassing demands—of long lines of office seekers. But now, *we* must assume the entreating attitude. We have to urge people to take our examinations. When they have done so and have succeeded in getting on our eligible lists we must persuade them to accept an appointment. After their entrance into the service foremen and office chiefs must treat them with special deference and chastise them with extreme mildness lest they resign from their position

[1] See article of William Dudley Foulke on same subject. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Volume VII, pp. 266 and 365.

[1] Presented at the Meeting of the National Assembly of Civil Service Commissions, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 20, 1918.

and seek more lucrative employment elsewhere. Under these trying conditions, it is well that we give close study to enforced separations from the service, surrounding them with such safeguards as will give assurance that they will only occur when the interests of the public require.

The subject of methods of removal from the public service has been discussed at practically every meeting of the National Assembly. I know of no occasion, however, when an agreement has been reached in regard to it. In the past the differences have mainly arisen over the question, "Shall a hearing be required by law before a civil service employe may be removed from his position?" This gives rise to the expression "the trial before removal clause" in a civil service law.

At the meeting of the Assembly in Ottawa, Canada, in 1916, the committee on a standard civil service law reported a draft for adoption containing a provision that no removals could be made without a trial. After prolonged argument this draft of the model law was finally—and, I say, erroneously—modified to include an alternative provision giving the civil service commission no jurisdiction over removals. I say that this modification was erroneous because I strongly advocate "the trial before removal clause" for every civil service law.

However, rather than to have the discussion to-day spend itself on the abstract question of whether or not there should be a trial, I intend to point out a few details of the desirable method of making removals from civil service positions. I intend, afterwards, to give a few arguments as to why an investigation should be held for *every* removal and to show that the trend, in private employment, is in the same direction which I advocate for public employment.

In considering the question of "trial before removal" it becomes necessary, first, to determine: What is a removal? and, second: What is a trial? I am convinced that many of our differences lie actually in the definition of these terms.

WHAT IS A REMOVAL?

A removal is not necessarily a *discharge* because it need not necessarily be a separation from the service. Strictly speaking, an employe is removed from his position when he is separated from it and placed in some other position. This change may take the form of a transfer to a position of the same character of duties and pay where the working conditions are far less favorable. The result of such a transfer acts as a punishment upon the person affected. Again, a removal may be a transfer to a position of less important duties and, therefore, carrying less pay. This results in a demotion and is generally more drastic a punishment than the removal by transfer just mentioned.

I bring out these points to call to your attention the fact that a hearing of charges filed against an employe may result in his assignment to other kinds of work or to another location and continue him in the service, *very possibly as a valuable employe.* Especially in these times of abnormal employment conditions it is worth while to give men a chance in other work after they have failed in their first venture in the public service. Without a hearing or trial such measures can seldom be taken. I count it, therefore, as an argument in favor of the trial clause that we can salvage some of the man power in our civil service by an intelligent administration of this feature of the law. It should not be supposed, however, that I believe that every trial under charges should result in the employe being given another chance. Where the evidence is clear, and the return of the employe would endanger discipline or be of questionable benefit to the service, in my opinion, the result should be discharge, absolute and final.

WHAT IS A TRIAL?

Passing now to a discussion of what we mean by the term "trial," I wish to say at the outset, that the term is not a happy one. In our service in the West Park district of Chicago, we speak of our trials as investigations and we conduct them as such. When charges are preferred against an employe we appoint an *investigating* officer, not a *trial* officer. The hearing is conducted in an informal manner and with as few technicalities as possible. Aside from having all the witnesses sworn and their testimony taken in shorthand, the entire affair is merely a matter of conversation between the investigating officer and the persons who can give relevant information regarding the incidents which led up to the filing of charges. Very often our investigations are held in the offices or shops where the employe under charges and most of the witnesses are located. We have even gone so far as to hold a trial out in the open air near where a job of building a sewer was going on. This resulted in taking the employes from their work for only about ten minutes each. As each man was needed to testify, his work was interrupted and he was brought over to the investigating officer, placed under oath, and questioned.

REPRESENTATION BY COUNSEL

While our civil service law permits an employe to retain counsel to represent him, at his hearing, we find that the accused rarely makes use of this protection. During six and one-half years of civil service administration we have conducted one hundred and thirty-one investigations of charges. In only seventeen of these has the employe felt the need of employing counsel to protect his interests. When an attorney is retained for the accused, we do not permit him to brow-beat the witnesses and at times we will not even allow him to put questions directly to the person testifying. He is, instead, required to state his question to the investigating officer and the latter puts the question to the witness. The laws of evidence are not strictly adhered to and the investigating officers are permitted to bring out any information which is of value in determining whether or not the employe deserves discharge or retention in the service.

An employe may not even be suspended while under charges. In fact we frequently have what we might well designate as a "friendly suit" involved in the preferring of charges. An employe realizes that he is no longer fit for his position or that for some reason his value in it has been very materially reduced. In such cases he readily admits that he should be removed from his place and is willing to accept an adjustment recommended by the investigating officer after hearing all the facts from him as well as from his superior officer. The result generally is a demotion into some other kind of work for which he is fitted, rather than an outright discharge. To discharge him, I feel, would be as detrimental to the service as his retention in the position for which he had already shown his unfitness.

RESULTS OF "INVESTIGATION" IN CHICAGO

To fully illustrate the results of our type of investigation I quote from our annual report for 1917:—

RESULTS OF CHARGES AGAINST EMPLOYES HEARD BY CIVIL SERVICE BOARD OF THE WEST CHICAGO PARK COMMISSIONERS, JULY 1, 1911 TO DECEMBER 31, 1917

Year	Number charges filed	Number acquittals	Number discharged	Number suspended	Number demoted	Represented by attorney
1911 (6 mos.).....	7	0	3	4	0	1
1912............	18	4	5	6	3	2
1913............	32	5	13	10	4	3
1914............	20	1	10	5	4	6
1915............	20	0	9	9	2	1
1916............	14	1	10	3	0	0
1917............	20[2]	2	12	3	1	4
Totals................	131	13	62	40	14	17

"Among the striking facts disclosed by the foregoing table, perhaps the most interesting is the protection afforded the efficient civil service employe by the "trial before removal" provisions of the park civil service act. Thus we see that even during the years 1913 and 1917, when there were complete political changes in the administration of the park system, the number of employes discharged from their positions were only two or three more than in other years. That there ever has been any removal of civil service employes for political reasons in the West Park System is effectually refuted by these figures, which show that out of a service including more than twelve hundred positions, an average *of less than ten persons per year are discharged.* This becomes all the more striking when it is noted that common laborers are included with the higher grade employes in the data given."

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[2] Two cases still pending.

OBJECTIONS TO TRIAL CLAUSE

I believe I have made clear what I mean by the term "removal" and what I mean by the term "trial." I pass now to the consideration of the objections which are usually raised against the trial clause.

Briefly stated these are as follows:—

1. That the discipline in a department is interfered with by the protection from removal which an employe gains through the trial clause, and because it makes him independent of the jurisdiction of his superior.
2. That the department head is himself placed on trial when he prefers charges against an employe and they are heard by the civil service commission.
3. That the cause for discharge must be very glaring and apparent in order to have an employe discharged, and for this reason inefficient employes manage to retain their positions on the public payroll.

Considering the first of these objections, namely, that a department head is hampered and discipline is destroyed, I feel that the proper administration of the civil service law will entirely prevent such a condition from arising. First of all we must remember that civil service laws usually contain a concurrent provision, giving the department head the power to suspend any one of his subordinates for a period as long as thirty days, without pay. During six and one-half years in the West Chicago park system we have had two hundred and seventeen such suspensions with a yearly average duration of from six to twelve days. I know of no civil service law where repetition of such a suspension may not be resorted to when the culprit persists in his misdeeds or delinquencies. In other words, where the employe does not have the proper respect for his department head and for the discipline of the office it is possible to separate him from his job for a month. If this punishment does not suffice and he refuses obedience after his return he can be further suspended. I can imagine no situation which is insufficient to warrant discharge by trial which cannot be overcome through the use of the suspending power. I expect before I finish to show very clearly that the tendency among private employers is in this same direction, namely, that the immediate superior of an employe is only permitted to suspend, the matter of discharge resting in the hands of the general manager or of the employment department. Surely, if the discipline among the employes of a private corporation can be maintained by this method, there should be no reason why,—with proper administration,—it should not be just as efficacious in the public service.

THE HEAD OF DEPARTMENT ON TRIAL

With respect to the second objection, namely, that the department head is himself placed on trial when the charges which he prefers against his subordinate are under investigation, I refer to my previous remarks describing our method of conducting such investigations in the West park system in Chicago. We take pains to prevent any show of ill feeling on the part of a witness or employe toward his superior. We should punish an employe for expressing disrespect of his superior while testifying in the investigation just as we should punish him for such action during the transaction of ordinary business in the department. Rather than feeling that they are placed on trial, our department heads feel that the investigation of charges brought against employes in their department is of particular value to them. Very frequently situations are brought out during a hearing and facts are disclosed which would not otherwise come to the attention of the head of the department. This entire objection is based upon the supposition that the hearing is to have all the aspects of a trial by jury with its intricate technicalities, cross examinations and heated arguments. Take away these truly objectionable aspects from the investigation and I believe you quite remove this second objection.

It is well to mention here that our civil service rules permit any employe or any citizen to file charges against an officer in the public service, provided his charges are supported by affidavits from actual witnesses. The result is that when a citizen visits an office to pay a special assessment, or to pay his taxes, and is mistreated by an employe he has a ready instrument for redress, which very probably would not be at his disposal if he had to rest his case with the head of the department alone.

OUTSIDE INFLUENCES

With regard to the third objection against removal by trial, namely that there must be very serious grounds for removal, I answer again that this objection arises through faulty administration, and is not a true objection to the principle itself. Where adequate and careful records are maintained of the efficiency of each individual employe in the service there is no reason why an inefficient person should not be removed from the service,—or transferred or demoted to some more suitable place. Those who argue that serious charges are necessary to remove a man from the service when a trial is prescribed by law are really arguing against their case. When an employe's retention or discharge from the service rests entirely with his department head, there *may* be good discipline in the office, but that discipline extends further than the office door. It extends to the ward, the precinct, and the polling booth. And this is *just* what civil service laws were drawn to prevent.

Even where the department head is inherently honest, his power over the jobs of the men in his office soon becomes generally known. After that he becomes the target of the politician who seeks to have the henchman of his political opponent separated from the public payroll or who wishes to punish one of his own political workers for the failure of his "vote-getting" function in the precinct. This sort of situation even permits of the political war lord using his influence with the department head to put an efficient public servant out of the way in order to make a place for one of his vassals who was fortunate enough to win first place on the eligible list for this job, either by merit or otherwise. The damage to the public service is just as great whether this eligible won his place through a fair examination or through crookedness.

I mention these facts to anticipate the time-worn argument of advocates of full power of discharge for the department head. They say there is no reason for fear that he will wrongfully remove a subordinate, because he cannot fill the latter's place with a friend of his own choice but instead must take the person at the head of the eligible list.

POLITICAL INFLUENCES

Suppose that I am a senior clerk in an office in which you are the chief. Suppose,—if you can,—that I am efficient and industrious in performing my duties, and that I have served under your supervision for a number of years. I am a married man with a family, residing in a suburb, where I have recently commenced the purchase of my little home on monthly payments. One fine spring morning you call me into your private office and explain that Alderman Blank is fighting for re-election in the ward in which I live. The alderman is a close friend of yours and you are anxious to see him re-elected. Will I therefore please visit each resident in my neighborhood and urge him to vote for Mr. Blank. And will I also be good enough to hand you next day a substantial contribution to help defray Mr. Blank's campaign expenses.

If you have the legal power to discharge me from my position without assigning any reason for your action, am I likely to give you a hasty reply refusing to accede to your wishes? Even if it be necessary for you to find some plausible reason to discharge me,—other than a political one,—am I still going to depend upon your inability to find some minor flaw in my work that will serve to deceive the civil service commission, which has no power,—and probably even no desire,—to investigate beyond your written statement? And, under the circumstances how much comfort or assurance shall I find in the fact that if you do discharge me you must take the next person on the eligible list in my place? Will that prevent the loss of my home? Will that keep my wife and children from want? No, gentlemen, there is only *one* circumstance that can give me courage to stand before you as a worthy public servant and say to you that I serve *the public* but not Alderman Blank or his cohorts. That circumstance is the knowledge that I can safely refuse to do your bidding, and you cannot remove me without first proving me unfit for my place and allowing me an opportunity to disprove your assertion.

I am trying to point out that in a certain measure it is wise that the charges *should* be serious before a public employe is removed, or at least that the charges should be commensurate with the punishment meted out. To say that the trial before removal clause protects the inefficient employe in the public service is no argument against this protection for the efficient, honest and valuable public employe who must necessarily suffer under any other system of removal.

THE PRACTICE IN PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT

I said that before closing I should give a few facts to prove that private employers are coming to take the same position about the removal of their employes that we advocates of the trial clause take with regard to the removal of public servants. In support of this I have collected information on the practice in private employment, partially through the courtesy of the efficiency engineering department of Arthur Young and Company, who maintain a corps of employment experts:—

The Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company states in its Regulations:—"Employes may be laid off or suspended by foremen but can be discharged only by the department superintendent or higher authority."

The Curtis Publishing Company—"In the employment division is placed the authority to discharge from the service of the company. . . ."

John M. Williams, secretary of the Fayette R. Plumb Company, at the employment managers' conference in Philadelphia last year said:—

> As to the firing end of the proposition, there are many arguments against leaving this power with the foreman, but the following seems to my mind pertinent and serves to point out the weakness of the practice, viz.: Factory managers check up their foremen on all material they use; watch them to see that the machinery is in good condition and save every penny they can by careful supervision; but when it comes to firing men, they give the foremen full sway because the potential value of $50.00 to $100.00 invested in that man is not shown in hard cash and is therefore overlooked.

Professor Roy W. Kelley of Harvard University recently published a book called *Hiring the Worker*. In this book he publishes the results of questionnaires sent to thirty corporations throughout the country, each employing from three hundred to twelve thousand persons. To his question, "Should discipline and discharge be controlled by the employment manager," there are nineteen significant replies. Fourteen of these, or 73.6 per cent of the total were in favor of complete control by the employment department. It is quite patent then that private corporations are coming to see that efficiency and economy in their every-day operations are furthered by assuring every employe of a hearing before some reviewing officer or body before he can be separated from his job. If this be true in private corporations where the unrelenting dividend production is a constant check on efficiency, it cannot well be other than true in the public service.

THE ST. LOUIS STREET RAILWAY SITUATION[1]

BY LOUIS F. BUDENZ[2]
St. Louis, Mo.

FOR more than a year St. Louis has been struggling intensively with its street railway situation, due to much the same conditions as exist in almost every other city in the country. In St. Louis, however, there has been a degree of vivid picturesqueness and a unique combination of many different problems which have made this struggle somewhat more instructive and interesting than the ordinary street railway controversy. Out of an original attempt to obtain a so-called compromise franchise has arisen a paralyzing and successful strike; an award of 6 cent fares to the company; a referendum movement (accompanied by a burglary of the petitions on the eve of their being certified to the election commissioners) and a loan from the Federal Government to the railway company as the only means to avoid a receivership.

The United Railways Company of St. Louis is a successor by process of reorganization of the Central Traction Company (1899), and by way of purchase of the St. Louis and Suburban Railway Company (1907). In 1898 the Central Traction Company obtained a fifty-year general blanket franchise from the city covering a number of individual street railway lines which it had consolidated. In the following year the St. Louis Transit Company—which had leased the United Railways' lines shortly after the reorganization, only to surrender them five years later—obtained a forty-year general franchise for these lines, and for all lines which crossed such properties. The underlying franchises of the original lines, brought together by the predecessors of the United Railways Company, expire at irregular intervals from 1911 to 1942. At the expiration of the Jefferson Avenue franchise in 1911 the city contested the validity of the attempted extension of franchises in the 1898 and 1899 grants. The circuit court declared that the 1898 grant did not apply, but that the 1899 grant to lines crossing the lines of the St. Louis Transit Company was valid and effective, and that therefore the franchise did not expire until 1939. The city appealed this case and it is now pending in the higher courts.

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[1] Since this article was written the Company has publicly withdrawn its support of the ordinance and has suggssted public operation. The Board of Aldermen thereupon repealed the measure.

[2] Secretary Civic League of St. Louis.

OVER CAPITALIZATION

The United Railways Company has been and is notoriously overcapitalized. On December 31, 1917, the outstanding bonds and stocks of the company totaled $97,122,000—against which stood in actual property only the $37,638,667, allowed in the James E. Allison valuation made for the St. Louis Public Service Commission in 1911 plus some small additional improvements since that time. Even the company's claim to a value of $49,355,753 in 1911 plus the cost of the necessary additions would fall some millions short of equalling the outstanding stocks and bonds of the company, the bonds alone in 1917 amounting to $55,825,000.

Since 1903 the company had been subject to a municipal tax of a mill for each passenger fare, such tax having been substituted for the original tax per car. After twelve years of litigation, the mill tax was declared valid by the federal supreme court—mainly through the persistent efforts of William F. Woerner, author of the ordinance. The company, however, defaulted in its subsequent payments and by December 31, 1916, had accumulated an indebtedness of almost $2,000,000 on this account. As a result of the condition within the company which these facts brought about, the company proposed as early as November, 1916, that the city enter into an agreement with it in regard to the "controversy," the company proposing the following as a basis:

First: The company to "acknowledge liability" for the mill tax up to December 31, 1916.

Second: The city to accept the deferred mill tax in a number of annual installments.

Third: The city to "adjust" the mill tax for the future.

Fourth: The city to withdraw its attack on the underlying franchises and validate them or extend them until 1948.

The proposal as put forth could be readily seen on its face to be of no value to the city, except merely in such benefit as might incidentally come from the relief it afforded the company and the improvement in its financial situation. No definite action resulted, but the city administration shortly after pledged itself to the enactment of an ordinance which would grant the desired relief to the company.

RELIEF ORDINANCE NO. I

In accordance with this pledge, the board of aldermen in July, 1917, at the request of the mayor, appointed a special conference committee, composed of the mayor, the comptroller, and three members of the board, to meet with the representatives of the company and frame an ordinance. Within a very short time they produced the desired ordinance—afterwards known as ordinance Number One. Under the terms of this measure, a franchise was granted to the company until 1967, the city entering upon a partnership scheme which would assure for it a participation in the profits after 6 per cent had been earned by the company, and a representation of four out of thirteen members of the board of directors. A board of control was also created consisting of the acting manager of the company and a commissioner designated by the director of public utilities for the city, with a third temporary member to be appointed by a majority of the judges of the St. Louis court of appeals to act in case of disagreement. The mill tax ordinance was repealed, and the unpaid tax was to be paid in full immediately. The value of the company's property was placed at $60,000,000.

A special committee of the St. Louis civic league—composed of three former city counselors, a former member of the Missouri public service commission, the president of the St. Louis public service commission, and a well-known manufacturer and former member of the council—reported adversely on this ordinance, pointing out that "the right of the city to impose taxes in future years as the unforeseeable exigencies of the times may require, should not be contracted away for half a century to come," and objecting to the partnership arrangement as based on a "fallacious theory." The proposed valuation of $60,000,000 was also declared to be unquestionably excessive, being an arbitrary increase over the St. Louis public service commissioners' valuation of $38,000,000 in 1911. If relief were needed the remedy lay in the reduction of the mill tax by separate ordinance and the grant of a new franchise free from the defects pointed out.

RELIEF ORDINANCE NO. II

As a result of this report and the opposition of organized labor and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the conferees hastily withdrew the first ordinance and proposed a second, which omitted the partnership feature and substituted a tax of 3 per cent on the gross revenue for the participation in the profits. The mill tax ordinance was repealed, as in the preceding proposal, and the accumulated indebtedness of the unpaid tax was to be paid within a period of ten years, the balance unpaid at the expiration of five years to bear interest at 10 per cent per annum. The board of control feature was retained. The committee of the civic league reported adversely likewise on this ordinance because it contracted away the city's right of taxation, affirmed the arbitrary valuation of $60,000,000 and provided for no arrangement of the ninety-nine-year contracts of the company.

Arguments on this ordinance were heard before the public utilities committee of the board of aldermen throughout the summer and fall of

1917, organized labor being particularly insistent in its opposition to the measure. Dr. Delos F. Wilcox of New York was also brought into the situation. He made an excellent series of detailed reports on the bills, showing the undesirability of both proposals from the public view point. It may be stated here, that certain desirable provisions in these two measures, such as the right of purchase on the part of the city, at the expiration of the franchise or at the end of each ten year period, the right of the comptroller to examine the books of the company and the right to amend, alter or repeal at any time and to forfeit the franchise for misuse or nonuse, were all requirements of the city charter.

The valuation of $60,000,000 agreed upon by the representatives of the city and the company was the minimum figure which the two parties could arrive at and keep the company from appearing bankrupt on its face—the outstanding bonds, as has been stated, amounting to over $55,000,000. This valuation was arrived at by a rather arbitrary addition of values to the findings of the St. Louis public service commission in 1911. For instance, the old cable lines of the company, to the value of over $5,000,000, which had been destroyed to make way for the trolley lines, and which the public service commission had refused to allow any value for, were put in at $2,740,000. In a great number of items, the difference between the claims of the United Railways in 1911 and the allowances of the commission at that time were split in two. Dr. Wilcox estimated, on the basis of the 1911 figures, that the valuation to-day could not total much more than $45,000,000. In ordinance Number Two, as amended, a possible valuation within two years by the state public service commission was provided for, though the $60,000,000 figure was retained.

THE STRIKE

In February, 1918, just on the eve of the passage of the bill, the street railway employes struck for higher wages and shorter hours—the strike being preceded by a receivership suit on the part of certain stockholders of the company. The suit was speedily dismissed on legal grounds. The strike was one of the most complete and paralyzing of its kind during the last decade. Of the 3,000 motormen and conductors employed by the company, practically the entire number left their work at once and stayed out during the entire course of the difficulty. The strike was conducted in an orderly manner. This fact, together with the agitation on the franchise which had preceded it, gained for the strikers the favor of the public. After a brief six days, the company consented to recognize the organization of the street car men and to meet with them. An agreement was drawn up which provided for recognition of the union and arbitration on the question of wages and hours. As a result of this arrangement, the company and the men in June agreed to a wage schedule which ranges from 38 cents per hour for the first year to 42 cents per hour for the seventh year and thereafter. This was one of the high wage schedules of the country for street railway employes at that time, being exceeded by San Francisco's wage of 43 cents per hour on the municipal railway, the Portland, Oregon, award of 1917, and several subsequent adjustments in other cities.

THE REFERENDUM

It was noticeable a short time after the strike that the surrender of the company to the men had weakened the forces in opposition to the franchise ordinance. The street car men in their anxiety to obtain their wage increase allied themselves with the company and split the labor forces, while other elements in the community seemed inclined to relieve the company after the extra burden of higher wages had been assumed by them. This attitude was reflected in the report of the chamber of commerce committee on the subject. The result was, that on April 10, compromise ordinance Number Two—amended to provide for a thirty-one year franchise and for the use of the profits over 7 per cent for improvements and extensions, with but an original tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the gross revenue—was passed by a vote of twenty-eight to one in the board of aldermen and subsequently signed by the mayor. Immediately after the passage of the ordinance a citizens' referendum league was formed, composed mainly of representatives of the Socialist Party and a number of improvement organizations, to invoke a referendum on the measure. The company in the meantime had petitioned the state public service commission for an increase of fares to 6 cents per passenger, basing their plea on the increase cost of supplies and the proposed increase in the wages of the company employes. The constitutionality of such a grant was questioned both by the city and by the civic league, basing their opinion on Missouri law and on the recent decision in New York state, where a similar constitutional provision to that of Missouri prevails. By a vote of three to two, however, the commission decided in favor of the railway company, both on the legal questions involved and on the increase of the fare to 6 cents—granting this increase, however, but for a one-year period as a temporary relief measure, to take effect July 1, 1918. The city appealed the case to the courts, but made no effort to halt or hinder the 6 cent fare during the interim. It is significant to note that the city in presenting its case retained the services of James E. Allison, who had made the 1911 valuation, and who in bringing his previous figures up to date showed a present day value of $48,784,490 in contrast to the $60,000,000 proposed in the franchise ordinance.[1]

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[1] Both the $48,000,000 and $60,000,000 figures were stated to be "original cost" estimates, though "reproduction new" items entered into both. Mr. Allison declared that for reproduction new to-day, the valuation would approximate $72,000,000, but that this method would not give the correct figures because based on a fictitious situation.

The citizens' referendum league, during the sixty days legally allotted to it, obtained the necessary quota of signatures to require a submission of the franchise ordinance at an election. On the night before the day that these signatures were to have been presented to the election commissioners, the safe containing the petitions was opened by an electric drill and over 11,000 signatures stolen. In two days' time, however, the league succeeded in obtaining 19,000 additional signatures—enough to insure a vote on the subject at the coming November election. Several of those implicated in the burglary have been apprehended, and as a result of their revelations the company's superintendent of transportation has been indicted. A consequent impetus has been given the referendum movement; imperilled again for the moment, however, by an opinion of the attorney-general's office that a municipal issue of this kind cannot be voted on at a general state election. Independent stockholders have also renewed the receivership suit.

The whole St. Louis situation points strongly to the necessity of the public acquisition of public utilities. By such action an end will be put to the eternal conflict between the demands of the public for service and the efforts of the private corporation for profit—as Dr. Wilcox has repeatedly pointed out—and the chief obstacle to satisfactory municipal government will be done away with. The hope of St. Louis, as of all other large cities similarly situated, is the institution of such constitutional changes—particularly in regard to indebtedness limitations—as will make possible the early acquisition of all utility properties. The federal loan made to the United Railways Company in June may be the means by which a governmental control leading to ownership will finally be affected.

THE UNIT PLAN OF HEALTH ADMINISTRATION

AS IT IS BEING TRIED OUT IN THE MOHAWK-BRIGHTON DISTRICT OF CINCINNATI

BY DOROTHY THOMPSON

DURING the convention of the American surgical association, recently held in Cincinnati, a group of local physicians met with Dr. William H. Mayo, its president, and with Dr. Franklin P. Martin, chairman of the Medical Division of the Council of National Defense, to discuss with them the progress of a unique venture in health administration, now being tried out experimentally in a limited area in Cincinnati. At this meeting, Dr. Martin and Dr. Mayo did not hesitate to characterize the experiment as "one of the most significant movements of the day in modern medicine." And still more recently, Dr. René Sand, professor of social medicine in the University of Brussels on a mission in this country is reported to have said: "I consider its value from the point of view of reconstruction to be inestimable, and I shall carry back to my people no more interesting suggestion."

WHAT IS THIS EXPERIMENT?

It is one branch of the work of a unique community organization called "The Social Unit," which has as its basic ideas the mobilization of all available social skill into groups the elected representatives of which form an occupational council for the community, which as one part of the local organization shall diagnose the community's needs, and formulate a program for meeting these needs, this program to be affirmed and rendered effective through the other part of the organization—representatives elected from the citizenry, by blocks, and forming a citizens' council. It is operating in an area of Cincinnati comprising a population of 15,000, under the direction of Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur C. Phillips, originators of the plan, and with the guidance and backing of a national committee, made up of experts in various social fields.

The medical administration, which is so far the most highly developed branch of the work of this organization, and which illustrates the manner in which any group of the occupational council—ministers, teachers, business men, or social workers—might function, was formed in September, 1917, from the thirty-six physicians resident or practicing in the district. These physicians elected from their group a council of nine, with an executive responsible to them. At the same time a council of nurses was formed, consisting of the representatives of the various health agencies operating in the district. The formation of this council was made possible through the co-operation of these agencies.

The two councils and their executives, working in close co-operation, have formulated a health program for the district consisting of specific services, the program being elastic and open to constant expansion. At present these services are six—a general nursing service, for home care of sick patients, a pre-natal service for expectant mothers, a maternity service, a tuberculosis service, and an infant welfare and pre-school service.

The establishment of services has necessarily meant the establishment of sub-committees of the medical administration,—a committee on pediatrics, obstetrics, etc. These committees have been responsible for standardizing work in these departments, and to assist them at their request at arriving at the best modern standards, advisory councils have been formed from the City Academy of Medicine, these men in turn seeking the advice of national committees. Exactly the same policy of city and national organization has been followed in regard to the nurses' work.

POINTS OF ADVANTAGE

The points in this administration which are particularly noteworthy are, perhaps, five:

1. *The Democratic Form of the Organization.*—Programs for socializing medicine have, in the past, been formulated by social workers and reformers rather than by physicians, often meeting with strenuous opposition from the medical profession, though in the long run the physicians must by nature of their skill be responsible for the effectiveness of such programs. In this community, the responsibility for planning and carrying out the health program is put up to the physicians and nurses, their program being subject to the approval of the rest of the occupational council of which they form a part and of the citizens' council representing the entire lay citizenry. All of the practitioners being included in the medical group the standardization of clinic methods is carried down into the private practice of every physician in the district, and so socializes standards to the last degree.

2. *The Intensiveness with Which Each Detail of the Program Can Be Carried Out.*—Through the block workers of the citizens' council, it is possible to reach every person for whom a service is designed, easily, the approach in each case being made by a neighbor. For instance, infant welfare and pre-school services are designed to give every child in the district up to six years of age a complete medical examination, this service to include a consultation with the mother, follow up work done in the home by the nurses, and the organization of classes for mothers in each nursing district, the information given in these classes to be based on the needs of the district as they manifest themselves. In an ordinary uncoordinated community such a task would be stupendous. But in this district the block workers took a census of all children, made appointments for them at the station, reported on epidemic cases, and persuaded obstructive mothers so effectively that in three months 80 per cent of all the children have been examined and Dr. Kreidler, executive of the medical council, reports expectations of reaching 95 per cent with these services. The Nursing Council already has 100% of the children under supervision.

3. *The Educative Effect on the Medical Profession.*—Responsibility for the health of the district and the daily clinics presided over by the physicians of the district have developed standards of medical practice far above what they were seven months ago when the medical work started.

4. *The Greater Responsibility in the Nursing Service.*—The nurses in this district are a self-governing body. They formulate their own programs for public health nursing. One of the first things which they did was to do away with specialized nursing in large areas—in favor of general

nursing in small areas, putting the emphasis on preventive rather than curative measures, and making the nurse responsible, not only for the care of individual patients but for encouraging the maintenance of high health standards for an entire household, and at the same time doing away with duplication of effort in the same household, and saving time in going from place to place.

5. *The Possibility of Extending the Unit Organization throughout the City until It Covers the Total Population Supplying an Effective Mechanism for the Administration of the City's Health Work.*—Such an administration would be centered in the general hospital and the medical college of the City University and should be able to give a 100 per cent health supervision to every man, woman, and child. This may seem far away but it is worth considering. If a given area in a city can develop a health center with a department for every branch of medicine tied up to the corresponding departments of the city medical college and general hospital, each department in the health center run democratically by a local staff, yet each staff related to a central committee of the best experts in the field, why would it not be possible to extend that plan dividing the entire city into such units, and eventually bringing in every physician as part of a community system for reducing sickness and death to the lowest possible point? Some of the leading physicians of the country believe that it is possible, and that now is the time when such an experiment might be tried. The press reported Dr. Martin to have said when he was in Cincinnati: "The tremendous advances in professional skill made during the war must be put at the services of a larger and larger per cent of the people, in order to conserve every atom of the nation's vital resources from which the war takes so costly toll. It is unthinkable that after the war is won we should allow ourselves to drift back to old methods, which the international crisis has proved to be outworn. If the Social Unit can build up, as I believe it is doing, a model system of medical administration, we shall be ready, when the war is over, to take it, adjust it to various environments, and apply it generally."

ENLISTMENT OF WORKINGMEN IN THE CAUSE OF BETTER GOVERNMENT

BY WILLIAM P. LOVETT[1]
Detroit

THAT factory workers in numbers can be enlisted for active service in municipal reform, without the entangling alliances incident to city politics or the problems which arise when capital and labor try to co-operate, has been proved by the Detroit citizens' league, a volunteer organization now six years old.

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[1] Executive secretary, Detroit Citizens' league.

Efforts to align labor as a class in favor of practical civic enterprises frequently meet with essential difficulties. Union labor refuses to give aid or comfort to programs financially fostered by "the employing class." Managers of industry fear to suggest or permit any sort of governmental discussion or action among their employes, lest friction be aroused, either among the workers who become involved in arguments over economic issues, or between workers and employers whose partisan opinions may not coincide. As to the function of voting, the workingman resents dictation from "the boss," and the employer who values efficiency in his plant declines to imperil such efficiency as he may have achieved by injecting politics or the acute industrial problem among his employes as a bone of contention.

DETROIT: AN OPEN SHOP TOWN

Recognizing the difficulties in the way, officials of the Detroit citizens' league proceeded constructively, on common sense lines. They were aided by the fact that Detroit is not dominated by union labor, but is an open shop town where the right of labor to organize is seldom questioned. Another advantage has been the rapid growth of Detroit in the past decade, bringing to its factories thousands of workingmen, many of whom came from farms or small towns, and were not easily brought under the control of partisan bosses, either in politics or industry. The success of the league is the more significant when it is noted that its organizer and president, Henry M. Leland, a prominent manufacturer, has been bitterly fought at times by labor unionists for his "open shop" views.

Results of the factory work are not to be questioned. They have appeared in many local elections, where the big factory vote was highly important, and in the organized work of the league in many local campaigns. Scores of public meetings have been held, in many of which factory men have predominated. Workingmen have circulated petitions, served as election inspectors and league challengers, distributed literature, done campaign work in neighborhoods, and have successfully put forth candidates for public office. Whether the Detroit federation of labor, which represents a minority of the workingmen of the city, favored or opposed the league program, seemed not to make much difference in the result. The federation leaders usually make their appeal to class prejudice, and attack the league officials as "plutocrats," but the line of distinction between union and non-union labor in the city is hard to find. The citizens' league treats all workingmen as "citizens and taxpayers."

Another factor in the situation is that during its six years of work the league has given less attention to promotion of candidates for office, than to radical reforms in the structure of the local government. These reforms have been attained frequently by charter amendment. The latest project was a complete revision of the city charter. The new charter was adopted by a majority of more than seven to one. Such broad appeals, however, are less fraught with personal differences or political friction than campaigns for election of rival candidates.

BASIS OF SUPPORT

Membership in the league is open to all voters, at one dollar per annum, which covers subscription to the monthly bulletin. General meetings are held about once a month. An executive board of seven men, representing broadly all classes, is the final court of authority. Most of the financial support is furnished by recognized leaders in commerce and industry.

To take the message of civic betterment to the workingmen, a luncheon meeting was held, attended by sixty heads of big plants. After the aims and methods had been discussed, forty plants were opened to the league for purposes of civic education and appeal. In each plant noon meetings were held, lasting fifteen minutes each. Men were invited to join the league, or at least to study the proposals put forth by the league for improving city government, and to vote favorably. Most of the noon talks were made by the executive secretary of the league, whose experience as a newspaper man and student of governmental problems had made him familiar with the social point of view, and given him an appreciation of many sides of the political, economic and industrial issues of the day.

"Taxation and rents" was one of a score of topics with which the main theme was introduced. Co-operation was the keynote and spirit of the addresses. Partisan issues were never raised or permitted. Instead of discussing "politics," the appeal uniformly was on behalf of good citizenship, American principles, free popular government, the non-partisan system for cities, and abolition of the old-time politics based on selfishness and seamed with graft. Many thousands of small documents, specially prepared, have been distributed, sometimes for educational ends, more frequently to persuade men to vote for given proposals for changes in methods of local government.

Successful campaigns have been waged for the abolition of controlled voting precincts and the establishment of an honest system of election, elimination of the old board of estimates, substituting a modern for an ancient and corrupt school board, and for abolition of the ward-alderman system of city government. In several campaigns a special staff of volunteer speakers has been utilized, most of the talks being given in the factories at the noon hour, and without a hint of friction. In the campaign for adoption of the new charter more than 70 such speakers were in service.

The final element which made for success and prevented undesirable results lay in the policy of the league, developed by its attorney and director, Pliny W. Marsh: it declines to cultivate enmities, even among gang politicians; it consistently and constructively utilizes all legitimate agencies of co-operation and friendliness which can be enlisted in the cause of good government. To-day it has access to practically all the industrial plants of Detroit.

BUREAUS OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH IN WAR TIME

BY LENT D. UPSON[1]

Detroit, Mich.

What can civic organizations,—and in particular, Bureaus of Municipal Research,—do to win the war? It goes without saying that we must do anything for the National Government which will *really* help to win the war. It is equally sure that we must not desert our local community problems,—with their direct bearings on war, and after the war problems,—and take a government job which does not really help the government. Men of bureau training and experience are needed by the government, and they are needed more than ever before by their own cities. Upon these men then devolves the important and patriotic task of determining where their services will produce the greatest results. And sometimes the most patriotic thing to do will be to give up the call of a uniform, and stay home to wrestle with problems which concern the welfare of many people and which have a direct war purpose.

For example, I know a man who left a responsible position in public life where he might have affected in a large way the number of employes on a city's pay-roll, thereby releasing many persons for direct or indirect war work. He chose, however, to accept a commission in the army. He made a distinct financial sacrifice to do so, but the country made a much greater sacrifice. I understand he is now directing the activities of a dozen stenographers in Washington,—almost in the position of chief office woman, and the work which he might have done at home has gone undone. This man's patriotism is most commendable. But somewhere there was an absence of judgment as to relative values.

We cannot subscribe entirely to a statement that we must count a battle lost if any organization concerned in saving democracy at home is allowed to suffer or become weakened because of efforts spent on work concerned more directly with war service. We can subscribe entire to a defence of local civic activity as against activities which only pretend to be concerned with directly winning the war. For it is true indeed, that "an inefficient health department, a neglected school system, or a corrupt police department, helps the forces of autocracy, of imperialism and of selfishness."

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[1] Director of the Detroit bureau of governmental research. This is the stenographer's report of the address of Dr. Upson at the New York meeting of the National Municipal League.

But Bureaus of Municipal Research can and should concern themselves with activities having even a more direct bearing on the war than effective health, schools or police. For example, if by working on a sewer program we can save one million dollars in costs, and at the same time get sewer facilities for ammunition plants which otherwise would have none, I think we are doing war work. If we can prevent the paving of residence streets by pointing out that the government needs men and materials more urgently than our community needs asphalt pavements, I think we are doing war work. If we can standardize wages and work so that when men leave city service they are not replaced, and the work of the city is carried on by fewer men and carried on just as well, I think this is war work. If we can reorganize community garden service so that war gardens in our town become realities instead of something to talk about, and thereby our communities become more nearly self supporting, this too is war work.

I merely raise the point that all things are relative so far as Bureaus of Municipal Research are concerned and we should carefully consider whether the work we are doing is not of great importance, and is not materially helping to win the war. The time may be near at hand when we must stop even what we are doing and go to fight. When we fight to save the world we cannot stop to save a city or a county or a state, as such, if we are needed to do bigger things. But we must be sure of that need. Remember that our immediate task is to save men and materials, and that our future task is to try and build up cities that will meet the needs of the one or three or five million men who will come back from the battle front with an entirely new conception of what a community should do for its citizens.

THE CITY-MANAGER PLAN AS A WAR MEASURE[1]

HARRISON G. OTIS[1]
Auburn, Maine

I SHALL endeavor to make this ten-minute speech in five minutes. One of the tenets of my profession is to do a thing in half the usual time (applause).

First of all, let us see how it conforms with the Government's plans at this time. The U. S. Government has built several wonderful cities within the past few months, the great training camps of our army and navy. These cantonments have been put into existence and given all the facilities of our most modern municipalities under the guiding hands of practical city managers known as "officers in charge of utilities." Some of the captains assigned to these duties have applied for membership in the city-manager's association. The Government is using the manager plan at a time when it wants efficiency and speed.

In Alaska the governments of many communities are carried on by United States officers whose duties correspond very closely to those of a city manager. A former secretary of the association had a membership application from the town-site manager of Anchorage, Alaska. The war has brought out the value of an administrator with centralized authority.

In the achievement reports of the city-manager cities as they are published in our association year book you will note how city after city has undertaken various phases of war work in a very determined and successful manner. Among the different activities which the managers have engaged in are: the handling of the fuel question, the housing problem, the planning of cities for after-war growth, and the furnishing of water, electricity and other services to nearby cantonments.

The simplicity of centralized executive control has allowed economy and efficiency when they are most needed. Among the noteworthy achievements one or two are of especial interest. Eldorado, Kansas, two or three years ago, was a small country community of 3,500 population; it is to-day a hustling city of 18,000. The development of oil fields has changed it almost over night from a rural village to a wide-awake city. The work of rapid readjustment has been handled admirably by the city manager with the co-operation of the business men on his commission. Kingsport, Tennessee, was organized and incorporated under a commission-manager charter last year. Industrial growth has converted it from a mountain hamlet into a city of 10,000. The results accomplished by its city manager are a tribute to the workableness of the new plan. But I would not emphasize the utility features exclusively. The city-manager plan stands for business efficiency which makes possible real community service.

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[1] Address delivered at a luncheon held in connection with the annual meeting of the National Municipal League, Greenwich House, New York, over which Lucius E. Wilson presided.

[2] Secretary of City Managers Association.

I heard a question this afternoon as to whether the city-manager plan is progressing as rapidly now as it has in the past, I also heard a suggestion that campaigns for the manager plan should be postponed until after the war is won. The answers to the question and to the suggestion are to be found in the fact that more cities are putting the manager plan into operation during the first half of the year 1918 than in any one year previously. You may be interested to know the figures. I believe there are at present about 120 cities claiming some form of the city-manager plan. In 18 of these the plan became effective in 1914,—24 in 1915, 19 in 1916, 19 in 1917, and so far in 1918, 25.

In the year book, just published, there are achievement reports from sixty-five cities operating under the manager plan,—short, snappy stories of actual accomplishments. These reports will tell you, far better than I can the reasons why the city-manager plan may well be promoted as a war measure.

The profession of city manager offers a real opportunity to the men who have the qualifications and the courage to enter it. The new plan permits a community to express itself in terms of real service.

A REVIEW OF CITY PLANNING IN THE UNITED STATES 1917–18

BY THEODORA KIMBALL [1]
Cambridge

IN MANY ways the year just past may be considered the most significant period in American city planning,—more significant even than the period in which the plan for the National Capital was developed; more significant than the year of the World's Columbian Exposition, which awakened the United States to esthetic values in urban environment; more significant than the year which was marked by the association of technical experts and civic improvers in the formation of the National Conference on City Planning. For in the year 1917–18 has come governmental recognition of the fact that in the development of large areas of land for efficient use it is necessary to employ the services of the several professions which have been, on a lesser scale, heretofore co-operating in city planning work. The Government has realized that to house 50,000 men in a camp, or 15,000 workmen and their families in the neighborhood of an industrial center, is not merely a question of buildings and sanitary engineering, but that the city planner—who in most cases is the landscape architect trained in the handling of land development—is necessary to adapt the arrangement of roads and buildings and community facilities most effectively to the site and the purpose.

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[1] Librarian, School of Landscape Architecture at Harvard University, consulting librarian to the U. S. housing corporation, contributing editor of the quarterly, *Landscape Architecture.*

Readers of the National Municipal Review are already familiar, through Mr. Ihlder's article and a subsequent note,[2] with the value of planning in the national army cantonments. A huge problem was set before the construction division of the army,—the building in three months of sixteen wooden cities for populations varying from thirty to fifty thousand men. By the employment of brains,—whether commissioned in the army or called from civil life,—brains trained in problems of city planning in its various phases, co-operating and turning into the plan each its special knowledge of land development, of sanitation, or of building construction, these cities were produced with record speed, with an acknowledged efficiency of arrangement, and with a certain pleasant esthetic effect due in part to the repetition of constructed forms in orderly relation and in part to their harmonious relation to the ground. But it has been not only in the emergency construction of the cantonments that the army has employed city planning services: it employs them continuously for the period of the war—and we hope, after, if necessary—in the laying out of camps for various special purposes, in the laying out of hospitals, and in any other construction work involving the placing of numbers of buildings on areas of land.

HOUSING INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

The other department of the Government in which city planning has been recognized as essential to "winning the war" has dealt with the housing of industrial workers. After various delays in the passage of the necessary legislation, the power to provide adequate living accommodations for workers in war industries has been delegated by the President to the department of labor, and by it to the bureau of industrial housing and transportation. To function more readily, the activities of the bureau have been largely taken over by the U. S. housing corporation, incorporated under the laws of New York, and having as officers several of the directing officers of the bureau, Otto M. Eidlitz, president. Frederick Law Olmsted, president of the American City Planning Institute is a director of the corporation and chief of its town planning division.

In connection with speeding up the shipbuilding program, the shipping board has housing projects already under way, including most interesting examples of industrial housing developments in which city planning experts have co-operated, and these remain under the jurisdiction of the Emergency Fleet Corporation's department of passenger transportation and housing, which will be in the closest touch with the housing corporation.

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[2] March, 1918, v. 7, p. 139–145, and May, p. 334–335.

It should be noted that in the official title of both agencies for housing, the term *transportation* has appeared. Proper living accommodations for industrial workers may often be secured by the improvement or extension of transportation facilities to places having a surplus of houses; and this fact which has been so keenly discussed in meetings of city planners and housing experts for the past few years, is now the more sharply recognized, since any such solution releases building materials and construction workers for use in housing shortage situations which are not to be met in any other way than by building.

A city planning problem of the most vital and far-reaching nature has presented itself in connection with industrial housing developments. Shall they, like the cantonments, be built on open land—made available by transportation to the shipyards or munition plants—where conditions may be entirely controlled by the designers and a maximum of efficiency in plan, wholesomeness of living conditions, and pleasantness of appearance, be secured by the unity of the development; or shall the available vacant land in the vicinity of the yards or factories be utilized, with the sub-surface utilities in many cases already constructed, and facilities for recreation ready-at-hand in the existing city, but at a sacrifice of that unity of design which enhances the attractiveness of the new-town development as a place of residence?[3] The problem can be answered in only one way by the housing corporation:—that type of development which can be built the most effectively, so that the workers may be soonest housed in a proper manner and the ships and munitions soonest turned out to help in the final victory. In some cases the answer is one, in some cases, the other. But with all the speed that is essential, there will be merit in the developments produced that will influence housing and city planning in this country to an extend impossible to realize at the present time.

The experience of Great Britain in housing her munition workers has been consulted; and the very high standard of permanent housing set in such towns as Well Hall and the comfortableness of the hostels for unmarried workers such as those at Gretna have stimulated us to as adequate a meeting of similar situations. This British experience has been made familiar to the American public especially by the report of Frederick L. Ackerman of New York, who visited England in the Fall of 1917, and whose application of the principles involved in British developments to the American problem makes his report an important city planning document.

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[3] Readers are referred to most interesting discussions of these points in the April number of the quarterly, *Landscape Architecture* in articles by Thomas Adams of Canada, and E. P. Goodrich of New York, and comment by the editors; and also in the July number of the same magazine to the article by H. V. Hubbard, "Some Preliminary Considerations in Governmental Industrial War Housing."

Another document of the very greatest interest is the *Standards Recommended for Permanent Industrial Housing Developments* put forth by the bureau of industrial housing and transportation (March, 1918). These standards were originally drafted by Lawrence Veiller, secretary of the national housing association and adopted after undergoing revision in a series of conferences in which housing experts, architects, landscape architects, engineers, and others participated. An introductory note explains: "These standards are not intended as inflexible requirements, but any plans which fail to conform to them are not likely to be accepted unless supported by very strong reasons. Local building codes, housing laws, and similar ordinances are to be followed: Provided, however, that in case such local regulations permit or require anything not permitted by these standards the express approval of this bureau is to be obtained before departing from the standards as here outlined." Needless to say, minimum requirements as these have had to be in many respects, they are far in advance of certain types of housing with which our industrial workers have been obliged to put up, and which have been the cause of the impairment of industrial efficiency. To these standards, however, would conform a considerable number of housing schemes which industrial plants have undertaken for their own workers, or which subsidiary companies have put forth. Several of these schemes have been well designed by competent planners and have been under construction during the past year, testifying to the increase of intelligent appreciation of the commercial value of city planning.

IMPORTANCE OF PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

With all these evidences of city planning work in war emergency construction, we are interested to know the situation in regard to construction on city planning projects the immediate necessity of which is not so apparent.

One thing has been brought home to the world as never before: that on proper physical environment depends the effectiveness of man, in fighting or in industry, and so ultimately the effectiveness of the nation. In all plans for reconstruction—in such a document as the notable reconstruction report, and subsequent resolutions, of the British Labour Party—it is recognized that the after-war improvement of the environment of the average citizen is absolutely essential to national happiness and prosperity. On what a scale this improvement should take place is indicated in Thomas Adams' *Rural Planning and Development for Canada*, a report of far more than local interest. It is a treatise on national planning which should have a very great influence on city and national planning in the United States, and point to the time when we survey and apportion all our vast natural resources to their most effective use. As giving a statement of the new spirit of planning and development, the appearance of this report should be recorded as an event in the history of American planning. Mr. Adams' counsels, with their background of British experience, have also aided us in our regular national city planning and housing conferences, and in such special conferences as those held in Philadelphia last February,[4] which were significant as national recognition of the war-time situation, and the relation of this to after-war problems.

The periodical press is beginning to evidence the fact that cities throughout the country are appreciating the importance of "Plan now for construction after the war," as recommended in such a resolution as that passed by the American City Planning Institute at the St. Louis Conference.[5] While all improvements indispensable to the health of the population and necessary for transportation of war supplies must go forward now, it is of course apparent that men and materials are not at present available to carry out the municipal improvements already planned in many cities. Other cities have not as comprehensive plans as would be desirable for a vigorous program of construction to utilize labor released by the close of the war. It was announced a short time ago that the mayor of Cleveland desired from the heads of all city departments comprehensive work programs which are to be submitted to the city plan commission for co-ordination. In this way Cleveland hopes to be ready for wise and fruitful progress when the labor is available. Similar plans are going forward in other cities.

DISTRICTING

In addition to the advances in recognition of city planning occasioned by the war, the most important progress of the year has unquestionably been in the field of districting or zoning. The fundamental relation between the street plan and the apportionment of the city area into districts according to use and the street plan has become more clear; and the very great economies to be effected, as well as the amenity to be secured, are convincing American cities that districting is worth while. With New York City in the East as the leader, and its building zone ordinance as a model to be followed or varied from, and with California possessing a state zoning act "broader in scope and affording greater protection than any other existing act of these United States,"[6] the movement is seen to be country-wide. Baltimore is embarking on a campaign for districting regulations[7]; and St. Louis has just published a full set of maps to accompany the ordinance drawn up by the city plan commission and passed by the board of aldermen in June. A New York state law now makes it possible for cities other than New York city to secure the same power for districting.[8] In spite of several minor legal set-backs, there is a strong general tendency to recognize the validity of the districting principle; and its ultimate place in our regular municipal program seems assured.

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[4] See REVIEW, May, 1918, v. 7, p. 289–291.

[5] See p. 435 of the July REVIEW.

Of city planning activity as marked by published reports during the past twelve months, much might be said. Two or three considerable volumes, a number of comprehensive plans, a group of districting reports, and many annual publications have appeared. It will be possible here, however, only to note and discuss a very few of the more important, with all due respect to the excellent work evidenced by many of the others.

CALIFORNIA PROGRESS

The June number (1918) of the *Architect and Engineer of California*, prepared under the direction of Charles Henry Cheney, secretary of the California conference on city planning, may be considered as a stock-taking of city planning in that state. In addition to the noteworthy progress in districting made by Berkeley and Fresno we find important the appointment of a permanent city planning commission for San Francisco; work on city plans for Pasadena and Alameda (the latter especially urgent on account of the shipbuilding plants); transportation plans involving Los Angeles on the one hand and Oakland, Alameda, and Berkeley on the other, now before the state railroad commission, the decision of which is final on such matters, thus making the commission an ultimate city planning authority.[9] But most important of all is the establishment of a state bureau of city planning under the commission of immigration, with functions analogous to the Massachusetts homestead commission and to the bureau of municipalities, with its recently-appointed city planning engineer, of the state of Pennsylvania.

ST. LOUIS

The group of St. Louis city plan commission reports (Harland Bartholomew, Engineer) shows great activity in that city. *Problems of St. Louis*, as its title goes on to explain, is "a description from the city planning standpoint, of past and present tendencies of growth with general suggestions for impending issues and necessary future improvements,"—in other words, it is a local manual of city planning comparable to that of Newark, with which city Mr. Bartholomew was previously connected. The *Major Street Plan for St. Louis*, taken together with the later zoning plans, points out the main lines of city development and growth; and the *Recreation* report (November, 1917) comprises a thorough study of the situation, with plans for a systematic rounding out of the public park and recreation system. *Zoning for St. Louis* prepared the way for the official zoning maps and the ordinance already referred to. Thus St. Louis may well lay claim to first place in the activity of the year in the United States, as expressed in well-prepared city planning reports. In addition an industrial survey of St. Louis by the firm of Goodrich, Hoover and Bennett (New York) has been going forward, the results of which are not yet published. It is worth especial note, in these days when the efficiency of industry is so vital to our success, that the relation of the location of industries to the city plan is receiving wider attention.

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[6] From report of the president of the California conference on city planning.

[7] See *Municipal Journal* of Baltimore, May 10, 1918.

[8] N. Y. State Bureau of Municipal Information, Bulletin no. 21.

[9] Noted in special manuscript summary of California situation made by Mr. Cheney for the editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

OTHER CITIES

Omaha[10] and Davenport[11] have both published studies for comprehensive plans. In the case of Omaha, the consulting experts were Messrs. George B. Ford, E. P. Goodrich, and the late Charles Mulford Robinson. A careful survey by them has been made the basis of recommendations which the commission, with their approval, sets forth. The Davenport studies have particular interest at this time because of the growth of Davenport and adjacent cities as a great center of war industries. One of the U. S. housing corporation projects is located there, and it should be a matter of satisfaction to the city that a tangible evidence of its foresight could be laid before the government experts.

The *Plan of Minneapolis*,[12] expected to appear in 1914, has recently come out in sumptuous form, similar to the Chicago report of 1909, in which Mr. Bennett collaborated with the late Mr. Burnham. Mr. Burnham was indeed concerned with the beginnings of this Minneapolis plan, and a most inspiring quotation from him begins the volume. There are beautiful renderings by Jules Guérin, and a large number of illustrations. The parallel to the Chicago plan is, nevertheless, too close in many respects, and we are left with a feeling that the city of Minneapolis as planned, however splendid, would lack the individuality which is her right.

[10] Preliminary studies for a city plan for Omaha, city planning commission, November, 1917.

[11] Report to the mayor and city council of the city of Davenport, Iowa, on city planning for Davenport. Roscoe E. Sawistowsky, city engineer. 1918.

[12] Plan of Minneapolis, prepared under the direction of the Civic Commission MCMXVII, by Edward H. Bennett, architect; edited and written by Andrew Wright Crawford. 1917.

Only one of Colonel Bion J. Arnold's reports has appeared in the last twelve months,—that for Syracuse.[13] As usual in the reports with which he has been connected, the intimate relation of the transportation problem to the city plan is fully recognized. In this case, the railroad-crossing situation has tied up city development, and its solution will make for essential improvement.

Philadelphia, now the national center of the shipbuilding industry, is fortunate in having comprehensive plans for development already far advanced. In 1917, the permanent committee on comprehensive plans published a *Report on the Revision and Extension of the Street System in Southwest Philadelphia,* based on an extensive study made by the general plans division of the bureau of surveys. This report is parallel to the South Philadelphia report of 1913, and proposes waterfront reclamation for industrial and housing purposes. At a session of the Philadelphia conferences on war-time housing and community planning in February there were shown these waterfront plans for the whole area of shipbuilding activity in the Philadelphia district.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The effect of the war emergency construction of the past year in Washington on the plan of that city has been a subject of the gravest concern. It is most encouraging to see in the recent *Report on Public Buildings* [14] and in the last two reports of the commission of fine arts that the plan is none the less cherished and future permanent building development carefully worked out in accordance with it. The public building commission was appointed in 1916 with a view to providing ultimately permanent quarters for all the governmental activities in the District of Columbia in buildings owned by the government. The report is a large volume containing a wealth of illustrations, plans, etc. A perusal of it shows how necessary to the carrying out of the plan of Washington is an intelligent appreciation on the part of congress, since, through the control of appropriations, it thereby has control of ultimate development.

The commission of fine arts reports for 1916 and 1918, both published within the year, review progress on the park commission plan of Washington, since the founding of the commission in 1910; and the 1918 report contains the recommendations made by the commission during the preparation of the public buildings commission report, and also the commission's report on the relocation of the Botanic garden, with a discussion of proposed sites. To read the reports of the commission is to realize again that in our capital city we have our most worthy city planning monument; and that, whatever ignorance and special interests may attempt to its detriment, its development is continuously watched over with the greatest of understanding and skill.

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[13] Report on Grade Crossing Elimination in the City of Syracuse; findings of the commission and report of Bion J. Arnold, consulting engineer. 1917.

[14] Senate Document no. 155, 65th congress, 2d session. (Limited distribution.)

In enumerating the accomplishments of the year in city planning, we should not lose sight of the distance which we still have to go before Mr. Adams' term "planning and development" becomes an integral part of our national and civic life. The gains recently made cause us to hope that in the reconstruction period here, as abroad, a more wholesome and more pleasant environment may be secured to every person to whom it has previously been denied.

EDITORIAL

AFTER war—Reconstruction! Preparation for the problems of peace. The years of war seem long—but we believe the years of peace will be longer and more fruitful. They certainly will be if we take to heart the profound lessons of the world struggle. In the words of a Belgian National "We want, in the days to come, to reveal and express, clearly to ourselves, those ideals which have maintained us in the war." In short the patriotism of peace must be as high and fine and self-sacrificing and patient and unremitting as the patriotism of the war.

The National Municipal League is concerned in the forms of government and their efficient administration. It is interested in something more—in citizenship, in civic heroism and civic patriotism. Its members have helped, from the president to the youngest and newest member, in every phase of war activity abroad and at home and they have kept the home lines steady. They have borne a double burden. They have added war duties to peace duties. They have sought to make permanent the fine spirit of citizen volunteer service and co-operation for the upholding of a nation, which in its every part will be worthy of the sacrifices that have been so gladly made.

The hardest problems probably lie ahead of us. The readjustment of society, the re-establishment of old lines of contact, the reorganization of life and industry, the rehabilitation of the maimed and wounded, in short the problems of reconstruction. Conscious of their pertinency, urgency and importance the National Municipal League has called a conference to meet in Rochester, New York, November 20–22, 1918, to discuss American Reconstruction Problems. We will meet under the auspices of the Rochester Chamber of Commerce and the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research which has undertaken so fine a piece of local reconstruction work.[1]

The outline of the program follows. In one aspect it may seem narrow in its scope. Reflection will show that it is broadly inclusive. No phase but what will be pertinent at one of the sessions. There will be few papers, but many speakers of insight, experience, devotion to public weal and welfare. It will be a real conference, a sincere desire to consider what should be done to prepare America for peace, to conserve the lessons of the war and to make a place to which those who have gone over seas to fight for ideals will be proud to return to and work for during the remainder of their days. THE EDITOR.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 574.

OUTLINE OF PROGRAM

The conference will open Wednesday evening, November 20, with addresses by representatives of Great Britain, France and Belgium, describing in turn what our Allies are doing in the way of solving reconstruction problems.

On *Thursday Morning*, November 21, the subject for discussion will be the new relation of the Federal government to state and local communities. The paper will be prepared by Prof. Howard Lee McBain, of Columbia university, and will be thrown open to discussion under a ten-minute rule.

The *Thursday Afternoon* session will be devoted to a consideration of the replanning the United States in regard to transportation, housing, and public works. Definitive papers will be presented by F. L. Ackerman, of the emergency fleet corporation, Philadelphia, and Dr. Delos F. Wilcox, of the Bureau of standards, Washington, D. C.

On *Thursday evening* the subject of the discussion will be public employment, with a definitive paper by Dr. Charles A. Beard, of the New York bureau of municipal research and an address by Charles Zueblin, of the department of labor.

The *Friday sessions* (morning and afternoon) will be devoted to a consideration of the government, present and future, of the communities called into being by war-time conditions. A paper will be presented by Richard S. Childs, now connected with the housing bureaus of the army and navy department.

On *Friday evening* F. L. Ackerman will give an illustrated address on how England is housing her working population during war times.

The presiding officers will be Lawson Purdy, president of the National Municipal League; and President Rush Rhees, of the university of Rochester.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

Books for Women as Voters.

The arrival of equal suffrage in New York has brought a large number of women up with a round turn to face the political duties of citizenship. Some of these, by far the smallest part, are eager and prepared. Others are eager but unprepared. Some are merely willing. Others are unwilling, but recognizing responsibility. And others are indifferent.

Of these classes the first and last may not consider themselves in line for information, the one as not needing it, the other as not desiring it; but the rest, in a greater or less degree, acknowledge both wish and need. "Just what ought we to know?" they say.

It is quite natural that efforts should be made to answer this question in direct and final fashion; and that panaceas in capsule form should be compounded and offered to all comers. Such will undoubtedly meet the demand (if not the need); will soothe (if not inform and impel) the inquiring mind; and ought to be good things from the publishers' point of view. So manuals for the woman voter are here, and probably will continue to multiply.

But such manuals labor, of necessity, under handicaps that force them to promise more than they can perform. In the first place, where they attempt to modify information and color importance on sex lines, they present a one-sided aspect dangerous rather than useful to the cause of good citizenship. The implied attitude that woman's first job in politics is to make things pleasant for woman, is not conducive to furthering the spirit of community interest that we are beginning to impress on our youth as a necessary virtue in the citizen. In the second place no single book can pretend to give all one ought to know unless it constitute itself a directory rather than an instructor. The most successful attempt at citizen education in a single volume—and this is neither a woman's manual nor a treatise on government and politics—is William H. Allen's *Universal Training for Citizenship and Public Service*, published by Macmillan, New York, 1917 ($1.50), which can best be described as soil preparation and seed casting, the fruit whereof should be good.

We are inclined to believe that certain of the books on civics prepared for upper grades and high schools would better fill the average need for first principles than any book yet written for women; while those who are seeking citizenship in its fuller sense will learn their communities through personal contact and will sample at least a good armful of volumes chosen by the nearest librarian, or, better, by themselves, from a tier of shelves.

Seekers for voter's knowledge will ask the same question with quite varied conceptions of the extent to which they desire an answer. Some, very definitely, will want no more than a knowledge of actual voting processes, and definitions of such governmental terms and functions and officers as their own part in election duties will touch. For such nothing better has appeared than the *Voters' Guide*, a small pamphlet published this year by the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (10 cents), or the *Primer for Voters*, New York edition, compiled by Martha G. Stapler, published by the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, 171 Madison Ave., New York, 1918 (25 cents), supplemented perhaps by the latest issue of the *Municipal Year Book of the City of New York*, furnished by the Municipal Reference Library, 512 Municipal Building (20) cents) a larger pamphlet showing the make-up of the city's government. These will complete the library of the least desirous and may equally well begin that of the more adventurous.

The same ground is covered more entertainingly and at greater length in *The New*

Voter: Things he and she ought to know about politics and citizenship, by Charles Willis Thompson, a revision of the series of articles printed in the *New York Times* as "The Woman Voter," published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1918, $1.50. This is a symposium in which the politician, the Washington correspondent, the lawyer and the ex-congressman converse on the mechanics of politics for the benefit of the new voter, the college woman, the business woman, the man who acknowledges his ignorance and his wife. The "new voter" is a woman of intelligence apart from her lack of political information. Her state of mind on approaching the latter is described with enough truthfulness and humor to make many readers easily put themselves in her place, and the conversational setting is well handled in transferring facts with the least effort.

Those who are willing to go a step further may be satisfied with one of the three woman's books noted below. For those who would take the "whole course" nothing has yet appeared in single volume form.

Your Vote and How to Use It, by Mrs. Raymond Brown, published by Harper, New York, 1918 (75 cents), is the most elementary in treatment, designed, as its preface indicates, for the busy housewife and the overworked factory woman. It is little more than a collection of simple definitions, threaded together, of governmental structure, national, state, city, town, county and village; of elections and election qualifications with a chart of elective officials; of taxation, public highways, courts, criminal punishment, public education, health and recreation, dependent and delinquent children, child labor, public charities and Americanization, presented in the order given. It stresses the woman side.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt in her introduction to *The Woman Voter's Manual*, by S. E. Forman and Marjorie Shuler, published by Century Company, New York, 1918 ($1.00), puts the right stamp on the idea of woman citizenship when she says: "It is together, as human beings, not as men and not as women that the voters of the United States are moving forward into the new democracy." Recognizing this, the authors of this book have confined their reference to sex exclusively to its title. Its divisions cover the rights of citizenship; popular government; congress; the President and his cabinet; federal executive work; courts, state and federal; the state legislature; the state executive; counties, towns and townships; municipalities; territories and dependencies of the United States; party organization; political party platforms; international relations; taxation; public finance; money; commerce; and corporations. Discussion of these topics is limited to one hundred thirty-five small pages, exclusive of the appendices which give the Constitution and a brief rendering of New York state election laws. The governmental points are taken from Dr. Forman's book, "The American Republic."

The A. B. C. of Voting; a handbook on government and politics for the women of New York state, by Marion B. Cothren, published by Century Company, New York, 1918 (60 cents), describes actual voting in few words and outlines national and New York state and city government. It includes a short bibliography and contains an introduction by Governor Whitman in which no reference to the book itself is made.

Though all women may inform themselves through print if they will, the knowledge of this means and the desire to use it are still possessed by the comparative few. Immediate education for the many is most readily furnished through the personal touch and the spoken word. Illinois realized this condition and responded effectively through the work done by the central municipal citizenship committee of the Chicago Woman's City Club, with Jane Addams as its chairman. An interesting article describing the activities of this committee, "First Aid to New Voters," by its executive secretary, S. Grace Nicholes, appeared in *The Survey* of December 8, 1917. The tasks which the committee set itself and carried forward successfully were: "to arouse the interest of the new voters in the government, to disseminate information, to utilize the public press, especially the foreign-language papers, to instruct the foreign women, to form classes, to rally the women to register and vote, to form non-partisan ward and precinct organizations, to hold mass meetings, to oppose partisanship in local affairs, to encourage women to act as judges and clerks of election and to furnish information on candidates and measures."

In New York this work has not been centralized in the same way. Various organizations are concerning themselves with the education of the voter, each according to its own preference, though it is coming to be understood that the establishment of a central bureau would be of decided advantage. The New York Woman's city club and the Woman's municipal league held a series of conferences on methods of educating voters and of securing concerted action in public matters and a questionnaire issued by these two bodies in concert has shown the number of organizations now interested in the subject. The issues of the league's weekly leaflet *Women and the City's Work*, for December 4 and December 18, 1917, are devoted to women and the new citizenship. The latter issue lists the New York associations actively engaged in civic education.

Beside the development of a central bureau for traveling exhibits and exchange information, the league advocates the organization of a permanent non-partisan conference of representatives from these organizations to meet regularly to compare notes and prevent overlapping; the maintenance of a central speakers' bureau; and the possible development of an inter-organization bulletin service on civic questions.

JOHN COTTON DANA.[1]

Newark, N. J.

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MEDIÆVAL TOWN PLANNING. By T. F. Tout, M.A., F.B.A.

Mr. Tout's lecture on "Mediæval Town Planning" is interesting, quite apart from its inherent value, because it was made during the war. It was delivered at Manchester, England, in December, 1916. This is another proof of the interest in the building of towns and cities that has been noticeably increased by the war. The natural supposition that war would more or less retard city planning, if not bring it to a halt, has been proved erroneous in Great Britain, in France, in Canada, and in Australia; and now the United States government is giving city planning a powerful impetus by the creation of some thirty towns or suburbs, in many of which results of a high order of merit are being attained.

Mr. Tout rightly points out that the problems which most vex the soul of the modern social reformer "made little appeal to the men of the middle ages. The mediæval town planner had a limited sanitary outlook. If he provided access to sources of water supply and gutters to carry away the rain water, he gave his burgesses all that they wanted. If, too, he made modest provision for the cleansing of the streets and prohibited pigs from haunting the public ways, he thought that everything necessary had been done to secure public health."

The modern town planner "is not hampered by the need of crowding his population together within the smallest possible area so as to make its defence practicable by a limited armed force. If he has to deal with hundreds of thousands while his predecessor had to deal with a score of hundreds, he has infinitely greater control over the material with which he is working, and by far greater authority at his back." It was more difficult in ancient days "to plan out a great town than it is for the great nations of the modern world with their almost unbounded power of harnessing nature to their service."

It was well worth while to emphasize these differences between ancient and modern town planning: particularly, as Mr. Tout wisely uses the statement of the advantages of the town planners of today to prod some of them a bit, because of their tendency to limit themselves in practice to the same categories as their ancient predecessors, namely, to devising straight streets of width adequate for their purpose, and to providing building sites, squares and open places, similar in type and regular in outline. He softens this by the statement that "the philanthropic or humanitarian motive underlying much of modern town planning was far in the background of the mediæval mind. The problem of overcrowding, the need of housing under healthy conditions were seldom, if ever, present to him."

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[1] Librarian, Newark Public Library.

Mr. Tout notes that "however you plan your original town, the town planners never can tell how or where it will grow. Even the mediæval town planner was often baffled by the capricious and unexpected forces that controlled the building activities of the next generation. The town planner under the modern conditions of vast agglomerations, capable of indefinite expansion, will still find this rock ahead of him."

The lecture discusses chiefly the towns of Northern France and of England, planned under the direction of Edward I, of which Montpazier is best known. "With the 'fever for founding towns' that marked the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the golden age of mediæval town planning set in.' It is to that period that Mr. Tout largely addresses himself in this interesting paper.

While it is noted that "the modern social reformer cannot expect to find much practical guidance from the town planner of the middle ages," yet "for those less severely practical it should ever be interesting to see how the same problems present themselves, though under different conditions, throughout all the ages." The lecturer says elsewhere: "When all the world is talking of town planning, the historic aspects of that problem may well occupy the attention of the historian. It is eminently practical . . . to draw the moral that the methodical organization of town construction can only be attained when the impulses of the individual are adequately controlled by the corporate will of the community, and when the immediate advantage of the moment is subordinated to the ultimate welfare of the future." Real estate operators, take notice. Mr. Tout is perfectly right. It is not the builders of to-day, but the occupiers of many to-morrows, who must be the supreme consideration.

Mr. Tout adds, entertainly and accurately: "Some towns, including most of the great cities of history, grow; others, on the other hand, are made. And the process of town making is as legitimate as the process of constitution making. Professor Pollard in a paradoxical moment has lately told us that constitutions that develop are better than constitutions that spring from the brain of the legislator. The answer is that it all depends on the constitutions. This is the case with towns as well as constitutions."

ANDREW WRIGHT CRAWFORD.

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PROCEDURE IN STATE LEGISLATURES. By H. W. Dodds. Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1918. v, 112 pp.

So far the effort to improve our state governments has confined itself almost entirely to the executive. This is in spite of the fact that the legislatures have displayed quite as many defects as can be charged against the executive and that the effect of these deficiencies in destroying public confidence in government has far outweighed that of all administrative shortcomings. The problem of improving legislative processes has not yet been seriously attacked in this country. In the meantime public confidence in legislatures, state and national, has steadily declined. The rapid spread of the movement for direct legislation is eloquent testimony to this fact. But although that movement is always met by the argument that reform should be sought by improving the machinery of representative government it is not of record that those who have so argued have come forward with any plan of improvement.

Obviously any approach to the problem of improved legislative procedure must lie along a pathway of fact. The essential facts upon which to base a proposal for the reform of legislative processes are more difficult to obtain than in the case of a similar proposal for improved administration. This difficulty, together with the greater prejudice and political opposition, probably accounts for the lack of progress hitherto made in this direction. The work of Dr. Dodds, embodied in the monograph under consideration, is the most substantial contribution yet made to the study of state legislative procedure. From it one can get an excellent idea of present complications, the method of introducing bills, the diverse and confused committee systems, quorum, control over debate and lack of responsible leadership, to mention only a few of the subjects treated. While the author has not considered it a part of his purpose to make extensive suggestions for the improvement of legislative procedure, the facts themselves point the way to better methods in many instances. On the whole, this work represents the sort of investigation now so much needed with respect to state and national legislative bodies. It is to be hoped that Dr. Dodds will follow up this excellent beginning and in the course of time give us a well-rounded constructive proposal for legislative reorganization. A. R. Hatton.

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The Chronicle of One Hundred and Fifty Years. By Joseph Bucklin Bishop. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 310.

The Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York is more than an important and honored local institution in New York city. During the whole period of its existence, including six wars, it has been an active factor in stimulating and developing public opinion, not only along the lines of commerce and industry but in the civic field as well. It has taken a direct and constructive part in the solution of municipal problems such as that of transit, and it has been actively identified with numerous efforts for honest government. It inaugurated the steps which led to the formation of the original committee of seventy which took so vigorous a stand against Tweed and his colleagues, and it also brought into existence the later committee of seventy, which again was influential in overthrowing Tammany and correcting many abuses. It has secured state legislative investigation of local evils, especially in the matter of police administration.

Mr. Bishop has performed his task well justly preserving a due proportion in his consideration of the factors which have made of the chamber a leader among commercial organizations in the country and a substantial factor in the life of New York city and state.

Abundantly illustrated it records a satisfactory history of the oldest commercial body in the United States.

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Municipal House Cleaning. By William Parr Capes and Jeanne R. Carpenter. New York: E. P. Dutton. Pp. 232. $6.00.

Mr. Capes as secretary of the New York state bureau of information, and secretary of the New York state conference of mayors and other officials gathered a great deal of data concerning various phases of municipal administration and especially with regard to the methods and experiences of American cities in collecting and disposing of their municipal wastes, ashes, rubbish, garbage, manure, sewage and street refuse. These facts were embodied in bulletins which the bureau distributed among its members for their guidance as municipal officials, but a wider demand for them sprang up, both within and without the state and so Mr. Cape determined to make them available for this wider audience. This he has done in the present volume with the assistance of Mrs. Jeanne Daniels Carpenter, an "expert in economics and municipal research." There are six chapters dealing with street cleaning; sewage disposal methods, ash and rubbish collecting; garbage collecting and disposal, disposal of manure, and municipal clean-up campaigns. There is no index to the book, but an excellent analytical table of contents and seven tables of figures. In his introduction Mayor Burns of Troy, the president of the conference, makes this pertinent remark: "The expansion and increasing complexity of municipal activities, the desire of women for more knowledge about their new responsibilities, the need for better living conditions, brought about by greater congestion, the necessity for conserving every ounce of man and woman power, the demand for greater efficiency and rock bottom economy in every line—all these conditions are making themselves felt with the public official. . . . The official's worth now is not measured by his good fellowship and vote getting capacity, but rather by his ability to produce results, . . . in the city hall every day."

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THE STANDARD BEARERS. By Katherine Mayo. Publishers, Houghton, Mifflin Company. Price, $1.50 net.

Miss Mayo in these "true stories of the heroes of law and order" contributes an admirable piece of propaganda which it is to be hoped will be used as a precedent in other fields of governmental endeavor. The policing of a state is a difficult problem. Pennsylvania has made a splendid contribution under the leadership of a man who proved himself to be a true public servant: Captain John C. Groome. He has known only one service—the public—and the state constabulary under his organization and guidance has been a model of effectiveness and of singular devotion to public duty. These stories are good as stories—but they are something more, far more; they show how a great work can be interpreted in terms that the great public can understand. In her previous work "Justice to All",[1] Miss Mayo did her work so well that it was used as a powerful argument in securing the passage of the New York state constabulary law. The state police idea is spreading rapidly over the Union. Miss Mayo does not hesitate to ascribe the growth of the movement to the work of the Pennsylvania force.

These stories deal with actual work and accomplishment. Most of them were first published in the *Saturday Evening Post.*

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BOOK NOTE

Two new volumes in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW series will be published this Autumn by D. Appleton Company. One, *A New Municipal Program,* edited by Clinton Rogers Woodruff, and the other on "Expert City Government," edited by Major E. A. Fitzpatrick. The first mentioned contains the text of the constitutional municipal home rule amendments and the Model City Charter adopted at the Dayton, Ohio, meeting of the National Municipal League, November, 1916; and a series of chapters dealing with and explaining various features of the amendment and the charter. A series of untoward events have happened to delay the publication of this volume, but it will have lost none of its value by reason of this delay, for the interest in charter reconstruction continues unabated. There has been no apparent cessation of effort in this field because of the war, and interest in the Model City Charter is as great as ever.

Major Fitzpatrick's book is another timely contribution, interest in effective government having been stimulated by the war. With the coming of peace there will unquestionably be a more widespread demand, not only for improved instruments of local government, but for better administration, and these two books will furnish constructive help along both lines.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

"THE VALLEY OF DEMOCRACY." By Meredith Nicholson, N. Y. Charles Scribner's Sons. 284 pp. $2.00 net.

AMERICAN CITIES. Their Methods of Business. By Arthur Benson Gilbert, M.A. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918. Pp. 240. $1.50.

AMERICANIZATION. By Royal Dixon. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 196. 50 cents.

CIVIC BIOLOGY. By Clifton F. Hodge. Boston: Ginn & Company. Pp. 381. Illustrated. $1.60.

DEMOCRATISCH GEMEENTEBEHEER. Een Verhandeling over Commission Government in Amerikaasche Steden. By A. Buriks. Published by Martinus Nijhoff, Lange Voorhout 9, The Hague. Price, 4.60 Gld.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, volume 6, page 295.

FIFTH AVENUE. By Arthur Bartlett Maurice. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1918. Pp. 331. Illustrated.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN. By Horace A. Hollister, Ph.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1918. Pp. 303. $1.75.

HOME AND COMMUNITY HYGIENE. By Jean Broadhurst, Ph.D. Lippincott's Home Manuals. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $2.

IMPERIAL ENGLAND. By Cecil Fairfield Lavell and Charles Edward Payne. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 395. $2.

THE RESPONSIBLE STATE. By Franklin Henry Giddings. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. Pp. 108. $1.

THE LITTLE DEMOCRACY. By Ida Clyde Clarke. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Pp. 253. $1.50 net.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

A Reorganized Board of Trade in Winnipeg.[1]—For several years Winnipeg has been considering the advisability of establishing a central civic-commercial organization, such as exists in the larger American cities. The most important of the old organizations were the board of trade, industrial bureau and citizens' research league. "Representative business men and citizens in Winnipeg generally recognize the desirability of having one comprehensive Winnipeg organization commensurate with the growing importance of the city and province, and capable of working actively and unitedly for business and community progress." The first plan was for a mere federation of all existing organizations, each one to send several representatives to a board of directors or council. There has been throughout the development in the Winnipeg situation an evident tendency "to meet conditions and not merely ideals." The leaders of the Winnipeg movement have not thus far had the courage to insist on the establishment of an organization whose ideals would be frankly in the interest of the community at large instead of special groups, and it is doubtful whether many of them have had any conception of the civic possibilities of the modern chamber of commerce. As a consequence, the reorganized board of trade in Winnipeg is to include a great many sections, bureaus, departments and divisions, all of which encourage the members of the organization to think in terms of their special interests rather than in terms of the city at large.

The plan as outlined by the citizen's research league is doubtless an improvement over the old state of affairs in Winnipeg, but what is proposed and what is being established provides only a slight improvement and that slight improvement is likely to postpone for a considerable number of years the sort of thing which every community ought to insist upon as a fundamental of community organization. Chambers of commerce organized on a departmental or sectional basis cannot possibly become a melting pot for the citizens of any city. Sectional organizations are almost certain to bring men together with the desire for some special advantage for some subsection and usually fail utterly to stimulate a desire to serve the city or to establish in the public mind the doctrine of community service.

The report suggests the choosing of officers by popular election rather than by the board of directors. This suggests the old idea of having the people elect a mayor and a council to act as a check on the mayor. It is the American idea of checks and balances in government applied to the government of a citizen organization. The officers of a chamber of commerce certainly ought to be chosen by and from the board of directors annually. This is the general practice in business corporations and is the principle of centralization and definite responsibility which appears in the city-manager form of government.

Annual election is also desirable. The

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[1] Suggested plan for reorganized board of trade and civics;—bulletin No. 10 of the citizens' research league of Winnipeg.

only reason for a two-year term is that it gives continuity in the personnel of the board. This idea is based on the prevalent conception that it would be a good thing to have longer terms for aldermen, so that business men would not have to run the annual gauntlet. Of course this old argument in the field of civics is simply equivalent to saying that business men do not like to feel responsible to public opinion. As a matter of fact, in chamber of commerce activities those members of the board of directors who do effective work are nearly always retained as directors, and the annual election usually disposes of those members of a board who have failed to appreciate the public mind or who have failed to assume their responsibilities seriously. The annual election of the members of a board is a sort of annual recall.

The report implies the use of standing committees. Standing committees are the bane of chamber of commerce work throughout the country. Elbert Hubbard once said that the function of standing committees is to stand. The word "bureau" practically stands for the same thing. Though the use of the word is on the wane, it still persists and looks good on paper, but unfortunately it makes the members think in rigid and selfish terms. It draws a distinction between groups of the chamber, it individualizes activities, and generally builds up vested interests. Every committee should have a definite goal to reach and achievement to record. Bureaus and standing committees do not have a definite goal and as a consequence their efforts are usually not as effective as they should be.

There are two classes of community organization: in one selfish group interests are predominant; in the other group interests are fused into community interests. The Winnipeg report makes concessions altogether too great to the former point of view. It may be that the public mind in Winnipeg is not yet prepared for the sort of a community organization which seems to appeal to men in many American cities, but it seems a pity that the report of the citizens' league did not give the citizens of Winnipeg the benefit of the doubt, for a report looking forward to the establishment of an organization in which the community viewpoint would have been all-important would have had a very great influence. As it is, the reorganization of the Winnipeg board of trade has made quite unnecessary concessions to selfish principles.

W. J. Donald.

Niagara Falls, N. Y.

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Lessons in Community and National Life.—The U. S. bureau of education, in co-operation with the food administration, has been making a contribution to the general subjects of "Americanization" and "training for citizenship" by means of these lessons which have been printed as community leaflets during the school year 1917–1918. They are designed for use in the public schools and are divided into three sections according to the maturity of the reader: Section A is for the upper classes of the high school; section B, for the first class of the high school and the upper grades of the elementary school; and section C for the intermediate grades of the elementary school. A community leaflet containing several separate lessons on the same larger topic was issued for each of the three sections during every month of the school year. For the most part the monthly lessons for the different grades of readers have had the same general subject but with weekly topics varying for the sections according to the difficulty of the material. For example, the large question of "business organization and national standards" form the study for all sections; but the detailed lessons differ according to the group for which they are intended. Some of the large subjects treated are production and wise consumption; machine industry and community life; national control and food conservation; customs, laws and forms of government; concentration of population and industries and institutions; and the worker and the wage system.

The editors of the series are Professors Charles H. Judd of the school of education and Leon C. Marshall, dean of the school of commerce and administration, both of the University of Chicago. Individual lessons have been prepared by a number of writers, the majority of whom are connected with the University of Chicago. The leaflets are sold by the bureau of education at five cents each, with considerable reductions in price for subscriptions to large quantities.

It is to be hoped that these lessons have been widely used, for their conception and execution are admirable. The lessons are short, of about 3,500 words each; they are written with clearness and simplicity—the readers for whom they are intended will have no difficulty in comprehending the short sentences and easy words. There is frequent use of concrete examples and of little stories of practical life, with a somewhat moral tone, such as that of "how the goldsmith became a banker," and of the young employe who built up a business for himself. References to history and to literature are well timed to correlate the students' study in those branches. Most of the explanations are excellently made and are briefly to the point.

To each lesson is appended a short list of references, and at the bottom of each page of text are six or seven appropriate questions. Answers, however, must be sought beyond the leaflet itself since the questions are intended to stimulate practical inquiries, the use of the appended bibliographies, and reflection on the part of the student. One cannot doubt that the next generation of citizens will come to their duties with a vastly deeper fund of information and altogether clearer conceptions regarding the ends and aims of government. ALICE M. HOLDEN.

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Social Work with Families.[1]—This volume presents a rather difficult problem to the reviewer who wishes to give the reader in a few words at least a general idea of the contents. Apart from the brief foreword by Dr. Watson, the seventeen papers by as many authors would scarcely suggest the cover title, nor would they seem to constitute either a "reference book" or a "storehouse of knowledge," to use Dr. Watson's phrases, although the various papers do without doubt contribute something to the specific problems touched upon.

Part one, "The approach to social case treatment," consists of three papers, one pointing out the opportunities and elucidating the art of social case treatment, another contrasting case work with social reform, and the third presenting a view of the "normal family," chiefly from the historical point of view. Part two presents the problem of the physically or mentally handicapped—*handicapped* being the modern euphemism for the good old word *defective*. Principles and methods of social treatment for the crippled, the sick, the feebleminded, and those afflicted with mental diseases are set forth by recognized authorities.

Part three, containing nine papers on the "socially handicapped," deals more distinctly with family problems. The "fatherless family," desertion and non-support, the illegitimate family, the foster care of neglected and dependent children, the homeless, alcoholics, the immigrant family, and soldiers' and sailors' families are all authoritatively discussed with reference to social case treatment.

To one not versed in the technique and terminology of social work the term "case work" may appear a bit mysterious. Though its meaning is abundantly illustrated in concrete ways in these various papers, no clear-cut definition is offered and perhaps none is possible. The nearest approach to the heart of the matter seems to be made by the writer who refers to modern social case work as "that elastic, imaginative, penetrating understanding of each individual in need, that process of interpretation that never looks upon the individual as a solitary, isolated being, but as very closely related to many people and things and difficult to understand."

To the layman it would seem inevitable that all successful social work must be individualized. From these papers, however, one somehow gets the impression that social workers are like the man who, living in dread lest he become paralyzed, keeps sticking pins into his limbs to satisfy himself that he is still normal. Perhaps it is necessary for social workers to keep constantly before their minds the necessity of individualization of treatment in order to ward off the benumbing effect of modern charity and institutional organization which tends to go to extremes in classifying cases and standardizing treatments, as if there ever could be two cases alike in all particulars and calling for identical treatment. C. C. WILLIAMSON.

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[1] Social work with families: social case treatment, edited by Frank D. Watson, 184 pp. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1918.

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Bulletin of the Governmental Research Conference.—Many reports of great value have been produced by the various agencies engaged throughout this country and Canada in the investigation of governmental problems. A few of these have been printed. By far the larger number, however, have never been carried beyond the manuscript stage, and in consequence have been of little or no utility beyond the immediate locality in which they were prepared. The bare fact of a study having been made by a particular bureau generally has escaped the knowledge of outsiders. Another agency attacking the same problem has too often had to start again at the beginning. The result has been duplication in one bureau after another of work already done elsewhere. One of the objects in the organization of the governmental research conference was to secure the mutual assistance of its members in eliminating this multiplication of tasks. The method was to keep each agency informed of the work of all others. From the study of a special local problem, not only the results,—the conditions found, their discussion, the recommendations made,—but also any comparative data collected, if made available to other agencies, would greatly assist these in approaching the same problem.

One means adopted by the conference to the end of supplying each member with this information as to the activities of others is a monthly bulletin showing the character of all work completed or in progress during the preceding month, on which a written report is, or is to be, made. The bulletin is intended to be of temporary use only, and lists only current activities, an item being dropped as soon as note has been made of its completion.

As items are dropped from the bulletin, they are entered on index-cards which are distributed among the members of the conference. These cards form a permanent index in a far more convenient form for reference than the bulletins.

The bulletin keeps members informed of current work and of the completion of reports. The index makes it easy to refer to past work. It is possible, with this knowledge, for members to correspond direct with the particular agency which has reported. As a matter of further convenience, however, the conference collects as far as possible all reports, whether printed or in manuscript, from its members and holds them available for circulation within its membership.

For the purposes outlined, the conference has established a central office in the bureau of government of the University of Michigan. ROBERT T. CRANE.

Ann Arbor, Mich.

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Fire Waste in Canada is the title of a special report[1] resulting from an exhaustive investigation undertaken by the Canadian commission of conservation at the request of numerous individuals, municipal councils, boards of trade and other organizations. It appears that the average per capital fire loss in Canada and other countries during the years 1912 to 1915 was as follows: Canada, $2.96; Scotland, $1.95; Russia, $0.97; France, $0.74; England, $0.64; Austria, $0.32; Germany, $0.28; Switzerland, $0.13; and Netherlands, $0.11.

Fire losses are attributable chiefly to gross and inexcusable carelessness, faulty building construction, arson, and the lack of fire-prevention laws; in other words, to clearly preventable causes. Smoking, for example, caused almost the same per cent of fires as the special hazards of all the numerous industries in Canada.

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[1] "Fire Waste in Canada," by J. Grove Smith. Published by the Commission of Conservation, Ottawa, Canada. Obtainable from the commission at the nominal charge of 50 cents, as long as the supply lasts.

The experience of European countries shows that these losses can be very materially reduced and Mr. Grove Smith presents a detailed constructive scheme for a fire-prevention program. In Canada, as in the United States, there must be a co-ordination of engineering, underwriting, legislative, commercial, and individual interests. Compulsory measures must be adopted which will reduce to a minimum the fire risks in all communities and properties. Town planning should include provisions regulating and defining the use of property in given districts, having regard to the development of such districts in relation to the community as a whole. Fire departments should be adequately trained and equipped for fire prevention. Minimum requirements for building construction should be drastically enforced. Regulations for the suppression of dangerous nuisances such as the storage of rubbish, ashes, etc., should be imposed by every public body. The cause of every fire should be officially investigated and reported upon. Criminal responsibility for fires should be borne by the person who is proven guilty of carelessness or any other cause of fire. The public should be persistently educated through every possible channel as to methods of fire prevention and their individual and personal responsibility.

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Food Problems.[1]—This is a painstaking analysis of the food situation under the headings: Producers, manufacturers, carriers, distributers, consumers, educational agencies, regulative agencies. According to the views presented the farmers possess inadequate working capital, are short of labor, and have uncertain marketing facilities. To supply capital during the war a group of men offered to lend money up to $150 to each farmer recommended by a committee. Seed and fertilizer were furnished at cost. Local banks and business men assisted. The shortage of labor while real was found to be much below the first estimate made as the result of a census taken by school teachers. Nevertheless manufacturers are overbidding farmers for labor, young men move to town, retired farmers move to town, and, by no means least, men are going from the farms into the army and navy. Thus the shortage of farm help is real, and is becoming greater County agents are helping on the marketing question. The committee believes the farmers to be better organized than are the manufacturers, distributers, etc. Manufacturers and carriers are very briefly discussed but much more attention is given to the distributers. Under the last named heading it is noted that a very unfortunate public opinion has developed largely due to the attitude of the press. Of the consumers it is said that they are not informed as to methods and costs of doing business. There are many consumers' organizations but little co-ordination. The educational and regulative agencies are numerous and capable but unfortunately handicapped by politics.

The committee recommends a careful mapping of the city, the forming of a central consumers' organization, the establishment of a central food information bureau, and the appointment of intercommittees to bring into harmony the separate factors engaged in the food business.

B. H. HIBBARD.

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American Cities at Play.—The activities of the playground and recreation association of America during 1917 are summarized and charted in the April, 1918, issue of *The Playground*. It is pointed out that there were "over two million dollars more spent last year in America for playgrounds, recreation centers and athletic fields than during the year before the war." A total of 504 cities are reported to have conducted recreational work during the year indicating an increase over 1916 of 17.8

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[1] Report of the food problem committee of the merchants' association of New York, March, 1918. 39 pages.

per cent in the number of cities and 15.8 per cent in the number of centers conducted.

Some interesting statistics included show how the work is organized and administered in various cities. Centers in 48 cities were maintained by playground or recreation commissions; in 22 by playground and recreation departments and divisions or boards or bureaus of recreation; in 108 cities by school boards; in nine cities by city councils or boards of selectmen. In still other instances the work was managed by public works departments (five cities); department of public safety (one city); county authorities (seven), and (eight) municipal playground committees. A combination of municipal departments and private organizations was reported in a number of cities.

Perhaps the most valuable sections of this report are the tables which include the following data: "Officers of recreation commissions and associations"; "what cities 'played' last year and how," and "what small communities are doing." Valuable names and titles of officials and their addresses can be obtained from the first list. The second table makes an admirable guide for less experienced cities and contains interesting facts for comparison in erecting standards. The information in the last table should be of great assistance to the smaller communities which already have or are contemplating the introduction of recreational systems. Dorsey W. Hyde, Jr.

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Food Preparedness.[1]—The main thesis of this pamphlet is "our food production has not kept pace with the growth of our population." Figures are presented showing the per capita production over a period of years of the leading foodstuffs. In almost all instances the rate of increase in these products is less than the rate of increase in population. As a result "the country was becoming less able to feed other countries." We were exporting a continually smaller portion of total products for some years preceding the war. The situation was made grave by crops smaller than the average in 1916, just as the Allies were coming to depend greatly on us. The view that we were sacrificing farm animals to such an extent during the early years of the war as to deplete the breeding stock of the country, does not seem to be borne out by the published reports of the past few months. Neither should it be taken for granted that the lessened product per capita means danger. It means in many instances that there is no longer a surplus to be dumped on the market at prices which condemn the producer to poverty. Population has grown until there is a market for the products of the farms. Thirty years ago this was hardly true. B. H. Hibbard.

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Baltimore Municipal Journal Loses Clark S. Hobbs.—On the occasion of the resignation of its managing editor to enter the service of the National Government, the Baltimore *Municipal Journal* publishes an appreciation of the services of its former chief together with a review of some of the objects and purposes of the *Municipal Journal* saying "that he worked so intelligently, so quietly, so modestly, but with such acknowledged efficiency that it is hard to decide whether to admire most the excellence of his work or the utter effacement of self."

This publication has attained an enviable position in the field of official municipal publications. Perhaps no other organ of its kind has been so widely and persistently quoted in the different civic and municipal publications of the country. It has kept in close touch with local affairs and reported them in an impartial and interesting manner.

Dorsey W. Hyde, Jr.

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Chilean Municipal Government.—An increasing interest in local government in Chile is indicated by the publication of this review, *Revista de Gobierno Local*, which is now in its third year. The mayor of Santiago, the late lamented Ismael Valdes Vergara, was keenly conscious of the importance of an improval system of local government in Chile. He therefore called a local government congress composed of mayors and other officials which met in Santiago, Chile, in September, 1914. Questions of municipal interest were discussed and a permanent council created. In this monthly organ are set forth all important steps in the improvement of local government in Chile. The creation of the council and the establishment of the review, mark a turning point in the history of local government in Chile. Since that time there has been a constantly developing interest in municipal affairs and a marked increase in the active participation of the citizen body in local government. L. T. Rowe.

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[1] Columbia War Papers, Series 1, No. 6; Food Preparedness, H. R. Seager and Robert E. Chaddock; Columbia University, 1917, 24 pages.

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Farm Enlistment.[1]—This is a plan for the training of school children for farm work. Professor Dewey believes that it is a matter of patriotism to utilize the enthusiasm of boys and girls in producing food for the soldiers. "There will be better results from training drills with the spade and the hoe than from parading America's youngsters up and down the school yard. It is no value to give military drill to boys of fourteen." To teach the school children to help in food production is constructive patriotism, not "a military idea transplanted from Europe." It is highly recommended that the work be planned so that the children may get the incidental benefits of nature study, mechanics, and arithmetic while performing the immediate duties of producing food. "It is a chance to link the school with life." B. H. H.

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Food, the First Essential.[1]—This association has for its purpose the utilization of idle land by people who need gardens within the city. The land is plowed, harrowed and fertilized and divided into tracts of one-eighth to one-sixth acre, and assigned rental free to families who till them. It costs about six dollars to prepare a garden and part of this amount is returned by those who use it. During the year 1917 about 160 acres of land was assigned to 1,145 families and approximately $70,000 worth of crop produced.
B. H. H.

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[1] Columbia War Papers, Series 1, No. 1; Enlistment for the Farm, John Dewey; Columbia University, 1917, 10 pages.

[1] Twenty-first annual report of the Philadelphia vacant lots cultivation association, 1917.

[2] Prepared by Miss Alice M. Holden, Wellesley College.

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Contains interesting comparative tables.

Workmen's Compensation

Illinois. Illinois workmen's compensation act and decisions of the Industrial Board, with references to negligence and compensation cases annotated. 1918. pp. 1129–1200.

Indiana. Indiana workmen's compensation act and decisions of the Industrial Board, with references to negligence and compensation cases annotated. 1918. pp. 1129–1196.

Ohio. Ohio workmen's compensation act and decisions of the Ohio Industrial

Commission, with references to negligence and compensation cases annotated. 1918. pp. 1129–1193.

PENNSYLVANIA. Pennsylvania workmen's compensation act and decisions of the Workmen's Compensation Board, with references to negligence and compensation cases annotated. 1918. pp. 1129–1196.

All the above-mentioned excerpts are published by Messrs. Callaghan and Company, Chicago.

NEW YORK STATE. INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION. Workmen's compensation law, with amendments, additions and annotations to July 1, 1918. 1918. 88 pp.

Prepared by the Bureau of Statistics and Information.

——. INSURANCE DEPARTMENT. Report on examination of the National Workmen's Compensation Service Bureau, dated Aug. 15, 1917. 1918. 59 pp.

Zoning

ANON. New uses for the "zoning" system as adopted by New York City and applicable to American communities. (Arch. Rev., Apr., 1918: 66–67.)

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

City Manager Notes.—The three candidates for positions on the first commission under the new commission-manager charter, *Griffin, Georgia,* nominated in the primaries held September 26, are among the most public-spirited business men of the city. They were selected by a somewhat unusual procedure which augurs well for the success of the new plan. A general mass meeting was held at the City Hall September 18. A "straw vote" was taken. Those receiving the three highest totals were declared the candidates of those present at the meeting. When these three candidates entered the primaries, they received the overwhelming majority of the votes cast. In Georgia, the nominees of the Democratic primary are certain of election at the succeeding general election, held in December. A city manager will be selected in December to take office January 1. Griffin is the first city in Georgia to adopt the new plan. Its population is estimated at 10,300.

Edwin J. Fort has been chosen city manager of *Niagara Falls, New York,* to succeed O. E. Carr, who was promoted to Springfield, Ohio, September 1. Mr. Fort has served eleven years as head of the department of sewers, Borough of Brooklyn, New York. He is an engineer of reputation and has had considerable experience in municipal affairs.

George R. Belding has been appointed city manager of *Hot Springs, Arkansas,* to succeed Charles H. Weaver, recently resigned. Mr. Belding was at one time mayor, and has been serving as secretary for the local business men's league. Hot Springs is experimenting with the plan originally tried at Beaufort, South Carolina, of employing one man to fill the dual positions of city manager and secretary of its commercial organization, as Mr. Belding still retains his office as secretary of the business men's league. His salary will be apportioned between the city and the league.

Dr. W. C. Bailey, formerly president of the San José chamber of commerce, has been appointed city manager of *San José, California,* to succeed Thomas H. Reed. The vote stood five to two. The two voting in the negative stated that they had no personal objections to Dr. Bailey but did not believe that the city needed a city manager at present. A letter from Dr. Bailey states that he has entered the new profession, temporarily only.[1]

Hubert A. Stecker who has served as city manager of *Charlottesville, Virginia,* since January 1, 1917, has resigned to enter the army. His administration has been most successful. His duties in the army follow very closely the work of a city manager, as he has been commissioned captain in the quartermaster corps and placed in charge of streets, buildings, and grounds at Camp Logan, Texas. Shelton S. Fife an engineer has been appointed to succeed Cap't Stecker.

The *United States Government* is applying the principles of the city-manager plan to many of its war-time enterprises. Announcement recently appeared in the daily press that Uncle Sam is seeking men to place in charge of his war-work communities. The management of these communities will involve not only the collection of rents, the supervision of repairs and maintenance of buildings, but will comprise duties analogous to those of a city manager, including responsibility for sanitation, cleanliness, fire and police protection and the general health and welfare of the inhabitants. These managers will not be permanently attached to one community, but will be transferred and promoted, thus creating a corps of trained experts in community management. Allan Robinson, manager of operating division,

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. vii, p. 438.

U. S. housing corporation, 613 G Street N. W., Washington, D. C., is in charge of this branch of the service.

A great many cities and towns throughout the country are considering the adoption of city-manager government. Among those which have recently been called to our attention are: Aberdeen, Washington; Ambridge, and Blairsville, Pennsylvania; Burlington, and Davenport, Iowa; Daytona, Florida; Enid and Pawnee, Oklahoma; Grand Mere, Province of Quebec; Lawrence, Mansfield, and Wellesley, Massachusetts; New Haven, Connecticut; St. Paul, Minnesota; Suffolk, Virginia.

S. A. Siverts, Jr., who has served as city manager in *Morris, Minn.*, since the new plan became effective in 1914 has resigned to enter the federal service having been commissioned 1st Lieutenant in the Engineers Officers Reserve Corps.

J. B. Wiles, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, of *Philipsburg, Pa.*, has been made borough manager of that community. He will be expected to discharge the duties of both offices. This is the third city to make such a dual arrangement.

J. J. Carment has been appointed as the first city manager of *Kamloops, B. C.*, at a salary of $3,000.

E. A. Beck who has served as city manager of *Goldsboro, North Carolina*, since the new plan was put in operation July, 1917, has been commissioned as captain in the army's sanitary department and is stationed at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia. Mr. Beck's work has received most favorable comment and the local paper suggests that in time he will be recognized as deserving a statue in the public park. It will be recalled that Mr. Beck was selected from a field of 422 candidates for the position of manager at Goldsboro. Prior to his appointment he had served as manager and engineer for the boroughs of Sewickley and Edgeworth, Pennsylvania. No successor is announced.[1]

Beaufort, South Carolina's fourth city manager is Hal R. Pollitzer who has been serving as acting manager since the resignation of John R. Kneebone last spring. Mr. Pollitzer graduated from Clemson College, South Carolina, as a civil and electrical engineer. He has served for several years in the Beaufort organization, first as superintendent of public works, then as city engineer and is well trained for the new position. His salary is $1,800.

Albion, Michigan, has appointed W. E. Baumgardner as acting manager for the balance of the year 1918 upon the resignation of Manager A. L. Sloman, who has entered the army. Mr. Baumgardner commenced his duties June 4, with a salary of $150 per month.

The borough of *Sewickley, Pennsylvania*, has come under the manager plan and W. M. Cotton, borough manager of the adjacent borough of Edgeworth serves both boroughs. In addition to this Mr. Cotton acts as engineer for a third borough. His salary from the combined manager positions is $3,600 and the population of the district is about 10,000.

Arthur M. Freed, city manager of *Winchester, Virginia*, has been given leave of absence for the period of the war and will be connected with the Government Bureau of Industrial Housing in the engineering department in Washington. Thomas J. Trier, assistant city manager, will assume the duties of city manager.

The city manager charter, *Sioux Falls, South Dakota*, has been declared unconstitutional because the title of the act did not define the contents of it; and because it discriminated between the cities of the state without classification. Moreover the court held that the petition for the election should not have been received until there had been an investigation of the names thereon. It was discovered subsequently that unqualified citizens had signed it.

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Durham, North Carolina, where a semi-manager plan was tried out, with W. M. Wilkes as manager, has discontinued the experiment. The city clerk makes this comment: "The system was a complete failure here and I do not think it will be tried here again. No one has been appointed to succeed Mr. Wilkes." This is one more illustration of the oft-repeated slogan "that you can't force reform on folks," and a manager who holds office under ordinance provisions is liable to destroy the abortive attempt to install the plan without the preliminary educational essential to the adoption of a new charter is often a mistake and sometime constitutes a real damage to the movement.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. Vol. vi. p. 605.

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Gary, Florida, incorporated October, 1908, as a city, and granted a commission charter in June, 1917, has appointed J. A. O'Berry as city manager, vice J. H. Henry resigned to join the engineer corps.

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Montreal's New System.—Under its amended charter the city is governed by a mayor, a commission of five members, called "the administrative commission of the city of Montreal" and a council composed of the mayor and one alderman for each ward. The present chief city attorney, the present city comptroller and the city treasurer are *ex officio* members of the commission and may be dismissed only by a vote of two-thirds of all the members of the council and such dismissal shall take effect only if approved by the lieutenant-governor in council. The other members of the commission are appointed for four years by the lieutenant-governor who may, however, dismiss them at any time for cause and appoint their successors. The chairman of the commission is designated by the lieutenant-governor, his salary being $12,000 per year. The other members of the commission receive $10,000. Three commissioners form a quorum. The chairman or the member presiding in his absence shall vote as commissioner, but shall have no casting-vote.

The following powers are exclusively vested in the commission:

1. The powers which the city charter, the other general or special acts and municipal by-laws of the city conferred, previous to April 2, 1918, either upon the city, or the council, or the board of commissioners, or upon the two latter bodies jointly or subordinately one to the other.

2. The powers which may after April 2, 1918 be conferred (a) upon the commission appointed by a general or special act; (b) upon the city by a general or special act; (c) upon the council by a general act.

The resolutions, by-laws and other acts of the commission shall be submitted to the council in connection with the following matters: annual and supplementary budgets variation of funds; appropriations of the proceeds of loans; taxes and licenses; by-laws, *with the exception of those defining the duties of the city officials, officers and employes; granting of franchises and privileges; annexations.*

The council may, by a majority of three-fourths of all its members, reject or amend the commission's report of such matters within thirty days of their receipt by the city clerk, or within sixty days in the case of a by-law; otherwise they shall be deemed to be adopted. The council cannot, however, in amending the reports of the commission on questions of finance, increase or apply to other purposes the appropriations recommended, nor add new ones. The approval of the municipal electors, whether proprietors of immovable property or others is not dispensed with, when the same is required.

The mayor shall represent the city on all ceremonial occasions; he may submit suggestions to the administrative commission, to the council and to the committees of the council; shall preside at the meetings of the council; shall have the right to vote on all questions submitted to the council.

For many years there has been much fault finding, and a royal commission resulted in what is known as the Cannon report, prepared by Mr. Justice Cannon. This was a scathing indictment of the administration. The city was then governed by aldermen elected one from each ward. The work of the council was divided between a large number of committees, the recommendations of such committees generally being adopted by the council. The charter was then amended and provision made for the election of a board of control in addition to the mayor and council. From the first there was friction between the two bodies and between the members of the board who made the mistake of giving each member a district or department to control—in practice quite arbitrarily. Matters continued to go from bad to worse; the debt, an abnormally large one, continued to grow and the demand became insistent that a new form of government be inaugurated.

While the charter prior and subsequent to the creation of the board of control was quite broad the government of the province, which granted the charter, always took the view that it could at any time step in and pass laws directly affecting the city even though the city had apparently been granted such powers. The "home rule for cities" idea has made little if any headway in this province or for that matter in any part of Canada.

For some years delegations have been going, not to the city hall but to Quebec, pleading for amendments to the city charter until it became quite clear to most people that the city was really, in the important matters ruled, at Quebec. Strangely enough the Quebec government was not expected (until recently) to take any of the blame for the lack of good city government. The French-Canadian electors seem at last to be very much aroused and recently have been holding public meetings protesting against taking away the power of the alderman and the granting of a new franchise to the tramways company. The thirteen members of the legislature from the District of Montreal are blamed. There are unconfirmed rumors that the Provincial Government now fear a mistake has been made and that there is a probability that within a few years the present commission will give way to a council. During the last session of the legislature far-reaching amendments to the charter were passed which in effect delegate the powers of the legislature to five commissioners appointed by the provincial cabinet.

As in most large cities much has been made of the alleged bad management of the aldermen and little has been said publicly of the large sums—many millions lost to the city by the grant, in tnis case, by the legislature, of valuable public utility franchises for practically nothing; the exemption from taxation of much valuable property; the low taxation of property worth millions of dollars and held out of use for speculative purposes.

Montreal has also had, and is having the experience of having the question of valuable franchises gravely affect city government.

And as usual the city continues to carry on the unproductive utilities which nevertheless give added value to the privately owned utilities.

It is significant that among those most active in pressing for amendments to the charter, which would take the power from the aldermen, were representatives of some of our public utility corporations who apparently feared the aldermen would not favor the proposed new tramways franchise.

Some months ago the Provincial Government appointed a small commission with power to compel the city to enter into a new contract with the Montreal Tramways company for a period of thirty-six years. This commission had the power to appoint valuators who would fix a value for the company's property. The value was placed at $36,000,000, which valuation was perforce adopted by the city. The agreement was then enacted into law by the provincial legislature. The Provincial Government next appointed a tramways commission which is to act as the representative of the citizens and see that a proper service is given. The commission whose salaries are paid by the tramways company consist of an ex-judge, a civil engineer and an architect, all men of good standing who have been successful in their professions. Their decisions are appealable to the provincial public utilities commission whose powers are apparently not well defined and who so far have had little effect in the settling of questions usually determined by such commissions.

An appeal as to the rate of fares is now being considered by this commission but the question of the value of the assets of the tramways company, $36,000,000, cannot be gone into.

Public meetings are being held by French-Canadian electors protesting against increased fares and advising the citizens to adopt the same methods as resorted to recently at Detroit.

Notwithstanding the fact that the members of the new administrative commission are nearly all political appointments it is the general opinion that they will give as good government as is possible under such a system, but the all-important fact remains that "good government is not a satisfactory substitute for self-government" and that the electors of Montreal will not be content until they have a charter which will give them control of the affairs at the city hall and a larger measure of home rule than they have ever had.

H. S. Ross.

Montreal.

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Grand Rapids Defeats Amendments to Charter.—Former mayor George E. Ellis, who is the chief opponent of the new charter, utilized the surplus energies of certain members of the socialist party, some of whom are strong pro-German, and certain disgruntled office seekers in an effort to have the voters adopt charter amendments. While these amendments were proposed ostensively by the Initiative-Referendum-Recall-League, so-called, a mere paper organization, and two amendments related to the limitation of salaries of city officials and a municipal coal yard, the main amendment would have legislated Mr. Ellis as commissioner-at-large into the office of mayor May 1, 1919, and provided for the election of the city attorney and city clerk directly by the people instead of their appointment by the city commission.

The citizens' league (C. Roy Hatten, secretary), conducted a strenuous campaign against the amendments to change the form of government and stood noncommittal on the coal yard, and did everything to secure a large vote. The main factor in securing the large vote was the work of the Americanization committee of the federation of social agencies which had a complete organization, and every voter at the polls was given a small white tag with a red border and blue letters on the tag "I am an American. I voted. Did you? Wear this tag three days and make the shirker conspicuous. Americanization Committee, Federation of Social Agencies." Large bills were tacked up around the city and a great deal of money spent for window cards and newspaper advertising, and there is no doubt that this work was chiefly responsible for the large vote, which unquestionably helped to defeat the amendments. It was, however, a discriminating vote, as the proposition of electing the mayor, city attorney and city clerk stood Yes, 7,470; No, 9,479; salary amendment, Yes, 6,239; No, 10,180; and the coal yard amendment, Yes, 9,100; No, 7,688; the coal yard being an addition to the charter failed to secure the necessary three-fifths vote and so all the amendments lost.

Concerning the tagging of voters in Grand Rapids, Secretary Hatten writes: This movement was suggested by Frank Dyekma, secretary of the federation. A special fund was raised under the leadership of the Americanism committee of the federation. Special emphasis was placed on registration, and on registration day and primary day together there was an unusually large registration. The city clerk says that at a conservative estimate there were at least 3,500 above the normal amount that would have been received without this publicity; the movement also resulted in a large number of people applying for their first and second citizenship papers. It was found that some of our most prominent business people, who had made fortunes in Grand Rapids, had never taken the necessary steps to become full fledged citizens. One of our leading retail merchants, who has been conducting a large store on our main thoroughfare for twenty years with another large store in Detroit, as well as his brother who is engaged with him in the business, had only obtained first papers and were still citizens of Canada. The main benefit of this movement was that it made those individual cases conspicuous.

"Large bill-board posters were used all over the city; extensive newspaper advertising was done and many forms of publicity indulged in. While we had reason to expect at the primary a vote of probably twelve or thirteen thousand, the total vote cast was upwards of twenty thousand, due to the stimulus of this movement."

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The Federal Government and Public Utilities.—The capital issues committee, of which Charles S. Hamlin is chairman, had addressed a communication to the public utility commissions and municipal officials of the country calling attention to the creation of the committee and to the fact that "men, money and material which the government needs are to be made available for essential war purposes." The statement declares there must necessarily be a considerable degree of sacrifice on the part of individuals, communities and corporations in adjusting themselves to the substitution and changed standards which the situation compels. "Existing facilities must be made to serve in place of new ones," Mr. Hamlin declares, "regardless of temporary inconvenience and discomfort unless the public health or paramount local economic necessity is involved." The committee suggests that these considerations apply with marked force to the public utility situation and announces the opinion of the committee that extensions and betterments should be postponed until after the war unless an immediate war purpose is served. Moreover the committee goes to the extent of asking the consideration of the propriety of deferring even the performance of contractual obligations arising from franchises or other local requirements when no military or local economic necessity is served by such expenditures. Of course "local economic necessity" is an elastic phrase.

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Municipal Ownership of Street Railways in Seattle.—Seattle has agreed to purchase the lines of the Puget Sound Traction, Light & Power Company, comprising almost all the street railway transportation facilities in the city, for $15,000,000, payable in public utility bonds secured by the earnings of the system, bearing interest at 5 per cent. The only line not included in that purchase is the Rainier Valley line, which is now offering to sell to the city on the same basis for $1,600,000. The prospect is that we shall see in Seattle the largest experiment in municipal operation of street railways in this country at the present time. The opinion of a National Municipal League correspondent is that the city is getting the property at a reasonable price. It looks now as if the city council would place the administration of the street railways under the superintendent of public utilities, who was formerly a lawyer, with no experience in business of any sort.

The wage situation also is such as to cause anxiety. The city will begin by paying wages almost double those previously paid by the traction company. It will be necessary for the city to raise the street car fares during the remainder of the war and the city may become saddled with such a high wage scale that municipal operation will compare very unfavorably indeed with private operation. When the war is over and general wages begin to recede, as they undoubtedly will to a considerable extent, it will be very difficult to secure any corresponding reduction in the city wage scale. These matters have received no attention in Seattle, and, in fact, the taking over of the system, probably the most important event in the municipal history in years, is being done with very little public discussion and without a vote of the people. In other words, it is being put through as a semi-war measure without any appreciation of its significance.

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Federal Help for East St. Louis.—The production division of the chief of ordnance has established a branch to better or eliminate those community conditions adversely affecting labor engaged in the production of war material. The Illinois supervisor of the branch reported an almost unbelievably low standard of civic, social and moral conditions in East St. Louis. As a consequence F. C. Butler who is in charge of this branch visited the place and after conferring with representative citizens drew up a plan, program and budget for the improvement of local conditions. He presented this to the presidents of the packing companies at Chicago who immediately gave it their cordial approval and offered to furnish one-half of the necessary funds to carry it into effect. Later Mr. Butler presented it at a meeting of the other industries at East St. Louis and the needed $200,000 fund is practically completed.

A committee of fifty has been formed to represent the war department and to act as a policy and public sentiment-making body under the direction of a representative of the production division of the ordnance department. This program is probably the most comprehensive thus far undertaken for an American city, according to Mr. Butler, who has every confidence that "if it is carried into effect it will amount to a complete civic redemption of the city." The program includes housing, health, municipal survey, clean up, city planning, industrial welfare, neighborhood work, law enforcement, home defense, gardening, cost of living, recreation, welfare of labor, racial problems, charities, safety, parks and playgrounds, transportation, patriotism, thrift, administration.

The special committee authorized by congress to investigate the East St. Louis riots presented its report on July 15. It has been issued in pamphlet form. It has very little value further than setting forth in an official and definite way the facts leading up to the riot and the incidents of the riot, although it contains some very interesting side lights and observations.

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The Massachusetts Constitutional Convention adjourned after providing for the submission of nineteen separate propositions for the action of the voters at the November election. Among these are: amendments relative to the revocation of granting franchise privileges and immunities; the retirement of judicial officers; the regulation of advertising in public places to prevent the marring of city streets, boulevards, parks and beautiful landscape (unsightly advertising); to grant to the legislature power to divide cities and towns into building zones; providing for a state budget and a veto by the governor of items or parts of items in appropriation bills; authorizing the creation of not more than twenty executive departments under which should be co-ordinated all the present executive and legislative offices, boards and commissions; providing for compulsory voting at elections and for biennial elections of state officers, counsellors and members of the general court; for establishing the popular initiative and referendum and the legislative initiative of specific amendments of the constitution; and one making possible the taking by right of eminent domain, and the conservation, development and utilization of the agricultural, mineral, forest, water and other natural resources of the state under such legislation as the general court may enact.[1]

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Ohio's Constitutional Amendments.—Two amendments will be submitted to the voters in November, one providing that the general assembly have power to provide for the "raising of revenues for all state and local purposes in such manner as it shall deem proper"; and that "the subjects of taxation for all state and local purposes shall be classified and the rate of taxation shall be uniform on all subjects of the same class and shall be just to the subject taxed." The other amendment prohibits the sale and manufacture of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. At the same time the federal prohibition amendment will be submitted on a referendum provision for the action of the voters.

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North Dakota's Constitutional Amendments.—The North Dakota supreme court has ruled that the ten amendments to the state constitution initiated by the

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[1] Sec. National Municipal Review, vol. vii, p. 95.

Non-Partisan league must be submitted to a vote of the people at the November election. These amendments include the vital features of house bill 44, by which the league sought, in the general assembly of 1918, to legislate a new constitution for North Dakota. The amendments provide for removing the limit on the state's bonded indebtedness, which now cannot exceed $200,000; provide that the state may embark in any business which is open to a private individual or corporation and that it may guarantee bonds in such enterprises up to the amount of $10,000,000 for 100 per cent of the value of the investment; by legislative act to exempt personal property of all descriptions from taxation and greatly decrease the number of signatures required on initiative, referendum and recall petitions.

The supreme court two years ago in a unanimous decision held that the initiative amendment to the constitution, adopted in 1913, was not self-executing and that the issue of capital removal, raised by the city of New Rockford, could not go on the ballot. This decision was made an issue by the Non-partisan League in the judiciary campaign two years ago, and was largely responsible for the election of three Non-partisan League justices who now constitute a majority in the present supreme court, and they unite in the majority opinion, reversing the supreme court's decision of 1916, and holding that the league's ten amendments shall have a place on the ballot.

✤

Arkansas Constitutional Revision.—A special election has been called for December 14, to vote on the proposed new constitution which the convention has passed. On November 5, an amendment to the old constitution will be voted upon. This amendment was devised by the friends of better financing methods and was submitted through the initiative before the legislature convened at which the constitutional convention was called. If the old constitution is amended by the adoption of this, and if the new constitution should fail of adoption, Arkansas cities would be provided for better than if the amendment were defeated and the new constitution were adopted, according to local correspondents who are also authority for the statement that "the new constitution is far ahead of the old one in its provision for cities."

✤

Washington Constitutional Amendments.—Two referendum propositions will be submitted to the voters on November 5—one, a bone-dry law, strengthening the provisions of the prohibition law. Its operation was stayed by the filing of the referendum petition on the part of the liquor interests. The second proposition is the question submitted by the legislature whether a convention should be called to revise or amend the state constitution. Up to the present time F. W. Catlett advises us there has been no investigation or public discussion of this question. He fears the matter may be allowed to go by default because of the fact that public attention is centered in the war.

✤

California Constitutional Amendments.—As usual the voters of California will be called upon to vote on a series of constitutional amendments at the election on November 5. Twenty-five will be submitted. They deal with the following subjects: Liquor regulation; deposit of public moneys; usury law; absent voters; organization within county of consolidated city and county government; courts; Los Angeles county funds; University of California; appellate court divisions; borough government permanency; exempting cemeteries from taxation; reimbursing cities for revenue losses from taxation; exemption from military service; condemnation of right of way for public use; taxation exemptions; state budget board; city of Venice indebtedness; tax levy limitations; county and school tax limitations; land values taxations; health insurance; dentistry; prohibition; workmen's compensation; stockholder's liability; eminent domain.

✤

A Short Ballot Proposition.—The county commissioners of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, formally recommend in their latest annual report that the real estate assessors in the county should be abolished. "There is no uniformity," they declare, "in the methods adopted for appraising properties at their real value. The revenue which finds its way into the public treasury of our county is derived for the most part from taxation and it is very important that some system of fixing the valuation more equitably than the present mode should be adopted, and to this end we believe that the whole matter should be submitted to a board of tax assessors consisting of two persons, one to be appointed by the county commissioners and one to be appointed by she court, and only men of experience thould be considered. These appointments should be for a period of four years unless removed sooner on account of incompetency."

This is good short ballot doctrine. If the recommendation were to be followed out it would represent a lapping off of sixty-three elective offices in the county. This is going some for a Pennsylvania county in which the capital of the state is located.

In the same report the commissioners suggest the abolition of the board of jury commissioners suggesting that their duties be assigned to the president judge, the prothonotary and the sheriff. This represents a further reduction of three elective officers. Moreover the commissioners are of the opinion that the office of coroner has "outlived its usefulness, is obsolete and should be done away with altogether." It recognizes that this requires a constitutional amendment but proposes that steps to that end be taken.

✠

County Government in Connecticut.—A suggestion was made at the recent session of the Connecticut senate that county government throughout the state should be abolished, recommending the transfer of its functions to state officials. Concerning this move a well-known editor in sympathy with the forward movement writes as follows:

> So far as I know or am able to learn there is no life at all in the movement to abolish counties in Connecticut. Our little state has but few spoils, and these county commissioners are really our chief beneficiaries of the spoils system. They stand in with the legislators and while every thoughtful citizen acknowledges that the county system is an absurdity in this state, no one is so aroused on the matter as to start a very vigorous campaign for ridding the state of its counties and incidentally of these commissioners. The principal service of the commissioners is to run the saloon system. If prohibition goes through and saloons are abolished, there would be a good chance, I think, to get rid of both candidates and commissioners.

✠

Proportional Representation Notes.—The Hare system of proportional representation has been prescribed by an act of parliament for the city of *Sligo*. The first election is to take place in January, 1919. This will be the first trial of the system in connection with a public election in the United Kingdom unless general elections for parliament take place previously, in which case the first public Hare elections in the kingdom will be those to choose members of parliament to represent the Scottish universities and certain of the universities of England. The municipalities of British Columbia which have already adopted the Hare system and held their first elections under it are *New Westminster*, *Nelson*, *West Vancouver*, *Mission*, and *South Vancouver*. In the first four the change was made by vote of the council itself. In South Vancouver the question was referred by the council to the voters, who adopted proportional representation by a vote of 1995 to 390. As was explained in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for July, 1017 (p. 508), proportional representation is made optional for any municipality of British Columbia by an act passed by the legislative assembly of the province on May 19, 1917. The commissioners who are drawing up a charter for *Flint, Michigan*, have voted to incorporate the Hare system for the election of the council. The charter commission of *Coshocton, Ohio*, has given advocates of the Hare system a sympathetic hearing and seems likely to follow the course taken by the Flint commission

II. POLITICS[1]

Detroit's First Primary under Its New Charter.—There were about 60,000 votes cast for mayor. James Couzens ran high with 18,000, followed by Connelly with 15,000. These two will be on the non-partisan ticket at the November election. Duffield followed with 11,000 and Gillespie received the remainder. The surprise of the contest was the high vote of Couzens, who at the beginning was estimated to have no show at all; and the low vote of Gillespie who was the acknowledged leader of the politicians and open-town crowd. It was expected that their positions would be reversed. The final election is in doubt with Couzens having slightly the better of the argument at present, as he will probably receive the larger proportion of the Duffield vote.

In many quarters Couzens is considered as being somewhat arbitrary, but it is assured that if elected he will be independent of any factions and will administer with unquestionable motives.

Connelly has been for many years the leader of the democratic wing and is said to have catered to the liberal element. Recently he cut loose from this crowd and has been active in government and civic work. However, it is still feared by some that his election to office would mean a partisan administration in spite of his intentions to the contrary as expressed in a pre-election pledge.

The nomination for the council showed some curious results. There were sixty-six candidates in the field for nine positions paying $5,000 each. Eighteen were chosen to go on the final ballot. Of these eighteen nine were approved by the Detroit citizens' league and are distinctly high-class men. On the other hand, four or five of the candidates are old-time politicians who were formerly in the city council. They are distinctly bad timber, but probably some of them will be elected. The remaining nominees are ordinary.

It is interesting to note that a number of candidates now or formerly in the city council, as well as other politicians were hopelessly defeated, many of them running very near the bottom of the list. This was very gratifying and probably the council members who were listed in the eighteen were chosen because they have been constantly grand-standing and getting in the public eye.

The political crowd in the county was also badly trounced, their candidates for sheriff, county clerk and county treasurer being defeated.[2]

⁂

Strikes of Municipal Employes.—The *Salt Lake City* commission during the summer received a communication signed by a committee representing all of the members of the fire department in which the men requested an increase of $20 per month and an extra twelve hours off each week, the members of the department being organized into a labor union. In their communication they set forth that they were acting in an organized capacity. This is the only branch of the city government where the employes are so organized. When the application for the raise was presented it was believed that the firemen were perhaps underpaid because of the abnormal cost of living at present, but the commission did not feel that they should receive any more consideration because of their union affiliation than the men of other departments who are also compelled to pay higher prices for living expenses.

The commission decided that it would revise its budget and raise the wages of all of its employes as much as it possibly could without increasing the tax levy. It divided the amount of money available for this purpose by the number of employes and it was found that the salaries could be raised about $15 per month. This was decided upon and met with the approval of all city employes except the firemen who saw fit to resign in a body. They gave four days' notice of a walk out. The resignations were given in blanket form and they were immediately accepted and the commission was in the act of making arrangements with others to take their places when the men themselves, upon second thought, realized that the commission had done the best it could under the circumstances and they in a graceful way receded from their position concerning the wage matter and the commission allowed them to combine their two hours off each day for dinner and take the twelve hours at one time. Before the date of the expiration of the ultimatum the resignations were withdrawn.

---

[1] Unless otherwise indicated the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rodgers Woodruff.

[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 530.

During the spring and summer a so-called "welfare association" was formed by the patrolmen of *Dayton, Ohio*. Its objects were stated to be "(1) To promote stricter discipline in the department, (2) To better protect the public's interest." Shortly after the formation of the organization and when about one hundred out of the one hundred and seventy patrolmen, comprising the city's police force, had joined the association, the city manager had occasion to suspend an inspector of police on charges. A committee from the association waited upon him stating among other things that they would resign in a body if this inspector did not get a "square deal." At that time City Manager Barlow had already approved the dismissal of this officer and his appeal was in the hands of the civil service commission. Their statement, in effect at least, tended to coerce a decision, favorable to the deposed inspector. At the same time this committee made a series of charges against the head of the department requesting his removal. These were shown to be without foundation. They also took a stand on several other matters which did not come properly within the jurisdiction of a welfare association. This culminated in the following order attached:

> As you know, when the so-called welfare association of the police department was being formed, there was some question raised as to whether such an association would really tend to protect the public interests and promote discipline in the department, as claimed by its organizers. Our experience, to date, unfortunately has not demonstrated the advisability of having such an association in a semi-military organization, such as the police department. Accordingly you will modify immediately the rules of the safety department so as to prohibit membership in any organization such as this has proved itself to be.
>
> There is already an association known as the Dayton police benevolent association which has been in existence for the past thirty or forty years and the above is not intended to prohibit membership in this benevolent association.
>
> If there are any members of the welfare association who do not see fit to abide by the rules which you may adopt in connection with the above, and prefer to retain their membership in the association, you will then accept the resignation of each one so disposed.

This immediately was followed by the adoption of rules of the safety department embodying these instructions. The findings of the civil service board in the case of the deposed inspector sustained the action of the director.

After a number of conferences on the part of the committee of the association and its attorney with the city manager his order was carried out, the association was disbanded and their charter from the state revoked.

The city manager of *Altoona, Pennsylvania,* issued an order that the division of time in the fire department between 10 a.m. and 10 p.m. into periods during which some member of the company should serve on watch and be responsible for receiving telephone calls and alarms. He also provided for the installation of a company journal to be kept by the men on watch. This resulted in dissatisfaction among some of the men, a captain who had been politically active in the bureau stirring up the men to resist the enforcement of the order. The city manager called him into his office and after a hearing suspended him for insubordination. There was an appeal to the council which sustained the city manager. A committee representing the men then served notice that unless the captain was granted pay for the period of his suspension they would leave the service. They also made several other demands in a paper signed by fifty-one members of the bureau. About twelve men left the city's employ, six having obtained more lucrative positions. The majority of those who signed the petition reconsidered the action and several of the men who left have applied for reinstatement. The orders in question were issued upon the recommendations made by the national underwriters for improving the service and after consultation with the chief of the bureau of fire.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

Franchise Rate Provisions.[1]—In *Quinby* v. *Public Service Commission*,[2] the New York court of appeals in sustaining the fare clause of the Rochester franchise said "Our constitution by requesting the consent of the local authorities recognizes that our municipalities are *pro tanto* independent of legislative control, exercising some fragment of power, otherwise legislative in character, which has been thus irrevocably transferred by the fundamental law from the legislature to the locality. The grant by the municipality to use the streets is not a mere privilege or gratuity. Once accepted, it becomes a contract which neither the state nor its agencies can impair."

In *State ex rel. Tacoma Railway and Power Co.* v. *Public Service Commission*,[3] the supreme court of Washington held that the public service commission has no power to authorize the street railway company to charge more than five cents for one continuous ride within the corporate limits of any city or town, notwithstanding the income of the company is not sufficient to pay a reasonable return upon its property and provide adequate and sufficient service, since the express provision in § 25 of the act, that no street railway company shall charge more than five cents for such a ride, cannot be considered abrogated by the provision in § 53 of the law, giving the commission power to determine just, reasonable, and Sufficient rates, or § 9 of the act, which provides among other things that all charges for any service rendered shall be just, fair, reasonable and sufficient and that every common carrier must provide safe, adequate and sufficient service. The court also decided that the commission had no power to modify or abrogate franchise provisions requiring the street railway company to pave between its tracks, to contribute to the cost of bridges, to pay a certain percentage of its gross earnings to the city, and to permit certain officers or employes of the city to be transported free.

The New York court of appeals decided, in *International Ry. Co.* v. *Rann*,[4] that the provision for a five-cent fare in the so-called Milburn agreement between the city of Buffalo and its street railway systems is a "right of the city"; that which is directed by law for one's advantage within its charter, so that resolutions of the city council consenting to increase the fare to six cents are subject to the referendum provision of the charter.

In the case of *Portland* v. *Public Service Commission*,[5] the Oregon supreme court has decided that the public service commission's order changing the rate of fare provided for in the street railway franchise is not void, for impairment of contract rights, as the state having granted the franchise through the city as its agent has the right to change the provisions thereof through its representative, the public service commission.

In *Salt Lake City* v. *Utah Light & Traction Co.*,[6] the Utah supreme court held that a franchise ordinance fixing passenger rates, although it constitutes a binding contract between the parties, is subject to the rate-making power of the state.

In *State* v. *Billings Gas Company*,[7] the Montana supreme court decided that since the creation of the public utilities commission in 1913 the provisions of the franchise contract between the city and the gas company were superseded by the rates approved by the commission and that the remedy of the city is by complaint to the commission if the rates now in effect are excessive.

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[1] See Article of Dorsey W. Hyde, jr., vol. VII, page .

[2] 119 N. E. 433.

[3] 172 Pacific 890.

[4] 120 N. E. 153.

[5] 173 Pacific 1178.

[6] 173 Pacific 556.

[7] 173 Pacific 799.

By a consent given by a municipality to a sewerage company under the act of 1898, maximum and minimum rates were fixed. Subsequently the sewage company petitioned the board of public utility commissioners for permission to increase rates. The supreme court of New Jer sey in *Collingswood Sewerage Company* v. *Borough of Collingswood*,[1] held that the board had power to increase rates. An ordinance granting consent of a municipality is a grant upon condition rather than a contract. The board in this case found that the existing rates were not enough to enable the company to make necessary extensions and suggested municipal action which would make it possible for the company to obtain new capital. The court held that the board should have ordered the necessary modification of rates and not have shifted the responsibility to the municipality.

*

Affect of Home Rule on Rates.—In *Traverse City* v. *Michigan Railroad Commission*,[2] the supreme court of Michigan held that the home rule section of the state constitution does not affect the contract relations of a telephone company and the city under a franchise granted before such constitution was adopted, nor does such home rule section prevent the state from regulationg telephone rates within its borders through the railroad commission. The contract between the city and company was subject to the reserved right of the state to change the rates.

*

Unreasonable Order.—In *Puget Sound Power & Light Company* v. *Public Service Commission*,[3] an order of the Washington commission requiring a street railway company earning less than a 4 per cent return to change the route of a crosstown line to relieve residents of the district served from the inconvenience of transferring was held unreasonable, where the necessary track changes would cost $7,100, with at least a $5,000 increase in annual operating expenses, and, on account of the extreme grades on the streets traversed by the proposed route, the added service would have a tendency to decrease the ordinary margin of safety and add to the congestion of the down-town lines. Four out of the nine judges dissented in this case.

*

Valuation.—In the case of *Denver* v. *Denver Union Water Company*,[4] the supreme court decided that it is proper, notwithstanding, the water company's franchise has expired, to value the plant as capable of use and actually in use in the public service, rather than at what the property would bring for some other use in case the city should build its own plant, where there are no other means of adequately supplying the city and the construction of a mūnicipal system would take at least five years, and where the ordinance fixing rates, while assuming to treat the water company as a mere tenant by sufferance in the streets, recognizes that its plant must continue to serve the public needs. Their reason was that such ordinance amounts to the grant of a new franchise of indefinite duration terminable either by the city or the company at such time and under such circumstances as may be consistent with the duty that both owe to the inhabitants of the city. Mr. Justice Holmes dissented, saying "It may be asked how a company in that situation can assert a constitutional right to a return upon the value that those pipes would have if there under a permanent right of occupation as against a city that is legally entitled to reduce them to their value as old iron by ordering them to be removed at once. In view of that right of the city which, if exercised, would make the company's whole plant valueless as such, the question recurs whether the fixing of any rate by the city could be said to confiscate property on the ground that the return was too low. . . . The question before us is not what would be a fair compensation as between a necessary customer and necessary seller, but simply as to whether the property of the company is taken without due process of law by the city fixing rates for a service, while it continues, that the company may discontinue at will and the city may order tomorrow to stop. I am of the opinion that it is not." Mr. Justice Brandeis and Mr. Justice Clarke concurred in this opinion.

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[1] 102 Atlantic 901.

[2] 168 N. W. 481.

[3] 170 Pacific 1014.

[4] 38 Sup. Ct. Rep. 278.

*

Pledging Credit of City.—In *State ex rel. Campbell* v. *Cincinnati St. Ry. Co.*,[1] the supreme court of Ohio decided that a city ordinance, providing for the joint operation of a city railway and a privately owned system, which by its terms made the gross operating revenues of the system liable for the payment of existing and later issues of the company's securities, is unconstitutional on the ground that it is pledging the city's credit for the private debt of the street railway company.

*

Filling Vacancy in the Office of Mayor.—The supreme court of Ohio has decided, in *State ex rel. Jones* v. *O'Dwyer*,[2] that upon the death of one who had been nominated at a primary election as a candidate for mayor and in the absence of any charter or statutory provision, there was no authority to fill the vacancy.

Robert E. Tracy.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

Editorial Changes.—Professor Herman G. James having taken up war work, as already stated in the National Municipal Review, has resigned as Associate Editor of the National Municipal Review, and W. J. Donald, secretary of the Niagara Falls chamber of commerce, takes his place.

Claude H. Anderson, the director of the bureau of municipal information of the New Jersey state league of municipalities, Dorsey W. Hyde, Jr., municipal reference librarian of New York city, and Dr. Robert T. Crane, of the university of Michigan, and Harrison Gray Otis, secretary of the City Managers' Association, have been added to the advisory editorial board.

*

Robert D. Leigh, recently elected assistant professor of government at Reed College, has been granted a year's leave of absence to enable him to attend Harvard where he has the Ozias Goodman memorial fellowship. During his absence Mr. Charles McKinley will be instructor in government at Reed. Mr. McKinley, it will be remembered, worked under Dr. Charles McCarthy at the University of Wisconsin and has recently been teaching history and government in the Ogden, Utah, high school.

*

Miss Ethel Hutson, a member of the advisory editorial board of the National Municipal Review, has resigned from the *New Orleans Item* to become research clerk for the New Orleans chamber of commerce.

*

Charles C. Williamson, for a number of years municipal librarian of New York city and lately statistician to the committee studying the methods of Americanization, has been appointed director of the department of document and economics, in the New York public library, in succession to Miss Adelaide R. Hasse.

*

Charles A. Dysktra, professor of political science at the university of Kansas, has been elected secretary of the Cleveland civic league to succeed Mayo Fesler who resigned to accept the secretaryship of the Brooklyn chamber of commerce. Layton E. Carter of the Western Reserve University will continue as assistant secretary of the league.

*

George Everson, who has been the executive secretary of the committee on criminal courts of the charity organization society of New York, and who has been giving special attention to the form of criminal law, is now in the field artillery training school at Louisville, Kentucky.

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[1] 119 N.E. 735.

[2] 119 N. E. 732.

⁂

Frederick P. Gruenberg, director of the bureau of municipal research of Philadelphia, has recently taken a leave of absence to accept an executive position with the industrial service division of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. His new duties consist largely of organization and direction of office and field forces engaged in research work in the field of industrial relations.

⁂

Homer Talbot, secretary of the municipal reference bureau at the university of Kansas, gave courses in government in the summer session of the university of Texas.

⁂

Henry D. Lindsley, who achieved so fine a reputation for his administration of the affairs of Dallas, Texas, while serving as mayor,[1] is now a major in the American Army in charge of the war risk bureau in France. Major Lindsley had his military training at Plattsburgh and has been abroad since December 15, 1917.

⁂

J. Horace McFarland, a vice-president of the National Municipal League and president of the American Civic Association, has been appointed by Felix Frankfurter (another member of the National Municipal League) a member of a commission of five on living conditions of war workers, functioning with considerable power and scope under the department of labor and associating representatives of the war and navy and labor departments having to do with the governmental and housing projects. This gives Mr. McFarland an opportunity of putting out in practice many of the principles for which he has spoken and stood during the past dozen years.

⁂

Edward H. Chandler, secretary of the twentieth century club of Boston, has been appointed by Mayor Peters a member of a new housing committee of that city and has been made its secretary. There have been numerous discussions of this question during the past fifteen years at the hands of sundry committees and commissions and it is hoped that the present one may be able to get some constructive results. It is believed that with the mayor's backing there will be a good chance of getting an effective law through the 1919 session of the legislature.

⁂

Miss Amelia Sears, the civic director of the women's civic club, of Chicago, has been appointed by the governor of Illinois to be a member of the state board of public welfare commissioners. This body is authorized to investigate the conditions and management of penal, reformatory and charitable institutions, both as to their general conditions and management, equipment and policy.

⁂

The Indiana Municipal League, at its June meeting, elected Samuel Spohn of Goshen, president, and W. Sherman Cutshall as secretary.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, pp. 112 and 517.

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